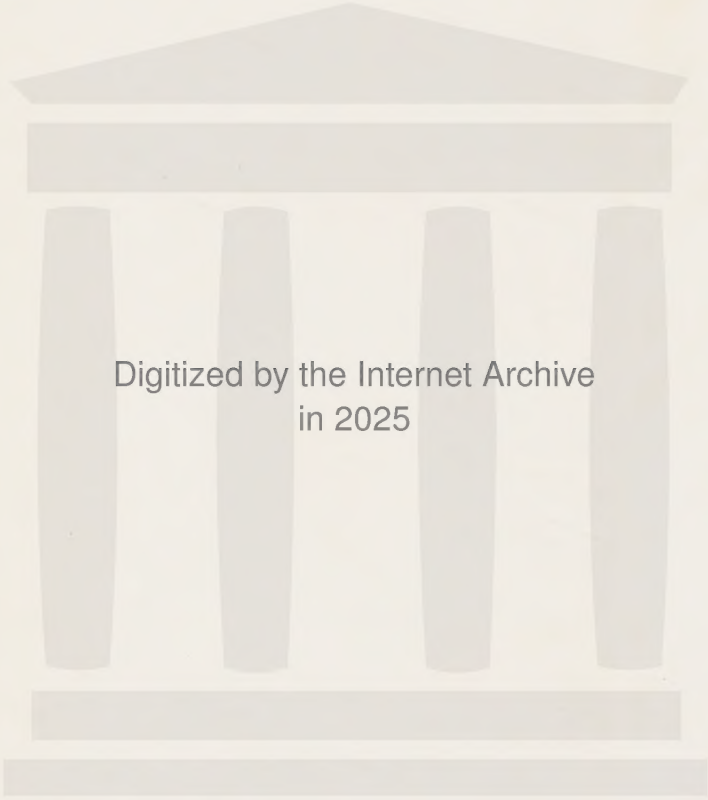
Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/literatureofchur0000revr

THE

LITERATURE

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND

INDICATED IN

SELECTIONS FROM THE WRITINGS OF EMINENT DIVINES:

WITH MEMOIRS OF THEIR LIVES,

AND

HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF THE TIMES IN WHICH THEY LIVED.

BY THE

REV. RICHARD CATTERMOLE, B.D.

IF, BY THE RECEPTION OF TRUTH IN THE SPIRIT OF TRUTH, WE BECAME WHAT WE ARE; ONLY BY THE RETENTION OF IT IN THE SAME SPIRIT, CAN WE REMAIN WHAT WE ARE. *THE FRIEND.*

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

LIBRARY OF THE MERCANTILE

LONDON:
JOHN W. PARKER, WEST STRAND.

M.DCCC.XLIV.

Reproduced by

DUOPAGE PROCESS
in the
U.S. of America

The original of this book is
in the collection of the
BROOKLYN PUBLIC LIBRARY
Brooklyn, N.Y.

MICRO PHOTO DIVISION
1700 SHAW AVE. CLEVELAND, OHIO 44112

BELL & HOWELL

DP 15254

CONTENTS

OF

THE SECOND VOLUME.

THE RESTORATION.

A. D. 1652—1660.

PAGE

HISTORICAL SKETCH 1

BISHOP SANDERSON. A. D. 1631—1663 10

A Defence of the Episcopal Clergy, against the censures of the Puritans 15

BISHOP TAYLOR. A. D. 1640—1667 35

The Marriage Ring 46

BISHOP RUST. A. D. 1661—1670 69

A Discourse of Truth 71

DR. ALLESTREE. A. D. 1640—1680 83

On Faith 88

DR. ISAAC BARROW. A. D. 1650—1677 106

The Pleasantness of Religion 115

BISHOP WILKINS. A. D. 1640—1682 129

Propositions, preliminary to a Discussion of the Principles of Natural Religion 134

DR. HENRY MORE. A. D. 1640—1687 142

The Practical Design of Christianity 162

PAGE

DR. WORTHINGTON. A. D. 1650—1671 178

Self-resignation the way to Spiritual Light, Peace, and Freedom 181

DR. WHICHCOTE. A. D. 1640—1683..... 193

Truth, and our Obligation to follow it..... 198

Agreement of Religion and Reason 201

DR. CUDWORTH. A. D. 1640—1688 210

In what sense the Essences of Things are eternal and immutable 219

BISHOP PEARSON. A. D. 1640—1686..... 226

The Eternal Existence and Essential Divinity of Christ 229

PERIOD OF THE REVOLUTION.

A. D. 1686—1688.

HISTORICAL SKETCH..... 253

ARCHBISHOP TILLOTSON. A. D. 1650—1694..... 265

Sermon "On the usefulness of Consideration, in order to Repentance" 273

HENRY WHARTON. A. D. 1680—1695 283

The Enthusiasm of the Church of Rome 291

BISHOP STILLINGFLEET. A. D. 1653—1699..... 299

The Oblation of Christ's Death to God, an evidence of its expiatory character 308

CLEMENT ELLIS. A. D. 1660—1700..... 332

Character of the True Gentleman 336

BISHOP PATRICK. A. D. 1650—1688..... 362

Humility and Charity the Christian's Companions in his Pilgrimage 373

The end of Faith in Christ..... 385

Prayers for Contentment and Resignation to the Will of God ... 391

PAGE

BISHOP BULL. A. D. 1653—1709 408

On the Catholic Church, in answer to Bossuet's Inquiries 415

The Doctrine of the Catholic Church for the first three ages of Christianity, concerning the Blessed Trinity, considered, in opposition to Sabellianism and Tritheism 421

Concerning the Spirit of God in the Faithful; how and in what manner it doth bear witness with their spirits, that they are the children of God; and what degree of hope or persuasion concerning their adoption this witness of the Spirit doth ordinarily produce in the faithful 429

DR. SOUTH. A. D. 1660—1716 442

On Brevity of expression in Prayer 448

BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

HISTORICAL SKETCH 464

BISHOP ATTERBURY. A. D. 1687—1732 467

Representation of the State of Religion 471

The Privileges, Advantages, and Obligations of a Descent from the Christian Priesthood 488

Conclusion 494

ERRATUM.

VOLUME II.

Page 4, line 3, *for* "Reformation," *read* Restoration."

HISTORICAL SKETCH.

THE RESTORATION.

A. D. 1652—1660.

THOSE persons, (and, even in the gloomiest period of the national calamities, they were numerous,) who looked forward with confidence to the restitution of the ancient polity of England, rested this confidence on several grounds. They knew that the leaders of the revolution, by which the ancient government had been overthrown, would in time disappear, even if they did not previously relax in their zeal for the cause; and they perceived, that the nation in general had not been so much changed by the novelties introduced either in government, religion, or opinions, as not sometimes to revert with a feeling of regret to the more congenial institutions of their forefathers. They likewise foresaw that the time would arrive, when the promised advantages of the new order of things must be felt to be Utopian and illusory, while its evils would every day become matter of more distinct and painful experience.

Those evils were of three kinds—political, social, and ecclesiastical: to this last division only, will be directed the few remarks demanded in this place, by a subject, the interest and ascertained facts of which even volumes could not exhaust.

Among the evils consequent upon the overthrow of the Church, we need not, in this place, dwell on the sufferings, so often described, of the deprived clergy: our design invites us rather to contemplate those public mischiefs, incidental to the treatment experienced by that admirable body of men, some instances of which have already appeared in these pages. Of such mischiefs, one of the greatest, undoubtedly, was the discouragement of learning in the Universities. For though a few individuals of pre-eminent ability were enabled, as we have seen in the instance of the illustrious Pococke, to maintain successfully the struggle with oppression; and though a few more, as Wilkins and Seth Ward, were tolerated, or even encouraged, in consequence of private interest, or personal

compliance with the times; yet the number of such instances was comparatively small, and their influence contracted by the absence of support from persons in authority, and by the prevalent depreciation of "human attainments" in religious teachers, however solid, and sanctified by the accompaniment of unquestionable piety.

But, the effects of the persecution of the clergy were more directly felt in parishes. Even Baxter, and the other writers on his side, acknowledge that it was impossible to find a sufficient number of persons tolerably qualified to supply the place of the ejected parochial ministers. And it may readily be imagined, what a condition many parishes must have fallen into, when the Liturgy was entirely withdrawn, and the public services of religion abandoned to the almost uncontrolled caprice of ignorant, inexperienced, and inflated minds, subject to all those fierce and flattering passions which agitated their party. We find Sanderson lamenting that, "in those times of confusion, in many parishes there was no minister to officiate;" and that "many of the best sequestered livings were possessed by such rigid Calvinists as denied the sacrament to their parishioners, unless upon such conditions, and in such a manner, as they could not with a good conscience take it." In some places, (we learn from the same authority,) the administration of the holy eucharist was laid aside for the whole space of twenty years, between the commencement of the troubles and the Restoration. In order to enjoy the benefits of this rite, according to the provisions of the Church, the proscribed clergy themselves were fain to meet in secret. An interesting picture, preserved in the hall of Christ Church College, Oxford, represents those three learned ornaments of the Church of England,—Fell, the persecuted dean of Christ Church; Allestree, with whom the reader will presently be made more particularly acquainted; and Dolben, a deprived student, who fought at Marston for the king,—engaged in privately celebrating the communion according to the abolished formula.

At the same time, the usurping government wanted means, or inclination, to enforce its own severe edicts. In some cases, as we have seen in the life of Pococke, the committees, though well disposed to receive complaints, were defeated in their endeavours to follow them up by expulsion. In others, the poverty of the living, the obscurity of the situation, the accidental want of parties willing to prosecute their pastor,

or, lastly, a partial or ostensible compliance, by repeating the prayers from memory, with such variations as sufficed to satisfy ordinary congregations,—were the circumstances which enabled men of learning, loyalty, and attachment to the Church, to retain their benefices. In this category are to be placed, with others, Bishop Sanderson, Robert Hall, one of the sons of the pious bishop of Norwich, and Bishop Bull. The anecdote of Bull, which illustrates this point, is well known. He had adopted from Sanderson the practice of using, in the public prayers, a modification of the Liturgy. Being, on one occasion, required to baptize the child of a dissenter, he performed the service in exact conformity with the rubric, with the exception of repeating it by heart. The family, who now heard it for the first time, were so struck by its solemnity and beauty, that they became from that time constant frequenters of the parish-church.

Again, others of the clergy, without holding any preferment, were connived at, in the capacity of preachers or lecturers: some conspicuous instances of this connivance took place towards the close of Cromwell's career, when the usurper had adopted a more tolerant policy. Thus we have seen Ussher officiating in the pulpit at Lincoln's Inn, and elsewhere; thus also the venerable Brownrigg, deprived bishop of Exeter, was preacher at the Temple. At this period likewise, a congregation of loyalists met in Oxford; another was regularly kept up in Fleet Street, by Dr. George Wilde, afterwards bishop of Londonderry; while Pearson, raised, at the Restoration, to the see of Chester, delivered the substance of his *Exposition of the Creed* at St. Clement's Church in East Cheap. The bishops, meantime, continued to provide for the succession of the regular ministry, by secret ordination of such young scholars of distinguished piety and attainments, as were willing to strengthen the clerical ranks. In this service, Bishop Hall, and Skinner, bishop of Oxford, took an active part. By a beautiful arrangement of Providence, overruling all events to the furtherance of the divine purposes, some of the holiest and most profoundly learned of the clergy of the next age received imposition of hands from those venerable fathers, at a time when that branch of Christ's Catholic Church, to whose service they vowed themselves, lay prostrate in ruin and proscription, beneath the iron heel of military despotism, and the insulting hoof of sectarian bigotry.

One of the most anxious subjects of reflection to the afflicted members of the Anglican Church, in the period immediately preceding the Reformation, was the duty of providing for the future succession of her episcopal order. The number of bishops was now reduced to nine, of whom the greater part were nearly worn out by age and calamity; fears, therefore, began to be entertained lest the apostolic line should be wholly interrupted. Such an event would have introduced into the bosom of the Church a degree of confusion greater than had been caused by all the previous troubles. In anticipation of this misfortune, the papists revived the story of the ordination, pretended to have taken place in Elizabeth's reign, at an Inn in Cheapside. It was this circumstance which called forth from Morton, the aged bishop of Durham, (whom a writer of that party had cited as a witness to the truth of their calumnious forgery,) those circumstantial and indignant refutations, to which reference was made in the notice of that prelate's life. In carrying on the negociations relative to this delicate affair, between the bishops, in their scattered and obscure retreats, and King Charles the Second at Brussels, Barwick, bishop Morton's chaplain and biographer, and Allestree, a fearless and loyal clergyman, subsequently provost of Eton, were the persons chiefly employed. An instance of the peril to which the latter exposed himself, in the performance of this duty, will appear in a future page.

But an event was at hand, which put an end to all difficulties and dangers from such causes. By a concurrence of circumstances, equally providential, and (at least in their immediate development) beyond expectation, the monarchy of England was restored, and with it the venerated edifice of her national Church. It falls not within the province of this work to indicate, what lessons of national wisdom and improvement might have been gathered, at the Restoration, from twenty years of bitter experience and corrective suffering; nor to lament, that they were allowed to pass almost unregarded. One benefit of the past afflictions it belongs to us, however, to notice. To the deprivation and obscure lives, to the silent leisure and enforced repose of the clergy of that trying period, we, doubtless, owe some of their most splendid efforts in the service of religion, of literature, and science. As their posterity, taught by the great example, and enriched by the imperishable monuments, which it enabled them to leave for

our instruction, we cannot but acknowledge a debt of gratitude to the severe but beneficent hand of adversity, which shut up so long in cells and libraries the Taylors, and the Barrows, the Usshers and Waltons, of that learned age.

So well indeed had the clergy employed the leisure from more active pursuits and engagements which had been forced upon them, that no considerable difficulty was felt in meeting the great demand for persons qualified to fill every department of the sacred profession, which now suddenly occurred. While such of the old bishops as survived were, for the most part, transferred to better sees, the vacancies left by their translation were readily filled. Of those who now for the first time received the honours and emoluments of episcopal rank, the greater number—as Taylor, Morley, Walton, Sanderson, Sheldon,—had earned their elevation by unrivalled attainments, and eminent labours and sufferings in the service of the establishment over which they were now appointed to bear rule. Some among them, and those not the least able—men whose moderate views and liberal philosophy fitted them for an improved period,—passed over from the ranks of nonconformity into the bosom of the Church.

The condition of the principal sect, the Presbyterian, (which alone contained individuals qualified by learning and principles to be so received,) presents a feature in the history of the time, not to be passed over in entire silence. As ill-treated, on the erection of the Commonwealth, by the triumphant Independents, and other sects more favoured by the government, as the clergy had previously been by themselves, this disappointed party had watched, with mingled fear and hope, the manifest tendency of events towards the Restoration. They became instrumental, to a very considerable extent, in promoting the measures in progress with that view; and now sought more than ever, to substantiate the distinction they had always insisted on, between themselves and the multitudes of fanatical sects. Policy, before the arrival of Charles in England, and, after that event, the necessity of a decent shew of gratitude, dictated a respectful treatment of this overweening but still powerful body. Several of the Presbyterian ministers were honoured with the appointment of royal chaplains; to some, the mitre was offered. The expectations, however, which the party founded on these courtesies, were such as the King, whatever might be his inclination, had it not in his power to fulfil, without violating the laws of

England and the rights of the Church and Crown. From Charles II., taking possession of the throne of his ancestors, amid such shouts of general welcome as drowned the faint murmurs of a disapproving but nearly silent minority, they looked for concessions which had been with difficulty extorted from Charles I., when a helpless captive in the hands of powerful enemies already contemplating his murder. "Those," it has been observed, "who would not trust his father, though under confirmation of his royal seal and word, to be farther strengthened by their own authority in parliament, were quiet and contented in the bare expectation of what his royal son would promise them." It may be alleged, on the other hand, in defence of these expectations, that they rested upon the public declarations of the King: but it was evident, that the terms of those declarations, put forth at a season of uncalculating excitement, were incapable of being realised without a fundamental change in the ecclesiastical constitution.

The Conference at the Savoy brought these expectations of the Nonconforming party to the test, and doomed them to utter disappointment. This famous convention was the first of a series of abortive attempts to produce what, at a later period, was styled *comprehension*—i. e. the admission of dissenters within the pale of the Church. It was assembled, at the solicitation of the Nonconformists, ostensibly to revise the Liturgy, in those particulars to which they objected; but essentially with a view to abolish the episcopal in favour of the presbyterian discipline, which they sought to bring in, under the name and imperfect semblance of episcopacy. In May 1661, twenty-one Anglican, and an equal number of presbyterian or nonconformist divines, met for the discussion, in the lodgings of the Bishop of London, at the Savoy. The latter were to propose their objections; the others to reply. On the side of nonconformity the venerable Richard Baxter, with Dr. Bates, acted as chief managers; while Pearson, bishop of Chester, Gunning, and Morley, bishop of Winchester, took the lead on the part of the Church. The proposals brought forward by the Nonconformists bear throughout the stamp of Baxter's conscientious, but dissatisfied and impracticable mind. The language of the remonstrants was at first characterised by a degree of moderation which did not extend to their demands. These ran out into an endless variety of particulars in the hands of Baxter; who, however, in the end, cut short all farther proposals for amending the

English service-book, by declaring it incapable of amendment, and, with a degree of assurance not easily to be excused, proposing the substitution of a Liturgy hastily composed by himself, without regard to any existing forms. The commissioners for the Church, on the other hand, perceiving that nothing which they could grant, consistently with their consciences and their duty, would conciliate their opponents, proved equally unyielding. Mutual recriminations arose in the progress of the discussion; and, in short, the period prescribed for its duration having elapsed, the Conference was broken up, leaving the breach it had been called to heal, as wide as ever.

In the session of Convocation which immediately followed the Savoy Conference, a revision of the Common Prayer Book was adopted, comprising several alterations and additions, besides the insertion of the services for the Martyrdom of King Charles, and for the Restoration. They were, however, such as plainly proceeded rather from the necessity of circumstances, and from suggestions thrown out, on the episcopal side, in the late debate, than from any hope of gaining the Nonconformists. That no such hope was entertained during the next six years, is evident from the passing, in that interval, of the Act of Uniformity, (by which so many dissenting ministers were driven from their preferments,) the act against conventicles, and other severe statutes.

Farther efforts, however, for the relief of the more moderate of the suffering parties were not wanting. In 1669, the lord-keeper Bridgman, and Dr. Wilkins, consulting with Baxter and his friends, endeavoured to frame a bill to answer this purpose. Their scheme, like the preceding and other attempts of the same nature, was based on that which had become popular among the presbyterians, under the sanction of the illustrious name of Ussher; it had also the farther recommendation of being countenanced by the learned and pious Judge Hale. But the legislature refused to entertain the question. Again, when several years later, Charles had afforded unequivocal evidence of his inclination towards popery, the attempt was revived by Tillotson, Stillingfleet, and other moderate divines, anxious to strengthen the hands of the Church, in the great conflict which they apprehended with Rome, by the cordial alliance of such vigorous opponents of the common enemy as the Puritans had at all times proved themselves. Baxter was once more at his post, as the champion and advocate of his party. The difficulties, however, which

presented themselves, were found, as in the previous instances, insurmountable; and when, yet once again, the attempt was revived under the auspices of Archbishop Sancroft, it was interrupted by the sudden advance of the Revolution, the next grand crisis in the affairs of our country.

But, the same end,—as far as, amid conflicting passions and prejudices, it was attainable,—was in progress towards attainment by a different method and less observable means. Important acts of legislative authority, and even those improved tendencies of public opinion, to which, on points largely interesting to humanity, they appear generally owing, are invariably preceded, and indeed produced, by the conclusions of meditative wisdom and recluse genius. Those truths which, in their public acknowledgment and application, regulate the movements of the busy world, first dawn, in the intensity of their ideal brightness, on the cell of the religious philosopher. When the fountains of the great deep of knowledge had been broken up, there followed a general enrichment of the intellectual soil; but it was only here and there, to some spots of peculiar richness, that peculiar facilities of culture were allotted; while only to a yet more limited number of minds were assigned depth, foresight, and laboriousness, to construct reservoirs for the supply of after ages. If the clergy were not among the first discoverers, in the paths of philosophy and science, they were at least found with the foremost of those greater numbers who welcomed truth when discovered, and mustered among its most efficient defenders when attacked.

Of the more profound and accomplished minds among them, whom late events had supplied with leisure from the daily demands of professional duty, one portion had earnestly devoted themselves to the study of the ancient ideal philosophy of Greece. The Platonic divines of Cambridge (in particular, Dr. More, the acknowledged head of that school,) may have engaged in their favourite pursuit somewhat too enthusiastically, or, in certain instances, may have followed it too far; yet the ripe learning, the enlarged and charitable views, of these excellent men, had the best effect in softening the crude, controversial tone of the current theology, and in tempering the asperities of party.

Another division of that enlightened body, professing for the most part the same rational and serene views of disputed theology, advanced into the last great cycle of enquiry, which had been opened by the illustrious Bacon. Preferring mathe-

matical to metaphysical science, as the handmaid of Truth, they honourably distinguished themselves among the cultivators of the boundless fields of physical investigation. In the list of those learned persons, who, when England was torn with the distractions of civil war, sought relief from the feverish and tumultuous scenes which surrounded them, in those meetings for the discussion of subjects of natural, and especially of experimental science, which eventually led to the establishment of the Royal Society, the names of Wilkins, of Wallis, and of Barrow, are not the least eminent.

In many instances these pursuits were united; the Platonic divine was likewise a disciple of the new, or experimental philosophy. In reality, the humanizing and exalting effect of the genuine study of nature is the same, whether its immediate subject be the mind of man within, or the observable works of the Almighty in the visible creation.

It was in the school of divines, thus happily formed, and enabled by circumstances and position to produce from their treasuries of learning "things old and new," that men were found equal to the momentous exigencies of the time. From their ranks stepped forth mighty champions for the defence of the ultimate principles of religion and virtue, against the atheist, whether philosopher or profligate (or both), with every other moral and intellectual monster, engendered amidst the fierce strife and wild fanaticism of earlier days, but now brought to light in the dissolute and shameless reign of the second Charles. Again, when popery, pampered with the favour of the court, at once designing and insolent, had worked its corrupting way to many a Protestant fireside, and had begun, with authority, to invade our sacred seats of learning; the same highly disciplined bands furnished those warriors, who, recasting, and adapting to more modern warfare, the invincible arms of the Reformers, led on the nation to the final defeat and rejection of that *infallible* foe of its freedom and its unpolluted altars. Finally, when, at the Revolution, the settlement of those liberties, civil and religious, took place, for which so much had been suffered and achieved, it was the learned and liberal-minded clergy who prepared their fellow-countrymen to tolerate the insuperable religious prejudices of Nonconformists, without inflicting a wound upon the integrity of the Church.

BISHOP SANDERSON.

A. D. 1631—1663.

In the age of which we have been treating, when every branch of theology was diligently cultivated, scientific casuistry, now neglected, and, at least in Protestant churches, almost forgotten, was esteemed the test of an able divine. Taylor was a great casuist; to the same obsolete department of study, Hall directed a considerable portion of the labours of his equally facile and elegant, though less vigorous, mind. But the most distinguished of our English casuists, is Dr. Robert Sanderson, whose character has been made familiar to the general reader by the charming volumes of Izaak Walton.

Sanderson was born in 1587, at Rotherham, in Yorkshire. His father, a gentleman of good family, took great pains with his early instruction; and the parental care was so effectually seconded by the master of the grammar-school in his native town, that the youth was found sufficiently advanced for the university in his fourteenth year, and was accordingly admitted to residence, in that year, in Lincoln college, Oxford. Here he continued his studies with prodigious assiduity; and on being elected a fellow, in 1606, was characterised as possessing "a metaphysical brain, and a matchless memory." In 1611 he took orders; and, having in the mean time been repeatedly chosen at the annual election of reader of logic in his college, he published, in the year 1615, his first literary production, *Logicæ Artis Compendium*—the system of lectures delivered by him in that capacity. In the year 1618, being then B.D., he was presented to the rectory of Wilburton in Lincolnshire; but soon after exchanged it for Boothby; to this preferment a prebend of York and one of Lincoln were almost immediately added.

Sanderson fixed his residence at Boothby, at once doing efficient service in the Church by a zealous discharge of all the pastoral duties, and ripening his abilities by study and composition, till the discerning Laud, in 1631, procured his

appointment as chaplain in ordinary to Charles the First. The king was delighted with his new chaplain's skill in resolving cases of conscience, and justly appreciated his discriminative, direct, and practical treatment of Scripture. "He was never absent from his sermons, and would usually say, 'I carry my ears to hear other preachers, but I carry my conscience to hear Mr. Sanderson.'" And Charles really put his conscience into the good divine's keeping.

At the king's visit to Oxford, in 1636, Sanderson was created D.D. We find him now engaged, with most of the other good and great men of his profession, in endeavouring to allay the distractions of party. One of his employments in 1641, was that of making alterations in the Liturgy, with a view to the conciliation of the Puritans; another labour of this period was the composition of several tracts, written with the same view. He was appointed, in 1642, to succeed Prideaux, in the Regius Professorship of Divinity; but it was not till 1646 that he actually took possession of that learned chair; having been all the intermediate time, as he confesses in the preface to his lectures, withheld from appearing in it by an extreme diffidence which never forsook him all his life long. His lectures, *De Juramento*, and *De Conscientia*, are among his most esteemed productions: the former were translated into English by his royal master, while imprisoned at Carisbrooke. At the same time, the high attainments and distinguished piety of this divine rendered him popular with the enemies of the court; he was nominated a member of the assembly, and chosen by the parliament one of the commissioners for the settlement of Church affairs.

The celebrated judgment of the University of Oxford, containing the reasons of its heads of houses, professors, &c., for refusing the covenant and the negative oath, was principally the work of Sanderson. Neither this powerful manifesto, however, nor the petition which followed it, and which Morley presented to the Parliament, was of any avail; Sanderson, after being deprived of his professorship and the canonry of Christ-church annexed to it, was, with Sheldon, Hammond, and the other leading loyalists, driven out of Oxford.

His living too had been sequestered; yet thither, notwithstanding, he now retired. He continued to perform the service canonically, on submitting, as some others did in those times, to repeat the prayers by heart, varying them in some degree,

from the appointed forms. But this apparent compliance did not screen him from repeated insult. At length, the covenanters seized and carried him prisoner to Lincoln, in order to procure in exchange a favourite minister of their party, whom the king's troops had taken. The exchange was agreed to, on condition that the sequestration should be removed from Dr. Sanderson's living, and his person and property secured from molestation. The former of these conditions was complied with, and a stipulation entered into for the observation of the other likewise; notwithstanding which, the doctor was afterwards several times plundered, and on one occasion wounded, by the licentious republican soldiers.

Some years before the Restoration, the hand of poverty seems to have pressed heavily upon Sanderson. He was, however, not only patient and unrepining under the hard treatment which he shared in common with so many of his brethren; but, with a degree of vigour and courage which prosperity could not have improved, continued to maintain the cause of the suffering Church. "He hazarded his safety," says Walton, "by writing the large and bold preface now extant before his sermons, first printed in the dangerous year 1655." This admirable discourse should be read by every one who wishes for a clear, straightforward, and convincing refutation of the chief accusations brought against the Church by her enemies, in the 17th century, and since, in substance, repeatedly revived*. "About the time of his printing this excellent preface," continues Sanderson's biographer, "I met him accidentally in London, in sad-coloured clothes, and, God knows, far from being costly." The two friends, for such they were, passed an hour together, in frank and earnest conversation, respecting the unhappy times on which they had fallen. Sanderson deplored the loss of the Liturgy to the people, recommending to his companion the constant use of it, and in particular, of the Psalms, as "a treasury of comfort, hope, and resignation, fitted for all persons and necessities;" and he lamented that this, "which was the devotion of the more primitive times, should, in common pulpits, be turned into needless debates about free-will, election, and reprobation, of which, and many like questions, we may be safely ignorant, because Almighty God intends not to lead us to heaven by hard ques-

* The reader will find the greater part of this Preface, in the subjoined extract.

tions, but by meekness and charity, and a frequent practice of devotion." These, and some other expressions to the same effect, repeated by Walton, appear in some degree to confirm the probable reasons previously alleged by him, that his illustrious companion's views of doctrine had been softened by his friendly controversy with the mild and learned Hammond, on the divine decrees. This discussion was a kind of sequel to the disputes with Cheynel and the "London ministers," which had been raised on the publication of the *Practical Catechism:* the correspondence referred to has already been noticed, as included in the works of Hammond. It is pleasant to have to add the name of this great divine, to the instances before noticed, which manifest the gradual clearing away of extreme Calvinistic opinions from the fair countenance of the Church of England.

An account of the distress of Sanderson having reached the ears of Mr. Boyle, that enlightened friend of religion and its ministers presented him with £50, with the promise of a yearly pension to the same amount; urging him, at the same time, to send to the press the lectures *de Conscientia*, which he had delivered from the chair of the Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford. With this application Sanderson complied; and in 1659 the Lectures appeared, with an elegant dedication to Mr. Boyle.

The Restoration found Dr. Sanderson an old man. He was reinstated in his professorship and canonry, in August 1660; and, to the great satisfaction of the true friends of the Church, was included with Sheldon, Morley, and others, in the list of bishops consecrated in October following.

The see chosen for him was that of Lincoln. He possessed it about two years and a half; a short time, yet long enough to enable the Church to appreciate his public labours, and the diocese to taste his munificence. A principal share was taken by him in the additions and alterations made in the Liturgy by the Convocation of 1661: in particular, the general *Preface* to the Common Prayer Book is of his composition. He augmented, at his own cost, several poor livings in his diocese; repaired the palace at Buckden, on which Bishop Williams had, in the last reign, bestowed a princely expense, but which had been ruined in the civil war; and, after distinguishing his brief tenure of the episcopal office by some farther proofs of his liberality, he expired, in January 1663,

without having made any provision for his family. His preparations for his departure out of the world were made with the pious serenity to be expected from the previous tenor of his life. The day before his death he received the Church's absolution; pulling off his cap at the performance of that solemn service in order that the hand of the chaplain employed in it might rest on his bare head.

Bishop Sanderson was unquestionably one of the ablest of our English divines. "That staid and well weighed man," it was said by his contemporary Hammond, "conceives all things deliberately, dwells upon them discreetly, discerns things that differ exactly, passeth his judgment rationally, and expresses it aptly, clearly, and honestly." A profound scholar, a judicious divine, a great preacher, a matchless casuist;—in poverty and oppression, patient and courageous—in prosperity and high station, simple and self-denying—distinguished, in every variety of circumstances, by the same Christian bearing and unaffected piety,—Sanderson holds an eminent place among those true sons of the Church of England, whose memory she cherishes with joy and thankfulness; and he probably realized the hope, often expressed by him, that "he should die without an enemy."

The Principal works of Bishop Sanderson are:—

Logicæ Artis Compendium. 8vo. 1615.

De Juramenti Promissorii Obligatione, Prælectiones VII. 8vo. 1647. The translation of this work, made by King Charles I., was printed, in 8vo, in the year 1655.

Censure of Mr. Anthony Ascham's Book of the Confusions and Revolutions of Government. 8vo. 1649. Ascham was English resident at Madrid, in the time of the Rump Parliament.

Thirty-six Sermons: ad aulam, clerum, magistratum, populum. fol. 1658. Of the discourses contained in this invaluable collection of divinity, several had before appeared separately, and twelve as collected into a 4to volume, in 1632. To the eighth edition, printed in 1689, is prefixed the interesting *Life*, by Walton.

De Obligatione Conscientiæ Prælectiones. 4to. 1661.

Episcopacy, as established by law in England, not prejudicial to the Regal Power. 8vo. 1661.

Preface to Ussher's work on *The Power communicated by*

God to the Prince, and the Obedience required of the Subject. 4to. 1661.

Articles of Visitation and Enquiry concerning Matters Ecclesiastical. 4to. 1662.

Nine Cases of Conscience Resolved. Several of these had been already published at different times. 8vo. 1678.

Bishop Sanderson's Judgment concerning Submission to Usurpers. Annexed, with other tracts, to Walton's *Life of Sanderson*, 1678.

Discourse of the Church, &c., first, concerning the Visibility of the True Church; secondly, concerning the Church of Rome, 1688. This tract was published by Dr. Ashton, of Brasenose college, Oxford, from a MS. communicated to him by the domestic chaplain who attended Bishop Sanderson on his death-bed.

Dr. Sanderson is mentioned by Brian Walton among those learned friends who assisted him in his Polyglot Bible.

A DEFENCE OF THE EPISCOPAL CLERGY, AGAINST THE CENSURES OF THE PURITANS.

I SHALL reduce my discourse herein *ab hypothesi ad thesin*, and propose the objections, with my answers thereunto (though with some reflection upon myself, in most of the particulars, yet) as laid against the generality of those men's sermons, writings, and other discourses, who, according to the new style, of late years taken among us, go under the name of the prelatical party, or episcopal divines.

The objections are—"1. That in their ordinary sermons they take any small occasion, but when they preach at the visitations, where most of the clergy of the voisinage are convened, set themselves purposely in their whole discourse, to let fly at their godly brethren, who, out of tenderness of conscience, dare not submit to some things endeavoured to be imposed upon them by the prelates. The poor puritan is sure to be paid home, he must be brought under the lash, and exposed to contempt and scorn at every public meeting; the papists, professed enemies of our Church and religion, escaping in the meanwhile scot-free, seldom or never meddled withal in any of their sermons. 2. Or if sometimes some little matter be done that way by some of them, it is so little that it is to as little purpose, rather for fashion's sake, *ad faciendum populum*, and to avoid suspicion, than for any ill will they bear them; perhaps give them a light touch by the way, a gentle rub as they pass along, that shall do them no harm. But their brethren, that profess the same protestant religion

with them, they handle with a rougher hand. With elder-guns and paper-pellets they shoot at those; but against these they play with cannon-bullets. 3. And all this anger but for ceremonies, trifles even in their own esteem, who plead hardest for them. If they be indeed such indifferent things as they confess them to be, and would have the world believe they make no other account of them, why do they dote on them so extremely themselves? why do they press them upon others with so much importunity? why do they quarrel with their brethren eternally about them? 4. The truth is, both we and they judge otherwise of them than as indifferent things. They think them necessary, whatever they pretend, or else they would not lay so much weight upon them. And we hold them popish, anti-christian, and superstitious, or else we would not so stiffly refuse them. 5. It is not therefore without cause that we suspect the authors of such sermons and treatises as have come abroad in the defence of such trash, to be popishly affected; or at least to have been set on by some popish bishops or chancellors (though perhaps without any such intention in themselves), on purpose to promote the papal interest here, and to bring back the people of this nation by degrees, if not into the heart and within the walls of Babylon, yet at leastwise into the confines, and within the view of it. 6. Which, as it appeareth otherwise, to wit, by their great willingness to allow such qualifications to sundry doctrines taught in the church of Rome, and such interpretations to sundry taught in our Church, as may bring them to the nearest agreement; and their great endeavours to find out such expedients as might best bring on a perfect reconciliation between the two churches: 7. So particularly in pressing with so much vehemency the observance of these popish and superstitious ceremonies, for which we cannot find, nor do they offer to produce, any, either command or example, in holy Scripture, to warrant to our consciences the use thereof. 8. Which, what is it else in effect than to deny the sufficiency of the Scripture to be a perfect rule of faith and manners?—which being one of the main bulwarks of the protestant religion, as it is differenced from the Roman, is by these men, and by this means, undermined and betrayed."

This is the sum and substance of the usual censures and objections of our anti-ceremonian brethren, so far as I have observed from their own speeches and writings; which I have therefore set down as near as in so few words I could, to their sense, and for the most part in their own expressions. Much of which having, as I conceive, received its answer beforehand, in some passage or other of the ensuing sermons, might supersede me the labour of adding any more now. Yet for so much as these answers lie dispersedly, and not in one view; I held it convenient, as I have produced the objections altogether, so to offer to the reader an answer to them all together, and that in

the same order as I have given them in; begging at his hands but this one very reasonable favour, that he would do both himself and me so much right as not to pass his censure too hastily and too severely upon any part of what is now presented to his view, whether he like it or dislike it, till he hath had the patience to read over the whole, and allowed himself the freedom, rightly and without prejudice, to consider of it.

That which is said, in the first place, of their godliness and tenderness of conscience, is not much to the purpose, as to the main business. For first, besides that all parties pretend to godliness, papists, anabaptists, and who not? (even the late sprung up generation of levellers, whose principles are so destructive of all that order and justice by which public societies are supported, do yet style themselves, as by a kind of peculiarity, the godly;) and that secondly, it is the easiest thing in the world, and nothing more common, than for men to pretend conscience when they are not minded to obey; I do not believe, thirdly, (though I am well persuaded of the godliness of many of them otherwise) that the refusal of indifferent ceremonies, enjoined by lawful authority, is any part of their godliness, or any good fruit, evidence, or sign thereof. But certain it is, fourthly, that the godliest men are men, and know but in part; and by the power of godliness in their hearts are no more secured from the possibility of falling into error through ignorance, than from the possibility of falling into sin through infirmity. And as for tenderness of conscience, fifthly, a most gracious blessed fruit of the Holy Spirit of God, where it is really, and not in pretence only, nor mistaken, (for sure it is no very tender conscience, though sometimes called so, that straineth at a gnat and swalloweth a camel;) it is with it as with other tender things, very subject to receive harm, and soon put out of order. Through the cunning of Satan it dangerously exposeth men to temptations on the right hand, and through its own aptitude to entertain and to cherish unnecessary scruples, it strongly disposeth them to listen thereunto so long, till at the last they are overcome thereof. Needful it is, therefore, that in the public teaching, the errors should be sometimes refuted, and the temptations discovered; and this ever to be done seasonably, soberly, discreetly, and convincingly; and when we are to deal with men whose consciences are, so far as we can discern, truly tender, with the spirit of meekness and compassion. For tender things must be tenderly dealt withal, or they are lost. I know it is not always so done, nor can we expect it should. All preachers are neither so charitable, nor so prudent, nor so conscientious as they should be; and they that are such in a good measure, are men still, and may be transported now and then,

through passion and infirmity, beyond the just bounds of moderation. But then the fault is not so much in the choice of the argument they treat of, as in the ill managing thereof: which ought not to cast any prejudice upon others who deal in the same argument, but after another manner.

But that which pincheth most in this first particular, is, as I suppose, this:—that upon all public occasions, especially in visitation sermons, they who agree with us in the substance of the same reformed religion, are for the most part the only mark shot at, whilst the common enemy, the papist, hath little or nothing said against him. For answer hereunto:—First, so far as concerneth the sermons here published the objection is void, for therein the papist hath had his share as well as his fellows, so oft as the text gave occasion, or the file of my discourse led me thereunto, as by the papers themselves (whereunto reference to be had) will evidently appear. Secondly, admitting all true that is alleged, either we are excusable in what they blame us for, or they that blame us inexcusable who do the very same things. Do not they usually in their sermons fall bitterly upon the papists and Arminians, but seldom meddle with the Socinians, scarce ever name the Turks? I have been often told of their declamations against the observing of Christmas, that great superstitious thing; but I remember not to have heard of much spoken against perjury, and sacrilege, and some other sins wherewith our times abound. Nay, doth not their zeal even against popery itself (popery, I mean, truly so called,) of late years, and since most of the pulpits are in their possession, seem to abate, at least-wise in comparison of the zeal they shew against episcopacy, and against the liturgy, festivals, and ceremonies, lately in use among us? These they cry down with all the noise they can, and with all the strength they have, having first branded them with the name of popery; and this must now pass for preaching against popery. I demand then, is there not the like reason of reproving sins, and refuting errors? If so, are not perjury and sacrilege as great sins, at least, as keeping Christmas holiday? Howsoever, are not the errors of the Turks, that deny the whole structure of the Christian religion, foundation and all, far worse than the errors of the papists, who by their additional superstructures have only altered the fabric, but keep the foundation still? And are not the errors of the Socinians, who deny the Trinity, God's omniscience, the eternity of the Son, the divinity of the Holy Ghost, original sin, the calling of ministers, &c., far worse than those the Arminians are charged withal, of free-will, universal redemption, falling from grace, &c.? And are not the old rotten points of popery (the Pope's œcumenical pastorship and infallibility, the scriptures' insufficiency, image-worship,

invocation of saints, transubstantiation, half-communion, &c.) errors of as great a magnitude, as those other points of popery, (lately and falsely dubbed such) of episcopacy, liturgy, festivals, and ceremonies? If they be, why do our brethren preach oftener, and inveigh more, against these latter and lesser in comparison, than against those former and greater sins and errors? I doubt not but they have some reasons wherewith to satisfy themselves for their so doing, else they were much to blame. Be those reasons what they will, if they will serve to excuse them, they will serve as well to justify us.

It will be said, perhaps: first, that the Turks have no communion with us. They are out of the Church, and our chiefest care should be for those within, leaving those without for God to judge. Or, indeed, secondly, to what purpose would it be to address our speeches to them some thousands of miles out of hearing? If our voices were as loud as Stentor's, or that of Mars in Homer, the sound would not reach them. Besides that, thirdly, there is little danger in our people of receiving hurt or infection from them, who have no such agents here to tamper with the people in that behalf, no such artifices and plausible pretensions whereby to work them over to their side, no such advantages as the agreement in some common principles might afford for bringing on the rest, as the papists have, who, being within the pale of the visible catholic Church, and living in the midst of us, have their instruments ready at hand in every corner to gain proselytes for Rome; the specious pretences of antiquity, universality, consent of councils and fathers, &c. wherewith to dazzle the eyes of weak and credulous persons; and some ground also to work upon in the agreement that is between them and us in the principal articles of the Christian faith. These reasons, I confess, are satisfactory as to the comparison, between Turks and papists, and may be applied to the other instance also in their proportion, so far as the application will hold truth. And all this is agreeable both to the apostle's discourse, 1 Cor. i. 9—13, and to the advices of prudent statists, who forbear to advance against a potent enemy abroad, till they have composed smaller quarrels and mutinies at home; and to the example also of our blessed Saviour himself, who, although the errors of the Sadducees were in themselves, and in respect of their matter, much worse than those of the Scribes and Pharisees, yet because the danger of seducing the people was greater from these than from those (the Pharisees, by reason of their outside holiness, being grown into better esteem with the people than the Sadducees were; and the generality of the people also, by their education, prettily well principled, and so fore-armed, against those more gross and palpable errors of the Sadducees,) is observed, therefore, to have both more frequently, and with greater sharpness,

reproved the Scribes and Pharisees for their false teaching, than he did the Sadducees, and to have given the people more caveats to beware of them and their leaven, than that of the Sadducees.

This is the most, I think, they have to say for themselves; and upon supposal that all the particulars in the afore-mentioned instances were indeed such sins and errors as they either take or mistake them for, it must be admitted a very reasonable and sufficient plea. Only we require (which is but equal) that they mete unto us back again with the same measure, and allow us the benefit of the same plea, *mutatis mutandis*, so far as our case is the same with theirs. Let them but this do, and the objections will vanish. First, we nothing doubt but that the papists, by being baptized into the faith of Christ, are in a far better condition otherwise, as we are sure they stand in a nearer relation to us thereby, than Turks and Pagans do. Yet, as to external communion in the public worship, by refusing to assemble with us (which is not our fault) they are as very strangers to us as the very Turks are, and, in that respect, to be looked upon as *οἱ ἔξω*, those that are without. And therefore we deemed it more expedient, and a more brotherly act, to endeavour the reducing of our brethren that held communion with us to their just obedience, by discovering to their faces (being personally present) those their errors that obstructed it, than to beat the air to little purpose in declaiming against those that did not hear us, and we were sure would little regard us. For, secondly, were it not for the confirming of our protestant hearers in their present belief of the truth against such as will attempt to draw them from us, it would be a very impertinent thing to insist much upon the discovery of popish errors in our churches, whither they that should reap most benefit by such discovery never come. They live among us, indeed, which the Turks do not; but since they come not where they may hear us, it is all one to us, in respect of our sermons, as if they lived as far from us as the Turks do. But at such times as the clergy are met together (which is chiefly done at the visitations) when most of them who are most concerned, both for their own sakes and the people's that depend upon them, to have a right judgment concerning the nature and use of indifferent things are present, it seemeth to be very proper, and by the blessing of God, may conduce very much to the edification of his people in truth, peace, and godliness, that the just power of those that have authority in the Church for making ecclesiastical constitutions, should be asserted, and the necessity of yielding obedience thereunto when they are made, by all under such authority, should be pressed. This is the very truth of the whole business; and what is there in all this to deserve such outcries? What is there, if men would but soberly consider it, that is not every way

agreeable to the dictates both of Christian prudence and charity? Thirdly, (which is a very important consideration, and cometh up to the full of the objection) we think it more needful, seasonable, and expedient, upon such opportunities to clear these points in difference betwixt us and our brethren at home, than to handle any of the controversies in debate betwixt us and those of Rome; both because the people are in more danger of being misled by these, than of being seduced by papists; and because the papists make a great advantage (indeed the greatest, and, in a manner, the whole advantage they have against us) of these home-differences. For although the emissaries of Rome have long used all the art and diligence possible to advance the Roman interest among us, yet the people of England are so generally prepossessed with a detestation of that religion, (as the people of Spain, France, and Italy, are of ours,) that were it not for the advantage they make of the excesses of some troublesome spirits among ourselves, they could not have expected to have reaped so plentiful a harvest here, as of late years they have done. But our brethren, having by their much preaching and inveighing against the papists, wrought our common people to such a prejudice against her doctrines, that many of them know no other rule whereby to judge of the soundness of men's religion, than by the greater or lesser distance it hath from popery, have thereby withal gained that high esteem of their soundness in religion above others in the hearts of many of our people, (led, as most are, by opinion more than true judgment,) that it is a very easy matter for them to draw multitudes after them into a dislike of any thing whereon they shall think good to fasten the imputation of being popish. For preventing whereof, if we do our best endeavour, upon all good occasions, to undeceive them first, and by them the people, by letting them see, if they will but open their eyes, how unsound the principles are they go upon, and how unsafe the practices those principles lead unto,—who can justly blame us for so doing?

To the substance of the second objection, (if I may with their leave, and without their offence, pass by that quaint minute piece of wit, of paper-pellets and cannon-bullets,) I shall need make no farther answer than what hath already been given to the first. Only I shall, *ex abundanti*, add two things, the one concerning myself, the other to the objectors. For myself; if I be not much mistaken, I have been so far from offending in the kind objected, that I may seem rather to have offended too much on the other hand. The substance of the matter both against papists and others is, I hope, all along justifiable. And then, if some sharper expressions, both against them and others, have here and there slipped from my tongue or pen, (such as heat and indignation in our greener years are apt

to suggest,) they that are ingenuous, considering how long it is since those sermons were preached, may be pleased to pardon it, upon the old plea, *dandum aliquod ætati.* As for them,—that they preach against popery, I not at all mislike; only I could wish that these two cautions were better observed, than (as far as I can make conjecture of the rest, by the proportion of what hath come to my knowledge), I fear they usually are, by the more zealous of that party, viz. 1. That they do not through ignorance, prejudice, or precipitancy, call that popery, which is not; and then, under that name and notion, preach against it. 2. That they would do it with the less noise, and more weight. It is not a business merely of the lungs, but requireth sinews too; or, to use their own metaphor, let them not think that casting of squibs will do the deed, or charging with powder alone: that will give a crack indeed, and raise a smoke; but unless they have bullet as well as powder it will do little execution.

To the third objection I say, first, that we have indeed no higher or other esteem of ceremonies than as of indifferent things; yet do we not count them trifles, otherwise than as in comparison with necessary duties. But let ceremonies, secondly, be as very trifles as any man can imagine them to be, yet obedience sure is no trifle. They misstate the question when they talk of pressing ceremonies: it is obedience (formally,) that is required: ceremonies not otherwise pressed than as the matter wherein that obedience is to be exercised. If a master appoint his servant to do some small matter that he thinketh fit to have done, though in itself of no great moment, yet he will expect to be obeyed, and it is great reason he should. If in such case the servant should refuse to do the thing appointed, because he hath no mind thereunto, and should receive a check or correction for such refusal, could he either sufficiently excuse his own fault, or reasonably complain of his master for dealing hardly with him, by saying, The thing was but a trifle? Is it not evident that the thing which made the master angry, and the servant an offender in that case, was not (precisely and formally), the leaving of the thing undone, (which, had it not been commanded, might have been left undone without any fault or blame at all,) but the refusing to do it when he that had a right to his service commanded him? Wherefore, thirdly, that which is said of some men's doating so extremely on ceremonies might have been well enough spared. I know no true son of the Church of England that doateth upon any ceremony, whatsoever opinion he may have of the decency or expediency of some of them. If any do, let him answer for himself. Among wise men, he will hardly pass for a wise man that doateth upon any; nor will he, I doubt, prove a much wiser man that runs into the contrary

extreme, and abhorreth all. It is true, fourthly, that there have been long and unkind quarrels about these things; more is the pity: but where is the fault? to whom is the beginning, and to whom the continuance of a quarrel rather imputable? To him that demandeth his right? or to him that withholdeth it from him? For this is the plain case in short: the bishops (under the king) require obedience to the laws ecclesiastical, these men refuse to give it. So began the quarrel at first; and upon the same terms it continued. If the obedience challenged were indeed due to those laws, then did our brethren both begin the quarrel and hold it on; if it were not, then must the whole blame lie upon those that claimed it unjustly, and not upon them. So that upon winding up of the business, the whole controversy will devolve upon this point,—Whether to the laws ecclesiastical obedience is due or not? For the right determining whereof, (for so much as it is confessed on all hands, that obedience is due to lawful authority commanding lawful things,) two other points are to be resolved, the one concerning the authority by which the constitutions were made, the other concerning the lawfulness of the things therein required. The Presbyterians of the kirk flatly and directly deny both; ours, less forward to declare their opinion in the former point, have chosen rather to stand upon the latter only. And so the point in issue is briefly this, Whether the things commanded, and particularly the ceremonies, be lawful—yea or no. Which bringeth us to the consideration of

The fourth objection, wherein (besides some ill language, which I love not to stir into), they declare, first, what they conceive to be our opinion, and next, what is indeed their own, concerning the ceremonies, &c. in question. In the former we desire that candour, which in all reason and charity they ought to afford us; that they would fix nothing upon us as our opinion which ourselves (who should best know what our opinion is) protest against, as not our opinion. They have been told a thousand times over, in the sermons and writings of private men, which is also attested and affirmed by the public declaration of our Church, (the most authentic assurance a question of this nature is capable of,) that we place no necessity at all in these things, but hold them to be merely indifferent: that when for decency, order, or uniformity's sake, any constitutions are made concerning them, there is the same necessity of obeying such constitutions as there is of obeying other laws made for the good of the commonwealth concerning any other indifferent things: that such necessity, either in the one or the other, ariseth not properly from the authority of the immediate lawgiver, but from the ordinance of God, who hath commanded us to obey the ordinances of

men for his sake; that such necessity of obedience, notwithstanding the things remain in the same indifference as before, every way in respect of their nature, and *quoad rem*, (it being not in the power of accidental relations to change the natures of things,) and even in respect of their use; and *quoad nos* thus far, that there is a liberty left for men upon extraordinary and other just occasions sometimes to do otherwise than the constitution requireth, *extra casum scandali et contemptus*, a liberty which we dare not either take ourselves, or allow to others, in things properly and absolutely necessary. [Upon which very account, (I mean the consideration of the indifference of the things in themselves,) and upon which account alone it is that many of the episcopal (that is to say, the true English Protestant) divines, who sadly resent the voting down of the liturgy, festivals, and ceremonies of the Church, by so many former laws established, heartily desired heretofore the continuance, and as heartily still wish the restitution, and are (by God's help) ready with their tongues, pens, and sufferings, to maintain and justify the lawful use of the same, do yet so far yield to the sway of the times, and are persuaded they may with a good conscience so do, as to forbear the use thereof in the public worship, till it shall seem good to those that are in place of authority either to restore them to their former state, (as it is well hoped, when they shall have duly considered the evil consequents of that vote, they will,) or at leastwise, and in the meantime to leave them arbitrary, for men, according to their several different judgments, to use or not to use, which seemeth but reasonable, the like favour and liberty in other kinds having been long allowed to almost all other sorts of men, though of never so distant persuasions one from another.] Lastly, That all laws made concerning ceremonies or other indifferent things, whether civil or ecclesiastical, are mutable; and as they were at first made by human authority, so may they from time to time be by human authority abrogated and repealed; and then, and thenceforth they lose their obligation, whereby the necessity of yielding obedience thereunto wholly ceaseth and determineth; and the things thereby commanded or prohibited return to their primitive and natural indifference, even in their use also, and in respect of us. This is clearly our opinion, and men may easily so understand us if they will.

But their opinion is, that the things enjoined are popish and superstitious, and consequently unlawful to be used, and this they render as the reason of their nonconformity. And the reason were certainly good, if the opinion were true. For the popishness first, unless we should sue out a writ *de finibus regendis*, it will be hard to find out a way how to bring this controversy to an issue, much

less to an end, the term hath been so strangely extended, and the limits thereof (if yet it have any) so uncertain. If they would be entreated to set bounds to what they mean by popish and popery, by giving us a certain definition of it, we should the sooner either come to some agreement, or at least understand ourselves and one another the better, wherein and how far we disagreed. In the mean time, it is to me a wonder, that if reason would not heretofore, yet the sad experience of the ill consequents so visible of late time, should not have taught them all this while to consider what infinite advantage they give to the Romish party to work upon weak and wavering souls, by damning so many things under the name of popery, which may to their understandings be sufficiently evidenced, some to have been used by the ancient Christians long before popery was hatched, or but in the egg. and all to have nothing of superstition or popery in them, unless every thing that is used in the Church of Rome become thereby popish and superstitious. Nor what great advantage they give to our newer sectaries to extend the name yet farther: who, by the help of their new lights, can discern popery, not only in the ceremonies formerly under debate, but even in the churches and pulpits wherein they used to preach against popery, and the bells wherewith they used to call the people together to hear them. These are by some of them cried down as popish, with other things very many which their Presbyterian brethren do yet both allow and practise; though how long they will so do is uncertain, if they go on with the work of reformation they have begun, with as quick dispatch and at the rate they have done these last two seven years. The having of godfathers at baptism, churching of women, prayers at the burial of the dead, children asking their parent's blessing, &c., which whilome were held innocent, are now by very many thrown aside as rags of popery. Nay, are not some gone so far already as to cast into the same heap, not only the ancient hymn *Gloria Patri* (for the repeating whereof alone some have been deprived of all their livelihoods) and the Apostles' Creed; but even the use of the Lord's Prayer itself?—And what will ye do in the end thereof? And what would ye have us do in the mean time, when you call hard upon us to leave our popery, and yet would never do us the favour to let us know what it is? It were good therefore, both for your own sakes that you may not rove in *infinitum*, and in compassion to us, that you would give us a perfect boundary of what is popery now, with some prognostication or ephemerides annexed, (if you please,) whereby to calculate what will be popery seven years hence.

But to be serious, and not to indulge myself too much merriment in so sad a business, I believe all those men will be found much

mistaken, who either measure the Protestant religion by an opposition to popery, or account all popery that is taught or practised in the Church of Rome. Our godly forefathers to whom (under God) we owe the purity of our religion, and some of which laid down their lives for the defence of the same, were sure of another mind, if we may from what they did, judge what they thought. They had no purpose (nor had they any warrant) to set up a new religion, but to reform the old by purging it from those innovations which in tract of time (some sooner, some later,) had mingled with it, and corrupted it both in the doctrine and worship. According to this purpose they produced, without constraint or precipitancy, freely and advisedly as in peaceable times, and brought their intentions to a happy end; as by the result thereof contained in the Articles and Liturgy of our Church, and the prefaces thereunto, doth fully appear. From hence chiefly, as I conceive, we are to take our best scantling whereby to judge what is, and what is not, to be esteemed popery. All these doctrines then, held by the modern Church of Rome, which are either contrary to the written word of God, or but superadded thereunto as necessary points of faith, to be of all Christians believed under pain of damnation; and all those superstitions used in the worship of God, which either are unlawful as being contrary to the word, or being not contrary, and therefore arbitrary and indifferent, are made essentials, and imposed as necessary parts of worship: these are, as I take it, the things whereunto the name of popery doth properly and peculiarly belong. But as for the ceremonies used in the Church of Rome, which the Church of England at the Reformation thought fit to retain, not as essential or necessary parts of God's service, but only as accidental and mutable circumstances attending the same for order, comeliness, and edification's sake; how these should deserve the name of popish, I so little understand, that I profess I do not yet see any reason why, if the Church had then thought fit to have retained some other of those which were then laid aside, she might not have lawfully so done, or why the things so retained should have been accounted popish. The plain truth is this: The Church of England meant to make use of her liberty, and the lawful power she had (as all the churches of Christ have, or ought to have) of ordering ecclesiastical affairs here, yet to do it with so much prudence and moderation, that the world might see by what was laid aside, that she acknowledged no subjection to the see of Rome; and by what was retained, that she did not recede from the Church of Rome out of any spirit of contradiction, but as necessitated thereunto for the maintenance of her just liberty. The number of ceremonies was also then very great, and they thereby burdensome, and so the number thought

fit to be lessened. But for the choice which should be kept, and which not, that was wholly in her power, and at her discretion. Whereof, though she were not found so to do, yet hath she given a clear and satisfactory account in one of the prefaces usually prefixed before the Book of Common Prayer.

Besides this of popish, they have bestowed also upon the ceremonies the epithet of superstitious, which is a word likewise (as the former) of late very much extended, and standeth in need of a boundary too, and a definition as well as it. But howsoever they do with the words, I must needs set bounds to my discourse, lest I weary the reader. The point of superstition I have had occasion to touch upon more than once, as I remember, in some of these sermons, and proved that the superstition lieth indeed at their own door, not ours. They forbid the things commanded by the Church under the obligation of sin, and that obligation arising not from their forbidding them, but from the things themselves, which they judge to be unlawful, and thence impose upon all men a necessity of not using them; which is superstition: whereas the Church requires obedience indeed to her commands, and that also under the obligation of sin; but that obligation arising not at all from the nature of the things themselves, (always held and declared indifferent,) but immediately from the authority of the superior commanding the thing, and originally from the ordinance of God commanding obedience to superiors, as already hath been said; and this is not superstition. For further satisfaction therefore in this matter, referring the reader to the sermons themselves, I shall only by way of addition, represent to the objectors St. Paul's demeanour at Athens, where, finding the city full of idols[1], or wholly given to idolatry, he doth not yet fall foul upon them, nor exclaim against them in any reproachful manner; no, nor so much as call them idolaters, though they were such, and that in a very high degree: but tempering his speeches with all lenity and condescension, he telleth them only of their superstition, and that in the calmest manner too (δεισιδαιμονεστέρους the comparative degree in such kind of speaking being usually taken for a diminuent term). How distant are they from his example, with whom every thing they mislike is presently an idol! Christmas-day an idol, the surplice an idol, the cross after baptism a great idol, the Common Prayer Book an abominable idol; when yet, if the worst that can be said against them were granted, the most it could amount to is but superstition; and till that be granted, which must not not be till it be well proved, it is more childish than manly to cry out, Superstition! superstition!

[1] Κατείδωλον τὴν πόλιν. Acts xvii. 16.

Their next is a suspicion, rather than objection, and that upon no very good ground. But charity is not easily suspicious, nor without cause; wherein I have somewhat to say in behalf of myself and others my brethren, and somewhat by way of return to them. For myself, I had a desire, I may truly say, almost from my very childhood, to understand as much as was possible for me, the bottom of our religion, and particularly as it stood in relation both to the papists, and, as they were then styled, puritans; to inform myself rightly wherein consisted the true differences between them and the Church of England, together with the grounds of those differences; for I could even then observe, which was no hard matter to do, that the most of mankind took up their religion upon trust, as custom or education had framed them, rather than choice. It pleased God in his goodness to afford me some opportunities suitable to that my desire, by means whereof, and by his good blessing, I obtained to understand so much of the Romish religion, as not only to dislike it, but to be able to give some rational account why I do so; and I doubt not but these very sermons, were there nothing else to do it, will sufficiently free me from the least suspicion of driving on any design for Rome. As for those other regular sons of the Church of England that have appeared in this controversy on her behalf, how improbable and so far forth uncharitable the suspicion is, that they should be any way instrumental towards the promoting of the papal interest, may appear (amongst others) by these few considerations following: That those very persons who were under God the instruments of freeing us from the Roman yoke, by casting popery out of the Church, and sundry of them martyred in the cause, those very persons I say were great favourers of these (now accounted popish) ceremonies, and the chief authors or procurers of the constitutions made in that behalf.—*Hæ manus Trojam erigent?* That in all former times since the beginning of the Reformation, our archbishops and bishops, with their chaplains, and others of the prelatical party (many of them such as have written also in defence of the Church against the puritans) were the principal, I had almost said the only champions to maintain the cause of religion against the papists. That even in these times of so great distraction, and, consequently thereunto of so great advantage to the factors for Rome, none have stept into the gap more readily, nor appeared in the face of the enemy more openly, nor maintained the fight with more stoutness and gallantry, than the episcopal divines have done, as their late learned writings testify: yea, and some of them such as beside their other sufferings, have lain as deep under the suspicion of being popishly affected as any other of their brethren whosoever.

That by the endeavours of these episcopal divines, some that were bred papists have been gained to our Church; others that began to waver confirmed and settled in their old religion; and some that were fallen from us recovered and reduced, notwithstanding all the disadvantages of these confused times: and of each of these I am able to produce some instance. But I profess sincerely, as in the presence of God, and before the world, that I have not known, (at least I cannot call to remembrance) so much as one single example of any of this done by any of our anti-ceremonian brethren, whether Presbyterian or Independent.

But I have somewhat to return upon these our brethren who thus causelessly suspect us. Possibly it will not please them, (φορτικὸν τὸ ἀληθές). But I must speak it out, both for the truth's sake and theirs; to wit that themselves are, in truth, though not purposely and intentionally, (whereof, in my own thought, I freely acquit them,) yet really and eventually, the great promoters of the Roman interest among us; and that more ways than one. These three among the rest are evident:—First, by putting to their helping hand to the pulling down of Episcopacy. It is very well known to many, what rejoicing that vote brought to the Romish party. How even in Rome itself they sung their *Io-Pæans* upon the tidings thereof, and said triumphantly, "Now the day is ours; now is the fatal blow given to the Protestant religion in England." They who, by conversing much with that nation, were well acquainted with the fiery turbulent spirits of the Scottish Presbyterians, knew as well how to make their advantage thereof, and handled the matter with so much cunning. by fomenting their discontents underhand, till they had framed them, and by their means, some of the same party here, to become the fittest instruments for the carrying on of their great design. And this, I verily believe, was the very masterpiece of the whole plot. They could not but foresee, as the event hath also proved, that if the old government, a main pillar in the building, were once dissolved, the whole fabric would be sore shaken, if not presently shattered in pieces, and ruined; things would presently run into confusion; distractions and divisions would certainly follow; and when the waters should be sufficiently troubled and muddled, then would be their opportunity to cast in their nets for a draught. Some who have undertaken to discover to the world the great plot the papists had of late years for the introducing of popery in the several parts of it, might have done well to have taken some little notice of this also. I wonder how they could look beside it, being so visible, and indeed the fundamental part of the plot; without which neither could the sparks of errors and heresies have been blown to that height, nor that libertinism, and some other things therewith mentioned, have so

soon overspread the whole face of the land, as now we find they have done. Secondly, They promote the interest of Rome by opposing it with more violence than reason; which ought not to seem any strange thing to us, since we see by daily experience the like to happen in other matters also. Many a man when he thought most to make it sure, hath quite marred a good business by over-doing it. The most prudent, just, and, in all likelihood, effectual way to win upon an adversary, is by yielding him as much as with safety of truth can be yielded; who, if he shall find himself contradicted in that which he is sure is true, as well as in that which is indeed false, will, by a kind of *antiperistasis*, be hardened into more obstinacy than before to defend all, true and false, with equal fierceness. It hath been observed by some, and I know no reason to question the truth of the observation, that in those counties (Lancashire for one) where there are the most, and the most rigid Presbyterians, there are also the most and the most zealous Roman Catholics. Thirdly, they promote the interest of Rome and betray the Protestant cause, partly by mistaking the question, a very common fault among them, but especially through the necessity of some false principle or other, which, having once imbibed, they think themselves bound to maintain. Some of them, especially such as betook themselves to preaching betimes, and had not the leisure and opportunity to look much into controversies, understand very little (as it is impossible they should much) of the true state of the question in many controverted points; and yet to show their zeal against popery, are forward enough to be meddling therewithal in the pulpit, but with so much weakness and impertinency, not seldom, that they leave the question worse than they found it, and the hearer, if he brought any doubts with him, to go from sermon more dissatisfied than he came. The rest of them (that have better knowledge) are yet so bound up by some false principle or other they have received, that they cannot without deserting the same, (and that they must not do, whatsoever betideth them) treat to the satisfaction of a rational and ingenuous adversary. Among those false principles, it shall suffice for the present, to have named but this one:—"That the Church of Rome is no true church," the disadvantages of which assertion to our cause in the dispute about the visibility of the Church, (besides the falseness and uncharitableness of it) their zeal, or prejudice rather, will not suffer them to consider. With what outcries was Bishop Hall, (good man, who little dreamt of any peace with Rome,) pursued by Burton, and other hotspurs, for yielding it a church, who had made the same concession over and over again before he was bishop, (as Junius, Reynolds, and our best controversy writers generally do,) and no notice taken, no noise made of it. You may perceive, by this one instance, where the shoe wringeth.

In their next, that they may not appear so uncharitable as to suspect their brethren without cause, they tell us upon what grounds they so do; viz. these two,—the endeavours of reconciliation in the sixth, and the pressing of ceremonies in the seventh objection. As to the former; first, all endeavours of peace, (without loss of truth,) are certainly commendable in the undertakers; prove the event as it will. Εἰ δυνατὸν, τὸ ἐξ ὑμων (Rom. xii.) is every man's warrant for that. If any particular private man have made overtures of peace in this kind upon other terms than he ought, let him answer it as he can; what is that to us? Admit, secondly, (which I fear is too true,) that there is little hope, scarce a possibility of reconcilement if we well preserve, as we are in conscience bound, the truth and purity of our religion, yet ought not that fear to hinder any man fitted with abilities and opportunities for it, from such endeavours, whereof, whatsoever the success be otherwise, these two good effects will follow: It will be some comfort to have within his own bosom, that he hath done what was his duty to do, to his utmost power: and it will appear to the world where the business stuck, and through whose default most the endeavour proved fruitless. Thirdly, though there be little hope, (and, since the Trent council, less than before,) of bringing things to a perfect agreement, yet, methinks it should be thought worth the while (*est quadam prodire tenus, si non datur ultra*) to bring both sides to as near an agreement, and reduce the differences to as small a number, and as narrow a point as may be; that if we cannot grow to be of the same belief in everything, we might at least be brought to show more charity, either to other, than to damn one another for every difference, and more ingenuity than to seek to render the one the other more odious to the world than we ought, by representing each other's opinions worse than they are.

The seventh objection containeth the other ground of their said former suspicion, to wit, the vehement pressing of the ceremonies: wherein, first, they do not well in calling them popish and superstitious; but that having already fully cleared, I shall not now insist upon. Secondly, by requiring to have some command or example of scripture produced to warrant to their consciences the use of the ceremonies, they offer occasion to consider of that point wherein the very mystery of puritanism consisteth, viz. That no man may with a safe conscience do anything for which there may not be produced either command or example from the scripture: which erroneous principle, being the main foundation upon which so many false conclusions are built, and the fountain from which so many acts of sinful disobedience issue, would well deserve a full and thorough examination. But this preface being already swollen far beyond the proportion I first intended, and for that I have heretofore, both in one of the sermons, and else-

where, discovered in part the unsoundness thereof, I am the willinger, both for mine own ease and the reader's, to refer him over thither, and to spare mine own farther labour here. Considering, thirdly, that in the present case we need not flinch, for fear of any harm that principle could do us, should it be admitted as sound as they would have it; for we have both commands and examples in the scriptures to warrant both the prescribing and the using of the ceremonies; though not as specified in their particulars, yet as either comprehended in the general, or inferred by way of proportion. Which kind of warranty from scripture, themselves are by force of argument driven to allow as sufficient; or else they would be at a loss for a hundred things by them daily done, upon no better or other warrant than that. For commands, then, we have, besides that grand canon, 1 Cor. xiv. 40, "Let all things be done decently and according to order," all those texts that either contain the right and liberty we have to all the creatures of God to use them for our service without scruple, ["All things are lawful, nothing unclean of itself. To the pure all things are pure," &c.,] or require subjection and obedience to superiors; ["Let every soul be subject to the higher powers." "Submit to every ordinance of men," &c.] And as for example, I think I could readily produce a full score, and not bate an ace of some ceremonies and circumstantial actions, ordered, used, or done by holy men, even in the Old Testament, (who yet were more strictly tied to prescript forms than Christians are under the gospel;) for the doing whereof it doth not appear that they either had any command from God, or were guided by any former precedents, or expected any other warrant than the use of their reason, and of prudential discourse. What warrant else had David for his purpose of building a temple to God, which yet Nathan the prophet of God approved, yea, which God himself approved of? or what Solomon for keeping a feast of seven days for the dedication of the altar? or what Hezekiah for continuing the feast of unleavened bread seven days longer than the time appointed by the law? or what Mordecai and Esther for making an ordinance for the yearly observation of the feast of Purim? or what, lastly, Judas and the Maccabees for ordaining the feast of the dedication of the altar to be kept from year to year, at a set season, for eight days together; which solemnity continued even in the days of Christ, and seemeth to have been by him approved in the gospel. The building of synagogues in their towns, the wearing of sackcloth and ashes in token of humiliation, the four fasts mentioned, Zach. viii. whereof one only was commanded, with sundry other, I omit, for brevity's sake: instances enough, and pregnant enough, to manifest how very much our brethren deceive themselves by resting upon so unsound a principle, and that upon a mere mistake; as will appear presently.

By their eighth and last objection, wherein they seem to lay an imputation upon all those that stand for the ceremonies, as if they consequently denied the sufficiency of the scriptures. For answer thereunto; first, it is freely confessed that the acknowledging of the Holy Scriptures to be a perfect rule of faith and manners, is the main article of the Protestant religion, as opposed to the Romish. But that all that stand for the ceremonies should deny the same, is so manifestly untrue; or, indeed, that some of the Church of England should deny that which is so clearly contained in the Articles of the Church whereunto they have subscribed, so improbable, that it might well pass for a perfect calumny, were not the original occasion of their mistake, herein so apparent, if but even from the manner of their discourse in the present business. The true state whereof, secondly, is this. The things wherein the power of Christianity consisteth are of two sorts *Credenda* and *Agenda*, which we usually express by faith and manners. And the scripture we acknowledge to be a perfect rule of both, yet not as excluding the use of reason, but supposing it. When God gave us the light of his holy word, he left us as he found us, reasonable creatures still; without any purpose, by the gifts of that greater and sublimer light to put out the light he had formerly given us, (that of reason,) or to render it useless and unserviceable. Of which light the proper use, and that which God intended it for when he gave it us, is, that by the help thereof we might be the better enabled to discern truth from falsehood, that we might embrace the one and reject the other; and good from evil, that we might do the one and shun the other. Our reason, therefore, is doubtless a good rule, both for things to be believed and for things to be done, so far as it reacheth; but no perfect rule at all, rather a very imperfect one, because it reacheth not home. To supply the defects whereof, (dim as it is even in natural and moral things, but dark as darkness itself in things supernatural and divine,) it was, that it pleased the wisdom and goodness of our God to afford us another light, (viz. that of supernatural revelation in his holy word,) without which we could never, by the light of reason alone, have found out the right way that leadeth to eternal happiness. So that God having first made us reasonable creatures, and then vouchsafed us His holy word, to instruct us what we are to believe and to do, either as men or as Christians, we are now furnished with as perfect, absolute and sufficient a rule, both of faith and manners, as our condition in this life is capable of. And it is our duty, accordingly, to resign ourselves wholly to be guided by that word, (yet making use of our reason withal in subordination, and with submission, thereunto,) as a perfect rule both of faith and life.

This being clearly so, and the scripture, by consent of both parties acknowledged to be the perfect rule of what we are to believe as well as of what we are to do, I earnestly desire our brethren to consider what should hinder a Christian man from doing anything that by the mere use of his reason alone he may rightly judge to be lawful and expedient, though it be not commanded or exampled in the scriptures, so as it be not contrary thereto; more than from believing anything that by the right use of his reason alone he may rightly judge to be true or credible, though the same be not revealed or contained in the scripture, nor is contrary thereunto. I do without scruple believe a mathematical or philosophical truth, or a probable historical relation, when I read it or hear it; and I believe an honest man upon his word in what he affirmeth or promiseth, though none of all those things be contained in the scriptures: and thus to believe was never yet by any man that I know off thought derogatory to the sufficiency of scripture, as it is a perfect rule of faith. Why I may not in like manner wear such or such a garment, use such or such a gesture, or do any other indifferent thing, (not forbidden in scripture,) as occasions shall require, without scruple; or why thus to do should be thought derogatory to the sufficiency of scripture, as it is a perfect rule of manners, I confess I have not the wit to understand. Since there seemeth to be the like reason of both, let them either condemn both, or acquit both; or else inform us better by shewing us a clear and satisfactory reason of difference between the one and the other. This is the main hinge upon which the whole dispute turneth, and whereunto all other differences are but appendages. The true belief and right understanding of this great article concerning the scripture's sufficiency being, to my apprehension, the most proper characteristical note of the right English Protestant, as he standeth in the middle between, and distinguished from the papists on the one hand, and the (sometimes styled) puritan on the other. I know not how he can be a papist, that truly believeth it; or he a puritan, that rightly understandeth it.

Preface to Sermons.

BISHOP TAYLOR.

A. D. 1640—1667.

THE Life of JEREMY TAYLOR has been written, in our own times, by Archdeacon Bonney; and, still more recently, by Bishop Heber, a prelate of the same earnest piety, the same candid and tolerant spirit as himself. The latter delightful volume, prefixed to the complete edition of Taylor's Works, published in 1824, is not so accessible to readers in general, as, from the value and interest of its contents, were to be desired. From these sources, or others of less distinction, the character of this illustrious bishop, and the events of his not undiversified career, have been made familiar to our contemporaries; and it is only on a scale not much inferior to that adopted by those biographers, that the ablest pen could do justice to this most learned and eloquent, most candid and amiable of divines.

For these reasons, in the place of all other introduction to the specimen of Taylor's splendid writings which will presently be set before the reader, I shall content myself with an extract from the eloquent discourse delivered at the funeral of this incomparable person, by his affectionate friend and chaplain, Dr. George Rust, in the year 1667.

"The fame," said the preacher, "of the person whose obsequies we here come to celebrate, is so great throughout the world, that he stands in no need of an encomium; and yet his worth was much greater than his fame. It is impossible not to speak great things of him, and yet it is impossible to speak what he deserves; and the meanness of an oration will but sully the brightness of his excellencies. But custom requires that something should be said; and it is a duty and a debt that we owe unto his memory; and I hope his great soul, if it hath any knowledge of what is done here below, will not be offended at the smallness of our offering.

"He was born at Cambridge, [1613] and brought up in the free-school there, and was ripe for the University before

custom would allow of his admittance. But by the time he was thirteen years old, he was entered of Caius College; and as soon as he was a graduate he was chosen fellow. Had he lived amongst the ancient pagans, he had been ushered into the world with a miracle, and swans must have sung at his birth; and he must have been a great hero, and no less than the son of Apollo, the god of wisdom and eloquence.

"He was a man long before he was of age; and knew little more of the state of childhood than its innocency and pleasantness. From the University, by that time he was Master of Arts, he removed to London, and became public lecturer in the church of St. Paul's, where he preached to the admiration and astonishment of his auditory, and by his florid and youthful beauty, and sweet and pleasant air, and sublime and raised discourses, he made his hearers take him for some young angel, newly descended from the visions of glory. The fame of this new star, that outshone all the rest of the firmament, quickly came to the notice of the great Archbishop of Canterbury [Laud] who would needs have him preach before him; which he performed not less to his wonder than satisfaction. His discourse was beyond exception, and beyond imitation. Yet that grand patron of learning and ingenuity thought it for the advantage of the world, that such mighty parts should be afforded better opportunities of study and improvement, than a course of constant preaching would allow of; and to that purpose he placed him in his own College of All Souls, in Oxford[1]; where love and admiration still waited upon him; which, so long as there is any spark of ingenuity in the breasts of men, must needs be the inseparable attendants of so extraordinary a worth and sweetness. He had not been long there, before my Lord of Canterbury bestowed upon him the rectory of Uppingham, in Rutlandshire, and soon after preferred him to be chaplain to King Charles. Thus were preferments heaped upon him; but still less than his deserts; and that not through the fault of his great masters, but because the amplest honours and rewards were poor and inconsiderable, compared with the greatness of his merit.

---

[1] A mistake.—Laud was officially Visitor of All Souls' College, and in this capacity obtained a fellowship for Taylor on that foundation; but was himself brought up at St. John's.

"This great man had no sooner launched into the world, but a fearful tempest arose, and a barbarous and unnatural war disturbed a long and uninterrupted peace and tranquillity, and brought all things into disorder and confusion; but his religion taught him to be loyal, and engaged him on his prince's side, whose cause and quarrel he always owned and maintained with great courage and constancy; till at last he and his little fortune were shipwrecked in that great hurricane that overturned both Church and State. This fatal storm cast him ashore in a private corner of the world, and a tender Providence shrouded him under her wings, and the prophet was fed in the wilderness; and his great worthiness procured him many friends, that supplied him with bread and necessaries. In this solitude, he began to write those excellent discourses, which are enough of themselves to furnish a library, and will be famous to all succeeding generations for their greatness of wit, and profoundness of judgment, and richness of fancy, and clearness of expression, and copiousness of invention, and general usefulness to all the purposes of a Christian; and by these he soon got a great reputation among all persons of judgment and impartiality; and his name will grow greater still, as the world grows better and wiser.

"When he had spent some years in this retirement, it pleased God to visit his family with sickness, and to take to himself the dear pledges of his favour, three sons, of great hopes and expectations, within the space of two or three months. And though he had learned a quiet submission to the Divine will, yet the affliction touched him so sensibly that it made him desirous to leave the country; and going to London, he there met my Lord Conway, a person of great honour and generosity; who making him a kind proffer, the good man embraced it, and that brought him over into Ireland, and settled him at Portmore, a place made for study and contemplation, which he therefore dearly loved; and here he wrote his *Cases of Conscience*, a book that is able alone to give its author immortality.

"By this time the wheel of Providence brought about the King's happy restoration; and there began a new world, and the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters, and out of confused chaos brought forth beauty and order; and all the three nations were inspired with a new life, and became drunk with an excess of joy. Among the rest, this loyal sub-

ject went over to congratulate the prince's and people's happiness, and bear a part in the universal triumph.

"It was not long ere his Majesty began the settlement of the Church, and the great doctor, Jeremy Taylor was resolved upon for the bishopric of Down and Connor; and not long after Dromore was added to it. And it was but reasonable that the King and Church should consider their champion, and reward the pains and sufferings he underwent in the defence of their cause and honour. With what care and faithfulness he discharged his office, we are all his witnesses, what good rules and directions he gave his clergy, and how he taught us the practice of them by his own example. Upon his coming over bishop, he was made a privy counsellor, and the university of Dublin gave him their testimony, by recommending him for their vice-chancellor; which honourable office he kept to his dying day.

"During his being in this see he wrote several excellent discourses, particularly his *Dissuasive from Popery*, which was received by a general approbation; and a vindication of it (now in the press) from some impertinent cavillers, that pretend to answer books, when there is nothing towards it more than the very title-page. This great prelate improved his talent with a mighty industry, and managed his stewardship rarely well; and his Master, when he called for his accounts, found him busy and at his work, and employed upon an excellent subject, a discourse upon the *Beatitudes;* which, if finished, would have been of great use to the world, and solved most of the cases of conscience that occur to a Christian, in all the varieties of states and conditions. But the All-wise God had ordained it otherwise, and hath called home his good servant, to give him a portion in that blessedness that Jesus Christ hath promised to all his faithful disciples and followers.

"Thus having given you a brief account of his life, I know you will now expect a character of his person; but I foresee, it will befall him as it does all glorious subjects, that are but disparaged by a commendation. One thing I am sure of, that I shall not be thought to speak hyperboles; for the subject can hardly be reached by any expressions: for he was none of God's ordinary works, but his endowments were so many, and so great, as really made him a miracle.

"Nature had befriended him much in his constitution; for he was a person of a most sweet and obliging humour, of

great candour and ingenuity; and there was so much of salt and fineness of wit, and prettiness of address in his familiar discourses, as made his conversation have all the pleasantness of a comedy, and all the usefulness of a sermon. His soul was made up of harmony, and he never spake but he charmed his hearer, not only with the clearness of his reason; but all his words, and his very tone and cadences were strangely musical.

"But, that which did most of all captivate and enravish, was the gaiety and richness of his fancy; for he had much in him of that natural enthusiasm that inspires all great poets and orators; and there was a generous ferment in his blood and spirits that set his fancy bravely awork, and made it swell, and teem, and become pregnant to such degrees of luxuriancy, as nothing but the greatness of his wit and judgment, could have kept it within due bounds and measures.

"And indeed it was a rare mixture, and a single instance, hardly to be found in an age; for the great trier of wits has told us, that there is a peculiar and several complexion required for wit, and judgment, and fancy; and yet, you might have found all these in this great personage, in their eminency and perfection. But that which made his wit and judgment so considerable, was the largeness and freedom of his spirit; for truth is plain and easy to a mind disentangled from superstition and prejudice. He was one of the ἐκλεκτικοὶ, a sort of brave philosophers that Laërtius speaks of, that did not addict themselves to any particular sect, but ingenuously sought for truth among all the wrangling schools, and they found her miserably torn and rent to pieces, and parcelled into rags, by several contending parties, and so disfigured and misshapen that it was hard to know her; but they made a shift to gather up her scattered limbs, which, as soon as they came together, by a strange sympathy and connaturalness, presently united into a lovely and beautiful body. This was the spirit of this great man; he weighed men's reasons and not their names, and was not scared with the ugly vizors men usually put upon persons they hate, and opinions they dislike; nor affrighted with the anathemas and execrations of an infallible chair, which he looked upon only as bugbears to terrify weak and childish minds. He considered that it is unlikely any party should wholly engross truth to themselves all that obedience is the only way to true knowledge; (which in

an argument that he has managed rarely well, in that excellent sermon of his which he calls *Via Intelligentiæ;*) that God always, and only teaches docible and ingenuous minds, that are willing to hear and ready to obey according to their light; that it is impossible a pure, humble, resigned, God-like soul, should be kept out of heaven, whatever mistakes it might be subject to in this state of mortality; that the design of heaven is not to fill men's heads, and feed their curiosities, but to better their hearts and mend their lives. Such considerations as these made him impartial in his disquisitions, and give a due allowance to the reasons of his adversary, and contend for truth, and not for victory.

"And now you will easily believe, that an ordinary diligence would be able to make great improvements upon such a stock of parts and endowments; but to these advantages of nature, and excellency of his spirit, he added an indefatigable industry, and God gave a plentiful benediction; for there were very few kinds of learning, but he was a *mystes* and great master in them: he was a rare humanist, and hugely versed in all the polite parts of learning; and had thoroughly concocted all the ancient moralists, Greek and Roman, poets and orators; and was not unacquainted with the refined wits of the latter ages, whether French or Italian.

"But he had not only the accomplishments of a gentleman, but so universal were his parts, that they were proportioned to every thing; and though his spirit and humour were made up of smoothness and gentleness, yet he could bear with the harshness and roughness of the schools; and was not unseen in their subtilties and spinosities, and upon occasion, could make them serve his purpose; and yet, I believe, he thought many of them very near akin to the famous knight of La Mancha, and would sport sometimes with the romantic sophistry and phantastic adventures of school-errantry. His skill was great, both in the civil and canon law, and casuistical divinity; and he was a rare conductor of souls, and knew how to counsel, and to advise; to solve difficulties, and determine cases, and quiet consciences. And he was no novice in controversy; but could manage an argument, and make repartees with a strange dexterity. He understood what the several parties in Christendom have to say for themselves, and could plead their cause to better advantage than any advocate of their tribe; and when he had done he could confute them too;

and shew, that better arguments than ever they could produce for themselves, would afford no sufficient ground for their fond opinions.

"It would be too great a task to pursue his accomplishments through the various kinds of literature: I shall content myself to add only his great acquaintance with the fathers and ecclesiastical writers, and the doctors of the first and purest ages both of the Greek and Latin Church; which he has made use of against the Romanists, to vindicate the Church of England from the challenge of innovation, and prove her to be truly ancient, catholic, and apostolical.

"But religion and virtue is the crown of all other accomplishments; and it was the glory of this great man to be thought a Christian, and whatever you added to it he looked upon as a term of diminution, and yet he was a zealous son of the Church of England; but that was because he judged her (and with great reason) a Church the most purely christian of any in the world. In his younger years he met with some assaults from popery; and the high pretensions of their religious orders were very accommodate to his devotional temper: but he was always so much master of himself, that he would never be governed by any thing but reason, and the evidence of truth, which engaged him in the study of those controversies; and to how good purpose, the world is by this time a sufficient witness. But the longer, and the more he considered, the worse he liked the Roman cause, and became at last to censure them with some severity; but I confess I have so great an opinion of his judgment, and the charitableness of his spirit, that I am afraid he did not think worse of them than they deserve.

"But religion is not a matter of theory and orthodox notions; and it is not enough to believe aright, but we must practise accordingly; and to master our passions, and to make a right use of that αὐτεξούσιον, and power that God has given us over our own actions, is a greater glory than all other accomplishments that can adorn the mind of man; and therefore I shall close my character of this great personage with a touch upon some of those virtues, for which his memory will be precious to all posterity. He was a person of great humility; and notwithstanding his stupendous parts and learning, and eminency of place, he had nothing in him all pride and humour, but was courteous and affable, and of es in

access, and would lend a ready ear to the complaints, yea to the impertinencies, of the meanest persons. His humility was coupled with an extraordinary piety, and, I believe, he spent the greatest part of his time in heaven: his solemn hours of prayer took up a considerable portion of his life; and we are not to doubt, but he had learned of St. Paul to pray continually, and that occasional ejaculations and frequent aspirations and emigrations of his soul after God, made up the best part of his devotions. But he was not only a good man God-ward, but he was come to the top of St. Peter's gradation, and to all his other virtues added a large and diffusive charity: and whoever compares his plentiful incomes, with the inconsiderable estate he left at his death, will be easily convinced that charity was steward for a great proportion of his revenue. But the hungry that he fed, and the naked that he clothed, and the distressed that he supplied, and the fatherless that he provided for; the poor children that he put to apprentice, and brought up at school, and maintained at the university, will now sound a trumpet to that charity which he dispersed with his right hand, but would not suffer his left hand to have any knowledge of it.

"To sum up all in a few words:—This great prelate had the good humour of a gentleman, the eloquence of an orator, the fancy of a poet, the acuteness of a schoolman, the profoundness of a philosopher, the wisdom of a counsellor, the sagacity of a prophet, the reason of an angel, and the piety of a saint: he had devotion enough for a cloister, learning enough for an university, and wit enough for a college of virtuosi."

Principal works of Bishop Taylor:—

The Sacred Order and Offices of Episcopacy asserted. 4to. 1642.

A Discourse concerning Prayer Extempore, in justification of authorised set Forms of Liturgy. 4to. 1646. This tract was occasioned by the publication of the *Directory*.

A Discourse on the Liberty of Prophesying. 4to. 1647.

The circumstances in which this celebrated treatise was composed, and the charitable motives of its author, are thus stated by himself:

"I was determined," he writes, "by the consideration of the present distemperatures and necessities, by my own thoughts, by forquestions and scruples, the sects and names, the interests and

animosities, which at this day, and for some years past, have exercised and disquieted Christendom;—being very much displeased that so many opinions and new doctrines are commenced among us, but more troubled that every man that hath an opinion, thinks his own and other men's salvation is concerned in its maintenance, but most of all that men should be persecuted and afflicted for disagreeing in such opinions which they cannot with sufficient grounds obtrude upon others necessarily, and have no warrant of scripture to do so."

The general principle advanced in the *Liberty of Prophesying*, is this: that as truth on all minor dogmas is uncertain, and of small moment in its bearing upon the conduct of men, while peace and charity are things of undoubted certainty and importance, our desire to obtain the former ought to yield to the necessity of securing the latter; and every one, for the good of the community at large, ought to tolerate the differences of all others, while in turn he receives toleration for his own. But, as it is indispensable somewhere to draw the line, as some standard of truth must be acknowledged, unless men were to rush into boundless anarchy, or sink into mere indifference of opinion, he proposes the confession of the Apostles' Creed, as the test of orthodoxy, and the condition of union and communion among Christians.

A test so extravagantly liberal and comprehensive, and so little accordant with the opinions of those with whom Taylor had long associated, would probably never have been proposed in that age, even by a divine of the author's tolerant and tender disposition, had not the object been to plead for his own Church, then exposed to the cruellest injustice and persecution. The ability displayed in the work appears truly wonderful, when we consider that it received its birth "in poverty and imprisonment, without leisure or books;" and demonstrates how little was required by its accomplished author for the production of the noblest results of literary power, besides his own vast intellect, and those unrivalled stores of learning, secular and ecclesiastical, with which his memory was enriched.

The Great Exemplar of Sanctity and Holy Life; described in the History of the Life and Death of our blessed Saviour. 4to. 1649. *The Life of Christ* is the most extensively popular, and, in many respects, the most precious of all Jeremy Taylor's works. It was reprinted several times in

folio, not long after its first appearance; and, in more recent times, numerous smaller editions have been published.

The Rule and Exercise of Holy Living and Dying. 12mo. 1650.

The rapid production of the *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying*, was probably owing to the remarkable success of the *Great Exemplar*, which had pointed out to Taylor one of the departments in which his gigantic abilities might be most profitably employed. The public estimate formed of these pious and exquisite treatises, is shewn in the large number of editions which has been sold; there can, nevertheless, be no doubt, that their popularity, as well as their usefulness, would have been enhanced by the omission of those singular extremely recondite allusions, and oratorical ornaments, which astonish and perplex the ordinary reader, in his progress through the greater part of Taylor's writings. Not the least valuable portion, both of this work and the *Great Exemplar*, is the pious and eloquent prayers contained in them.

Clerus Domini; a Discourse of the divine institution, necessity, and sacredness of the office ministerial. 1652. A tract written by the special command of Charles the First.

Discourse of Baptism. 1652.

Twenty-five Sermons, for the Winter half year. Taylor's genius was essentially oratorical. As the limits of this work forbid my entering upon a particular examination of the sermons of this great writer, I trust its object will plead my apology for directing the youthful reader to them, as among the most magnificent specimens of oratory in our own or any other language.

The Real Presence and Spirituality of Christ in the blessed Sacrament. 1654.

Taylor maintains, with the Church of England, the true, but spiritual presence of Christ's body and blood, in the consecrated symbols, against the gross popish sense of transubstantiation.

The Golden Grove; a Manual of Daily Prayers and Litanies, fitted to every day in the week; containing a short summary of what is to be believed, practised, and desired; also Festival Hymns. 8vo. 1655.

The title of this little book was adopted from the name of the seat of the Earl of Carbery, in Carmarthenshire, where Taylor, when reduced by the iniquity of the times, to a state

of destitution, officiated as domestic chaplain. The credenda in the collection are a reprint of a tract published in 1652, with the title of *A Short Catechism.* Taylor's verses are not without a share of the dignity and imaginative richness which characterise him generally; but he is seldom less a poet than in metre. He shews his want of a simple and pure taste by the adoption, in his hymns, of those irregular and involved forms of lyric verse, which became fashionable in his time, under the erroneous appellation of Pindaric.

Twenty-seven Sermons, for the Summer half year. 1655. This second series of these splendid discourses completes the "Ἐνιαυτὸς," or yearly course.

Unum Necessarium; or the Doctrine and Practice of Repentance. 8vo. 1655. In this work, the gifted author, urged probably by indignation at the extravagant Calvinistic doctrines which resounded from some popular pulpits of the time, deviated into the opposite errors of Pelagius, by exalting free-will, and exaggerating the remaining powers of man since the fall. His opinions on these points, deplored by the venerable Sanderson as dangerous and unseasonable novelties, occasioned great pain and opposition among his friends; and, never being retracted, have in some degree left a stain of heterodoxy on one of the brightest names in the annals of the Church of England.

Deus Justificatus; a Vindication of the Divine Attributes in the question of Original Sin, &c. 1656. A defence of the peculiar views advanced in the *Unum Necessarium*, against the remonstrances called forth by that work, from Bishop Warner and others.

Discourse on the Nature, Offices, and Measure of Friendship. This treatise, which first appeared in 1657, in a reprint, in folio, of several of the author's previous works, possesses all that charm which the subject might be expected to derive from the pen of a writer, at once so learned, eloquent, and tender.

A Collection of Offices, or Forms of Prayer, taken out of the Scriptures and Ancient Liturgies. 8vo. 1658. This compilation was designed as a substitute for the *Common Prayer*, while the latter was proscribed.

Ductor Dubitantium; or the Rule of Conscience in all her general Measures. fol. 1660. The composition of this, "the most extensive and learned work on casuistry," observes

Mr. Hallam, "which has appeared in the English language," was the chief labour of several of the best years of its illustrious author's life; as compared, however, with some of the less laboured efforts of his pen, neither its immediate reputation, nor its permanent usefulness, has been in proportion. Taylor is described as inclining in this treatise, to rest the principle of moral obligation on the positive will of God; an opinion congenial with the expiring system of the scholastic philosophy, which was successfully opposed by his friend Rust, in the *Discourse on Truth*, and more largely by Cudworth, in that profound writer's treatise *On Immutable Morality*, but which the platonic divines, and their disciples, the followers of the "new philosophy," soon afterwards exploded. On the whole, it may be questioned whether the neglect into which the most elaborate production of Bishop Jeremy Taylor has fallen, ought to be regarded as the least considerable among the evil consequences of the contempt evinced by the 18th century for the art of casuistry.

The Worthy Communicant. 8vo. 1660.

Rules and Advices to the Clergy of Down and Connor.

Χρίσις τελειώτικη; *a Defence of and Introduction to Confirmation.* 8vo. 1663. Taylor's fault (the common fault of orators and oratorical writers) is a tendency to exaggeration: in this tract he attributes so much to confirmation as detracts from the significance of the previous more important rite of baptism.

A Dissuasive from Popery. 1664. The principal work which Taylor lived to publish, subsequently to the Restoration: it is distinguished by its unyielding Protestant spirit.

THE MARRIAGE-RING.

EPHES. v. 32, 33.—*This is a great mystery, but I speak concerning Christ and the church. Nevertheless, let every one of you in particular so love his wife even as himself, and the wife see that she reverence her husband.*

PART I.

THE first blessing God gave to man was society; and that society was a marriage, and that marriage was confederate by God himself, and hallowed by a blessing; and at the same time, and for very many

descending ages, not only by the instinct of nature, but by a superadded forwardness (God himself inspiring the desire) the world was most desirous of children, impatient of barrenness, accounting single life a curse, and a childless person hated by God. The world was rich and empty, and able to provide for a more numerous posterity than it had.

——— Ἔξεις, Νουμήνιε, τέκνα,
Χάλκον ἔχων· πτωχὸς δ' οὐδὲ τὰ τέκνα φιλεῖ.

"You that are rich, Numenius, you may multiply your family; poor men are not so fond of children." But when a family could drive their herds, and set their children on camels, and lead them till they saw a fat soil watered with rivers, and there sit down without paying rent, they thought of nothing but to have great families, that their own relations might swell up to a patriarchate, and their children be enough to possess all the regions that they saw, and their grandchildren become princes, and themselves build cities and call them by the name of a child, and become the fountain of a nation. This was the consequent of the first blessing, "Increase and multiply." The next blessing was the promise of the Messias; and that also increased in men and women a wonderful desire of marriage: for as soon as God had chosen the family of Abraham to be the blessed line, from whence the world's Redeemer should descend according to the flesh, every of his daughters hoped to have the honour to be his mother, or his grandmother, or something of his kindred; and to be childless in Israel was a sorrow to the Hebrew women great as the slavery of Egypt, or their dishonours in the land of their captivity.

But when the Messias was come, and the doctrine was published, and his ministers but few, and his disciples were to suffer persecution, and to be of an unsettled dwelling; and the nation of the Jews, in the bosom and society of which the Church especially did dwell, were to be scattered and broken all in pieces with fierce calamities, and the world was apt to calumniate and to suspect and dishonour Christians upon pretences and unreasonable jealousies, and that to all these purposes the state of marriage brought many inconveniences; it pleased God in this new creation to inspire into the hearts of his servants a disposition and strong desires to live a single life, lest the state of marriage should in that conjunction of things become an accidental impediment to the dissemination of the gospel, which called men from a confinement in their domestic charges to travel, and flight, and poverty, and difficulty and martyrdom: upon this necessity the apostles and apostolical men published doctrines, declaring the advantages of single life, not by any commandment of the Lord, but

by the spirit of prudence, διὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἀνάγκην, "for the present and then incumbent necessities," and in order to the advantages which did accrue to the public ministries and private piety. "There are some (said our blessed Lord) who make themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven," that is, for the advantages and the ministry of the Gospel, *non ad vitæ bonæ meritum* (as St. Austin in the like case;) not that it is a better service of God in itself, but that it is useful to the first circumstances of the gospel and the infancy of the kingdom, because the unmarried person does μεριμνᾷ τὰ τοῦ Κυρίου, "is apt to spiritual and ecclesiastical employments:" first ἅγιος, and then ἁγιαζόμενος, "holy in his own person, and then sanctified to public ministries:" and it was also of ease to the Christians themselves, because, as then it was, when they were to flee, and to flee for aught they knew in winter, and they were persecuted to the four winds of heaven; and the nurses and the women with child were to suffer a heavier load of sorrow, because of the imminent persecutions; and above all, because of the great fatality of ruin on the whole nation of the Jews, well it might be said by St. Paul, "Such shall have trouble in the flesh;" that is, they that are married shall, and so at that time they had: and therefore it was an act of charity to the Christians to give that counsel: "I do this to spare you," and "I would have you to be without care:" for when the case was altered, and that storm was over, and the first necessities of the gospel served, and "the sound was gone out into all nations;" in very many persons it was wholly changed, and not the married but the unmarried had "trouble in the flesh:" and the state of marriage returned to its first blessing, "and it was not good for man to be alone."

But in this first interval, the public necessity and private zeal mingling together did sometimes overact their love of single life, even to the disparagement of marriage, and to the scandal of religion; which was increased by the occasion of some pious persons renouncing their contract of marriage, not consummate, with believers. For when Flavia Domitilla, being converted by Nereus and Achilleus the eunuchs, refused to marry Aurelianus, to whom she was contracted; if there were not some little envy and too sharp hostility in the eunuchs to a married state, yet Aurelianus thought himself an injured person, and caused St. Clemens, who veiled her, and his spouse both, to die in the quarrel. St. Thecla being converted by St. Paul, grew so in love with virginity, that she leaped back from the marriage of Tamyris, where she was lately engaged. St. Iphigenia denied to marry king Hyrtacus, and it is said to be done by the advice of St. Matthew. And Susanna, the niece of Dioclesian, refused the love of Maximianus the emperor; and these all had been betrothed; and so did St. Agnes, and

St. Felicula, and divers others then and afterward: insomuch, that it was reported among the Gentiles, that the Christians did not only hate all that were not of their persuasion, but were enemies of the chaste laws of marriage; and indeed some that were called Christians were so; "forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats." Upon this occasion it grew necessary for the apostle to state the question right, and to do honour to the holy rite of marriage, and to snatch the mystery from the hands of zeal and folly, and to place it in Christ's right hand, that all its beauties might appear, and a present convenience might not bring in a false doctrine, and a perpetual sin, and an intolerable mischief. The apostle, therefore, who himself had been a married man, but was now a widower, does explicate the mysteriousness of it, and describes its honours, and adorns it with rules and provisions of religion, that, as it begins with honour, so it may proceed with piety and end with glory.

For although single life hath in it privacy and simplicity of affairs, such solitariness and sorrow, such leisure and inactive circumstances of living, that there are more spaces for religion if men would use them to these purposes; and because it may have in it much religion and prayers, and must have in it a perfect mortification of our strongest appetites, it is therefore a state of great excellency; yet concerning the state of marriage, we are taught from Scripture and the sayings of wise men, great things and honourable. "Marriage is honourable in all men;" so is not single life; for in some it is a snare and a πύρωσις, "a trouble in the flesh," a prison of unruly desires, which is attempted daily to be broken. Celibate or single life is never commanded; but in some cases marriage is; and he that burns, sins often if he marries not: he that cannot contain must marry; and he that can contain is not tied to a single life, but may marry and not sin. Marriage was ordained by God, instituted in paradise, was the relief of a natural necessity, and the first blessing from the Lord; he gave to man not a friend, but a wife, that is, a friend and a wife too: (for a good woman is in her soul the same that a man is, and she is a woman only in her body; that she may have the excellency of the one, and the usefulness of the other, and become amiable in both:) it is the seminary of the church, and daily brings forth sons and daughters unto God; it was ministered to by angels, and Raphael waited upon a young man that he might have a blessed marriage, and that that marriage might repair two sad families, and bless all their relatives. Our blessed Lord, though he was born of a maiden, yet she was veiled under the cover of marriage, and she was married to a widower; for Joseph, the supposed father of our Lord, had children by a former wife. The first miracle that ever Jesus did, was

to do honour to a wedding. Marriage was in the world before sin, and is in all ages of the world the greatest and most effective antidote against sin, in which all the world had perished, if God had not made a remedy: and although sin had soured marriage, and struck the man's head with cares, and the woman's bed with sorrows in the production of children, yet these are but throes of life and glory, and "she shall be saved in child-bearing, if she be found in faith and righteousness." Marriage is a school and exercise of virtue; and though marriage hath cares, yet the single life hath desires, which are more troublesome and more dangerous, and often end in sin; while the cares are but instances of duty and exercises of piety: and therefore, if single life hath more privacy of devotion, yet marriage hath more necessities and more variety of it, and is an exercise of more graces. In two virtues, celibate or single life may have the advantage of degrees ordinarily and commonly; that is, in chastity and devotion: but as in some persons this may fail, and it does in very many, and a married man may spend as much time in devotion as any virgins or widows do; yet as in marriage even those virtues of chastity and devotion are exercised; so in other instances, this state hath proper exercises and trials for those graces, for which single life can never be crowned. Here is the proper scene of piety and patience, of the duty of parents and the charity of relatives; here kindness is spread abroad, and love is united and made firm as a centre: marriage is the nursery of heaven; the virgin sends prayers to God, but she carries but one soul to him; but the state of marriage fills up the numbers of the elect, and hath in it the labour of love, and the delicacies of friendship, the blessing of society, and the union of hands and hearts; it hath in it less of beauty, but more of safety, than the single life; it hath more care, but less danger; it is more merry, and more sad; is fuller of sorrows, and fuller of joys; it lies under more burdens, but is supported by all the strengths of love and charity, and those burdens are delightful. Marriage is the mother of the world, and preserves kingdoms, and fills cities, and churches, and heaven itself. Celibate, like the fly in the heart of an apple, dwells in a perpetual sweetness, but sits alone, and is confined, and dies in singularity; but marriage, like the useful bee, builds a house and gathers sweetness from every flower, and labours and unites into societies and republics, and sends out colonies, and feeds the world with delicacies, and obeys its king, and keeps order, and exercises many virtues, and promotes the interest of mankind, and is that state of good things to which God hath designed the present constitution of the world.

Single life makes men in one instance to be like angels, but

marriage in very many things makes the chaste pair to be like to Christ. "This is a great mystery," but it is the symbolical and sacramental representation of the greatest mysteries of our religion. Christ descended from his Father's bosom, and contracted his divinity with flesh and blood, and married our nature, and we became a church, the spouse of the Bridegroom, which he cleansed with his blood, and gave her his Holy Spirit for a dowry, and heaven for a jointure; begetting children unto God by the gospel. This spouse he hath joined to himself by an excellent charity, he feeds her at his own table, and lodges her nigh his own heart, provides for all her necessities, relieves her sorrows, determines her doubts, guides her wanderings; he is become her head, and she as a signet on his right hand: he first indeed was betrothed to the synagogue, and had many children by her, but she forsook her love; and then he married the church of the Gentiles, and by her had a more numerous issue, *atque una domus est omnium filiorum ejus*, all the children dwell in the same house, and are heirs of the same promises, entitled to the same inheritance. Here is the eternal conjunction, the indissoluble knot, the exceeding love of Christ, the obedience of the spouse, the communicating of goods, the uniting of interests, the fruit of marriage, a celestial generation, a new creature. This is the sacramental mystery, represented by the holy rite of marriage; so that marriage is divine in its institution, sacred in its union, holy in the mystery, sacramental in its signification, honourable in its appellative, religious in its employments: it is advantage to the societies of men, and it is "holiness to the Lord." *Dico autem in Christo et ecclesia*, "It must be in Christ and the church."

If this be not observed, marriage loses its mysteriousness: but because it is to effect much of that which it signifies, it concerns all that enter into those golden fetters to see that Christ and his church be in at every of its periods, and that it be entirely conducted and overruled by religion; for so the apostle passes from the sacramental rite to the real duty: "Nevertheless," that is, although the former discourse were wholly to explicate the conjunction of Christ and his church by this similitude, yet it hath in it this real duty, "that the man love his wife, and the wife reverence her husband:" and this is the use we shall now make of it, the particulars of which precept I shall thus dispose:

1. I shall propound the duty as it generally relates to man and wife in conjunction. 2. The duty and power of the man. 3. The rights and privileges and the duty of the wife.

1. "In *Christo et ecclesia:*" that begins all, and there is great need it should be so; for they that enter into a state of mar-

riage, cast a die of the greatest contingency, and yet of the greatest interest in the world, next to the last throw for eternity. Life or death, felicity or a lasting sorrow, are in the power of marriage. A woman indeed ventures most, for she hath no sanctuary to retire from an evil husband; she must dwell on her sorrow, and hatch the eggs which her own folly or infelicity hath produced; and she is more under it, because her tormentor hath a warrant of prerogative, and the woman may complain to God, as subjects do of tyrant princes, but otherwise she hath no appeal in the causes of unkindness. And though the man can run from many hours of his sadness, yet he must return to it again; and when he sits among his neighbours, he remembers the objection that lies in his bosom, and he sighs deeply.

The stags in the Greek epigram, whose knees were clogged with frozen snow on the mountains, came down to the brooks of the valleys, "hoping to thaw their joints with the waters of the stream[1]:" but there the frost overtook them, and bound them fast in ice, till the young herdsmen took them in their stronger snare. It is the unhappy chance of many men, finding many inconveniences upon the mountains of single life, they descend into the valleys of marriage to refresh their troubles, and there they enter into fetters, and are bound to sorrow by the cords of a man's or woman's peevishness: and the worst of the evil is, they are to thank their own follies; for they fell into the snare by entering an improper way. Christ and the church were no ingredients in their choice; but as the Indian women enter into folly for the price of an elephant, and think their crime warrantable, so do men and women change their liberty for a rich fortune, (like Eriphyle the Argive, "she preferred gold before a good man[2],") and shew themselves to be less than money, by overvaluing that to all the content and wise felicity of their lives; and when they have counted the money and their sorrows together, how willingly would they buy, with the loss of all that money, modesty, or sweet nature, to their relative! The odd thousand pounds would gladly be allowed in good nature and fair manners. As very a fool is he that chooses for beauty principally; *cui sunt eruditi oculi, et stulta mens*, (as one said,) "whose eyes are witty, and their souls sensual:" it is an ill band of affections to tie two hearts together by a little thread of red and white. And they can love no longer but until the next ague comes; and they are fond of each other but at the chance of fancy, or the smallpox, or childbearing, or care, or time, or any thing that can destroy a pretty flower. But it is the basest of all, when lust is the paranymph, and solicits the

---

[1] Χλιῆναι νοτεροῖς νάμασιν ὠκὺ γόνυ.

[2] Ἡ χρυσὸν φίλου ἀνδρὸς ἐδέξατο τιμήεντα.

suit, and makes the contract, and joins the hands; for this is commonly the effect of the former, according to the Greek proverb, "at first, for his fair cheeks and comely beard, the beast is taken for a lion, but at last he is turned to a dragon, or a leopard, or a swine[3]." That which is at first beauty on the face, may prove lust in the manners. "He or she," said St. Clement, "that looks too curiously on the beauty of the body, looks too low, and hath flesh and corruption in his heart, and is judged sensual and earthly in his affections and desires[4]." Begin therefore with God: Christ is the president of marriage, and the Holy Ghost is the fountain of purities and chaste loves, and he joins the hearts; and therefore let our first suit be in the court of heaven, and with designs of piety, or safety, or charity: let no impure spirit defile the virgin purities and "castifications of the soul," (as St. Peter's phrase is;) let all such contracts begin with religious affections.

"We sometimes beg of God for a wife or a child; and he alone knows what the wife shall prove, and by what dispositions and manners, and into what fortune that child shall enter[5]:" but we shall not need to fear concerning the event of it if religion, and fair intentions, and prudence, manage and conduct it all the way. The preservation of a family, the production of children, the avoiding fornication, the refreshment of our sorrows by the comforts of society; all these are fair ends of marriage, and hallow the entrance. But in these there is a special order: society was the first designed, "It is not good for man to be alone:" children was the next, "Increase and multiply:" but the avoiding fornication came in by the superfœtation of the evil accidents of the world. The first makes marriage delectable, the second necessary to the public, the third necessary to the particular; this is for safety, for life, and heaven itself. The other have in them joy and a portion of immortality: the first makes the man's heart glad; the second is the friend of kingdoms and cities, and families; and the third is the enemy to hell, and an antidote of the chiefest inlet to damnation: but of all these the noblest end is the multiplying of children. And therefore St. Ignatius, when he had spoken of Elias, and Titus, and Clement, with an honourable mention of their virgin-state, lest he might seem to have lessened the married apostles, at whose feet in Christ's kingdom he thought himself unworthy to sit, he gives this testimony,—"that

---

[3] Ἀλλ' ἤτοι πρώτιστα λέων γένετ' ἠϋγένειος,
Αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα δράκων, ἠ πάρδαλις, ἠδὲ μέγας σῦς. Od. iv. 456.

[4] Ἐὰν εἰς κάλλος σώματος βλέψῃ τις, κ.τ.λ.

[5] Conjugium petimus, partumque uxoris; at illi
Notum, qui pueri, qualisve futura sit uxor.
Juv. x. 352.

they may not be disparaged in their great names of holiness and severity, they were secured by not marrying to satisfy their lower appetites, but out of desire of children." Other considerations, if they be incident and by way of appendage, are also considerable in the accounts of prudence: but when they become principals, they defile the mystery, and make the blessing doubtful: *Amabit sapiens, cupient cæteri* said Afranius; "Love is a fair inducement, but desire and appetite are rude, and the characterisms of a sensual person:" *Amare justi et boni est, cupere impotentis;* "to love belongs to a just and a good man; but to lust, or furiously and passionately to desire, is the sign of impotency and an unruly mind."

2. Man and wife are equally concerned to avoid all offences of each other in the beginning of their conversation: every little thing can blast an infant blossom; and the breath of the south can shake the little rings of the vine, when first they begin to curl like the locks of a new-weaned boy; but when by age and consolidation they stiffen into the hardness of a stem, and have by the warm embraces of the sun and the kisses of heaven, brought forth their clusters, they can endure the storms of the north, and the loud noises of a tempest, and yet never be broken: so are the early unions of an unfixed marriage; watchful and observant, jealous and busy, inquisitive and careful, and apt to take alarm at every unkind word. For infirmities do not manifest themselves in the first scenes, but in the succession of a long society; and it is not chance or weakness when it appears at first, but it is want of love or prudence, or it will be so expounded; and that which appears ill at first, usually affrights the inexperienced man or woman, who makes unequal conjectures, and fancies mighty sorrows by the proportions of the new and early unkindness. It is a very great passion, or a huge folly, or a certain want of love, that cannot preserve the colours and beauties of kindness, so long as public honesty requires a man to wear their sorrows for the death of a friend. Plutarch compares a new marriage to a vessel before the hoops are on: "every thing dissolves their tender compaginations; but when the joints are stiffened and are tied by a firm compliance and proportioned bending, scarcely can it be dissolved without fire or the violence of iron." After the hearts of the man and the wife are endeared and hardened by a mutual confidence and experience, longer than artifice and pretence can last, there are a great many remembrances, and some things present, that dash all little unkindnesses in pieces. The little boy in the Greek epigram, that was creeping down a precipice, was invited to his safety by the sight of his mother's breast, when nothing else could entice him to return; and the bond of common children, and the sight of her that nurses what is most dear to him, and the endearments of

each other in the course of a long society, and the same relation, is an excellent security to redintegrate and to call that love back, which folly and trifling accidents would disturb. When it is come thus far, it is hard untwisting the knot; but be careful in its first coalition, that there be no rudeness done; for, if there be, it will for ever after be apt to start and to be diseased.

3. Let man and wife be careful to stifle little things[1], that, as fast as they spring, they be cut down and trod on; for if they be suffered to grow by numbers, they make the spirit peevish, and the society troublesome, and the affections loose and easy by an habitual aversation. Some men are more vexed with a fly than with a wound; and when the gnats disturb our sleep, and the reason is disquieted but not perfectly awakened, it is often seen that he is fuller of trouble, than if, in the daylight of his reason, he were to contest with a potent enemy. In the frequent little accidents of a family, a man's reason cannot always be awake; and when his discourses are imperfect, and a trifling trouble makes him yet more restless, he is soon betrayed to the violence of passion. It is certain that the man or woman are in a state of weakness and folly then, when they can be troubled with a trifling accident; and therefore, it is not good to tempt their affections, when they are in that state of danger. In this case the caution is, to subtract fuel from the sudden flame; for stubble, though it be quickly kindled, yet it is as soon extinguished, if it be not blown by a pertinacious breath, or fed with new materials. Add no new provocations to the accident, and do not inflame this, and peace will soon return, and the discontent will pass away soon, as the sparks from the collision of a flint: ever remembering, that discontents, proceeding from daily little things, do breed a secret undiscernible disease, which is more dangerous than a fever proceeding from a discerned notorious surfeit.

4. Let them be sure to abstain from all those things, which by experience and observation they find to be contrary to each other. They that govern elephants never appear before them in white; and the masters of bulls keep from them all garments of blood and scarlet, as knowing that they will be impatient of civil usages and discipline, when their natures are provoked by their proper antipathies. The ancients, in their martial hieroglyphics, used to depict Mercury standing by Venus, to signify, that by fair language and sweet entreaties, the minds of each other should be united; and hard by them, *Suadam et Gratias descripserunt*, they would have all deliciousness of manners, compliance and mutual observance to abide.

---

[1] "Quædam parva quidem, sed non toleranda maritis." *Juv.* VII. 184.

5. Let the husband and wife infinitely avoid a curious distinction of mine and thine; for this hath caused all the laws, and all the suits, and all the wars in the world; let them who have but one person, have also but one interest. The husband and wife are heirs to each other (as Dionysius Halicarnasseus relates from Romulus) if they die without children; but if there be children, the wife is τοῖς παισὶν ἰσόμοιρος, "a partner in the inheritance." But during their life, the use and employment is common to both their necessities; and in this there is no other difference of right, but that the man hath the dispensation of all, and may keep it from his wife, just as the governor of a town may keep it from the right owner; he hath the power, but no right, to do so. And when either of them begins to impropriate, it is like a tumour in the flesh, it draws more than its share; but what it feeds on, turns to a boil; and therefore, the Romans forbade any donations to be made between man and wife, because neither of them could transfer a new right of those things which already they had in common; but this is to be understood only concerning the uses of necessity and personal conveniences; for so all may be the woman's, and all may be the man's, in several regards. Corvinus dwells in a farm and receives all its profits, and reaps and sows as he pleases, and eats of the corn and drinks of the wine—it is his own: but all that also is his lord's, and for it Corvinus pays acknowledgment; and his patron hath such powers and uses of it as are proper to the lords; and yet, for all this, it may be the king's too, to all the purposes that he can need, and is all to be accounted in the census and for certain services and times of danger: so are the riches of a family; they are a woman's as well as a man's; they are hers for need, and hers for ornament, and hers for modest delight, and for the uses of religion and prudent charity; but the disposing them into portions of inheritance, the assignation of charges and governments, stipends and rewards, annuities and greater donatives, are the reserves of the superior right, and not to be invaded by the under-possessors. But in those things, where they ought to be common, if the spleen or the belly swells and draws into its capacity much of that which should be spent on those parts which have an equal right to be maintained, it is a dropsy or a consumption of the whole, something that is evil because it is unnatural and monstrous. Macarius, in his thirty-second homily, speaks fully in this particular: a woman betrothed to a man bears all her portion, and with a mighty love pours it into the hands of her husband, and says, ἐμὸν οὐδὲν ἔχω, "I have nothing of my own;" my goods, my portion, my body, and my mind are yours. "All that a woman hath, is reckoned to the right of her husband; not her wealth and person only, but her reputation and her

praise[1]." But as the earth, the mother of all creatures here below, sends up all its vapours and proper emissions at the command of the sun, and yet requires them again to refresh her own needs, and they are deposited between them both in the bosom of a cloud, as a common receptacle, that they may cool his flames, and yet descend to make her fruitful; so are the properties of a wife to be disposed of by her lord; and yet all are for her provisions, it being a part of his need to refresh and supply hers, and it serves the interest of both while it serves the necessities of either.

These are the duties of them both, which have common regards and equal necessities and obligations; and, indeed, there is scarce any matter of duty, but it concerns them both alike, and is only distinguished by names, and hath its variety by circumstances and little accidents: and what in one is called love, in the other is called reverence; and what in the wife is obedience, the same in the man is duty. He provides, and she dispenses; he gives commandments, and she rules by them; he rules her by authority, and she rules him by love; she ought by all means to please him, and he must by no means displease her. For as the heart is set in the midst of the body, and though it strikes to one side by the prerogative of nature, yet those throbs and constant motions are felt on the other side also, and the influence is equal to both; so it is in conjugal duties: some motions are to the one side more than to the other, but the interest is on both, and the duty is equal is the several instances. If it be otherwise, the man enjoys a wife as Periander did his dead Melissa, by an unnatural union, neither pleasing nor holy, useless to all the purposes of society, and dead to content.

Part II.

The next inquiry is more particular, and considers the power and duty of the man; "Let every one of you so love his wife even as himself:" she is as himself; the man hath power over her as over himself, and must love her equally. A husband's power over his wife is paternal and friendly, not magisterial and despotic. The wife is in *perpetua tutela*, under conduct and counsel; for the power a man hath, is founded in the understanding, not in the will or force; it is not a power of coercion, but a power of advice, and that government that wise men have over those who are fit to be conducted by them. "Husbands should rather be fathers than lords," said Valerius, in Livy. Homer adds more soft appellatives to the character of a husband's duty: "Thou art to be a father and a mother to her, and a brother:" and great reason, unless the state of marriage should

[1] Lucian.

be no better than the condition of an orphan. For she that is bound to leave father, and mother, and brother for thee, either is miserable, like a poor fatherless child, or else ought to find all these, and more, in thee. Medea in Euripides had cause to complain, when she found it otherwise.

> Πάντων δ', ὅσ' ἔστ' ἔμψυχα, καὶ γνώμην ἔχει,
> Γυναῖκες ἐσμὲν ἀθλιώτατον φυτόν.
> Ἂς πρῶτα μὲν δεῖ χρημάτων ὑπερβολῇ
> Πόσιν πρίασθαι, δεσπότην τε σώματος
> Λαβεῖν.

Which St. Ambrose[1] well translates: "It is sad, when virgins are with their own money sold to slavery, and that services are in better state than marriages; for they receive wages, but these buy their fetters, and pay dear for their loss of liberty:" and therefore, the Romans expressed the man's power over his wife but by a gentle word: "Let there be no governor of the woman appointed, but a censor of manners, one to teach the men *moderari uxoribus*, to moderate their wives," said Cicero; that is, fairly to induce them to the measures of their own proportions. It was rarely observed of Philo, Ἐν τὸ μὴ φαναι, κ.τ.λ. "When Adam made that fond excuse for his folly in eating the forbidden fruit, he said, 'The woman thou gavest to be *with* me, she gave me.' He says not 'The woman which thou gavest *to* me,' no such thing; she is none of his goods, none of his possessions, not to be reckoned amongst his servants; God did not give her to him so: but, 'The woman thou gavest to be with me;' that is, to be my partner, the companion of my joys and sorrows, thou gavest her for use, not for dominion." The dominion of a man over his wife is no other than as the soul rules the body; for which it takes a mighty care, and uses it with a delicate tenderness, and cares for it in all contingencies, and watches to keep it from all evils, and studies to make for it fair provisions, and very often is led by its inclinations and desires, and does never contradict its appetites but when they are evil, and then also not without some trouble and sorrows; and its government comes only to this, it furnishes the body with light and understanding, and the body furnishes the soul with hands and feet; the soul governs, because the body cannot else be happy, but the government is no other than provision; as a nurse governs a child, when she causes him to eat, and to be warm, and dry, and quiet. And yet even the very government itself is divided; for man and wife in the family are as the sun and moon in the firmament of heaven; he rules by day, and she by night, that is, in the lesser and more proper circles of her affairs, in the conduct of domestic provisions and ne-

[1] *Exhort. ad Virg.*

cessary offices, and shines only by his light, and rules by his authority; and as the moon in opposition to the sun shines brightest; that is, then, when she is in her own circles and separate regions; so is the authority of the wife then most conspicuous, when she is separate and in her proper sphere,—*in gynæceo*, in the nursery and offices of domestic employment: but when she is in conjunction with the sun her brother, that is, in that place and employment in which his care and proper offices are employed, her light is not seen, her authority hath no proper business; but else there is no difference. For they were barbarous people, among whom wives were instead of servants, said Spartianus in Caracalla; and it is a sign of impotency and weakness to force the camels to kneel for their load, because thou hast not spirit and strength enough to climb; to make the affections and evenness of a wife bend by the flexures of a servant, is a sign the man is not wise enough to govern, when another stands by. So many differences as can be in the appellatives of governor and governess, lord and lady, master and mistress, the same difference there is in the authority of man and woman, and no more: *Si tu Caius, ego Caia*, was publicly proclaimed on the threshold of the young man's house, when the bride entered into his hands and power; and the title of *domina* in the sense of the civil law, was among the Romans given to wives.

And, therefore although there is just measure of subjection and obedience due from the wife to the husband, (as I shall after explain,) yet nothing of this is expressed in the man's character, or in his duty; he is not commanded to rule, nor instructed how, nor bidden to exact obedience, or to defend his privilege; all his duty is signified by love, by "nourishing and cherishing[3]," by being joined with her in all the unions of charity, by "not being bitter to her[4]," by "dwelling with her according to knowledge, giving honour to her[5]:" so that it seems to be with husbands as it is with bishops and priests, to whom much honour is due; but yet so that if they stand on it, and challenge it, they become less honourable: and as amongst men and women humility is the way to be preferred, so it is in husbands, they shall prevail by cession, by sweetness and counsel, and charity and compliance. So that we cannot discourse of the man's right, without describing the measures of his duty; that therefore follows next.

2. "Let him love his wife even as himself:"—that is his duty, and the measure of it too; which is so plain, that if he understands how he treats himself, there needs nothing be added concerning his demeanour towards her, save only that we add the particulars, in which Holy Scripture instances this general commandment.

---

[3] Ephes. v. 25. [4] Col. iii. 19. [5] 1 Pet. iii. 7.

"Be not bitter against her:" that is the first; and this is the least index and signification of love: a civil man is never bitter against a friend or a stranger, much less to him that enters under his roof, and is secured by the laws of hospitality. But a wife does all that and more; she quits all her interest for his love, she gives him all that she can give, she is as much the same person as another can be the same, who is conjoined by love, and mystery, and religion, and all that is sacred and profane. They have the same fortune, the same family, the same children, the same religion, the same interest, "the same flesh;" and therefore this the apostle urges for his μὴ πικραίνετε, "be not bitter," "no man hateth his own flesh, but nourisheth and cherisheth it;" and he certainly is strangely sacrilegious, and a violater of the rights of hospitality and sanctuary, who uses her rudely, who is fled for protection, not only to his house, but also to his heart and bosom. A wise man will not wrangle with any one, much less with his dearest relative; and if it is accounted indecent to embrace in public, it is extremely shameful to brawl in public: for the other is in itself lawful; but this never, though it were assisted with the best circumstances of which it is capable. Marcus Aurelius said, that "a wise man ought often to admonish his wife, to reprove her seldom, but never to lay his hands on her." St. Chrysostom preaching earnestly against this barbarous inhumanity of striking the wife, or reviling her with evil language, says, it is as if a king should beat his viceroy and use him like a dog; from whom most of that reverence and majesty must needs depart, which he first put on him, and the subjects shall pay him less duty, how much his prince hath treated him with less civility; but the loss redounds to himself; and the government of the whole family shall be disordered, if blows be laid on that shoulder which together with the other ought to bear nothing but the cares and the issues of a prudent government. And it is observable, that no man ever did this rudeness for a virtuous end; it is an incompetent instrument, and may proceed from wrath and folly, but can never end in virtue and the unions of a prudent and fair society. "If you strike, you exasperate the wound, (saith St. Chrysostom,) and (like Cato at Utica in his despair) tear the wounds in pieces;" and yet he that did so ill to himself whom he loved well, he loved not women tenderly, and yet would never strike; and if the man cannot endure her talking, how can she endure his striking? But this caution contains a duty in it which none prevaricates, but the meanest of the people, fools, and bedlams, whose kindness is a curse, whose government is by chance and violence, and their families are herds of talking cattle.

The marital love is infinitely removed from all possibility of such rudeness: it is a thing pure as light, sacred as a temple, lasting as the world. *Amicitia, quæ desinere potuit, nunquam vera fuit*, said one, "That love that can cease, was never true;" it is ὁμίλια, so Moses called it; it is εὔνοια, so St. Paul; it is φιλότης, so Homer; it is φιλοφροσύνη, so Plutarch: that is, it contains in it all sweetness, and all society and felicity, and all prudence, and all wisdom. For there is nothing can please a man without love; and if a man be weary of the wise discourses of the apostles, and of the innocency of an even and a private fortune, or hates peace or a fruitful year, he hath reaped thorns and thistles from the choicest flowers of paradise; for nothing can sweeten felicity itself but love: but when a man dwells in love, then the breasts of his wife are pleasant as the droppings on the hill of Hermon, her eyes are fair as the light of heaven, she is a fountain sealed, and he can quench his thirst, and ease his cares, and lay his sorrow down on her lap, and can retire home to his sanctuary and refectory, and his gardens of sweetness and chaste refreshments[1]. No man can tell, but he that loves his children, how many delicious accents make a man's heart dance in the pretty conversation of those dear pledges; their childishness, their stammering, their little angers, their innocence, their imperfections, their necessities, are so many little emanations of joy and comfort to him that delights in their persons and society: but he that loves not his wife and children, feeds a lioness at home, and broods a nest of sorrows: and blessing itself cannot make him happy. So that all the commandments of God enjoining a man "to love his wife," are nothing but so many necessities and capacities of joy. She that is loved, is safe; and he that loves is joyful. Love is a union of all things excellent; it contains in it proportion and satisfaction, and rest and confidence; and I wish that this were so much proceeded in, that the heathens themselves could not go beyond us in this virtue, and its proper and its appendant happiness. Tiberius Gracchus chose to die for the safety of his wife; and yet methinks for a Christian to do so, should be no hard thing; for many servants will die for their masters, and many gentlemen will die for their friend; but the examples are not so many of those that are ready to do it for their dearest relatives, and yet some there have been. Baptista Fregosa

---

[1] "Felices ter et amplius,
Quos irrupta tenet copula, nec malis
Divulsus querimoniis,
Suprema citius solvet amor die."
Horat. Od. I. xiii. 17.

tells of a Neapolitan, that gave himself a slave to the Moors, that he might follow his wife; and Dominicus Catalusius, the prince of Lesbos, kept company with his lady when she was a leper: and these are greater things than to die.

But the cases in which this can be required, are so rare and contingent, that Holy Scripture instances not the duty in this particular; but it contains in it, that the husband should nourish and cherish her, that he should refresh her sorrows and entice her fears into confidence and pretty arts of rest; for even the fig-trees that grew in paradise had sharp-pointed leaves, and harshnesses fit to mortify the too-forward lusting after the sweetness of the fruit. But it will concern the prudence of the husband's love to make the cares and evils as simple and easy as he can, by doubling the joys and acts of a careful friendship, by tolerating her infirmities, (because, by so doing, he either cures her or makes himself better,) by fairly expounding all the little traverses of society and communication, "by taking every thing by the right handle," as Plutarch's expression is; for there is nothing but may be misinterpreted, and yet if it be capable of a fair construction, it is the office of love to make it. Love will account that to be well said, which, it may be, was not so intended; and then it may cause it to be so another time.

3. Hither also is to be referred, that he secure the interest of her virtue and felicity by a fair example; for a wife to a husband is a line of superficies; it hath dimensions of its own, but no motion or proper affections, but commonly puts on such images of virtues or vices as are presented to her by her husband's idea: and if thou beest vicious, complain not that she is infected that lies in thy bosom; the interest of whose love ties her to transcribe thy copy, and write after the characters of thy manners. Paris was a man of pleasure, and Helena was an adulteress, and she added covetousness on her own account. But Ulysses was a prudent man, and a wary counsellor, sober and severe; and he efformed his wife into such imagery as he desired; and she was chaste as the snows on the mountains, diligent as the fatal sisters, always busy, and always faithful.

4. Above all the instances of love, let him preserve towards her an inviolable faith, and an unspotted chastity; for this is THE MARRIAGE RING; it ties two hearts by an eternal band; it is like the cherubim's flaming sword, set for the guard of paradise; he that passes into that garden, now that it is immured by Christ and the church, enters into the shades of death. No man must touch the forbidden tree, that in the midst of the garden, which is the tree of knowledge and life. Chastity is the security of love, and preserves all the mysteriousness like the secrets of a temple. Under this lock

is deposited security of families, the union of affections, the repairer of accidental breaches. This is a grace that is shut up and secured by all arts of heaven, and the defence of laws, the locks and bars of modesty, by honour and reputation, by fear and shame, by interest and high regards; and that contract that is intended to be for ever, is yet dissolved and broken by the violation of this; nothing but death can do so much evil to the holy rites of marriage, as unchastity and breach of faith can. By the laws of the Romans, a man might kill his daughter or his wife, if he surprised her in the breach of her holy vows, which are as sacred as the threads of life, secret as the privacies of the sanctuary, and holy as the society of angels; and God that commanded us to forgive our enemies, left it in our choice, and hath not commanded us to forgive an adulterous husband or a wife; but the offended party's displeasure may pass into an eternal separation of society and friendship. Now in this grace it is fit that the wisdom and severity of the man should hold forth a pure taper, that his wife may, by seeing the beauties and transparencies of that crystal, dress her mind and her body by the light of so pure reflexions; it is certain he will expect it from the modesty and retirement, from the passive nature and colder temper, from the humility and fear, from the honour and love, of his wife, that she be pure as the eye of heaven: and therefore it is but reason that the wisdom and nobleness, the love and confidence, the strength and severity, of the man, should be as holy and certain in this grace, as he is a severe exactor of it at her hands, who can more easily be tempted by another, and less by herself.

These are the little lines of a man's duty, which, like threads of light from the body of the sun, do clearly describe all the regions of his proper obligations. Now concerning the woman's duty, although it consists in doing whatsoever her husband commands, and so receives measures from the rules of his government, yet there are also some lines of life depicted on her hands, by which she may read and know how to proportion out her duty to her husband.

1. The first is obedience; which because it is no where enjoined that the man should exact of her, but often commanded to her to pay, gives demonstration that it is a voluntary cession that is required; such a cession as must be without coercion and violence on his part, but on fair inducements, and reasonableness in the thing, and out of love and honour on her part. When God commands us to love him, he means we should obey him: "This is love, that ye keep my commandments;" and, "If ye love me" said our Lord, "keep my commandments." Now as Christ is to the church, so is man to the wife; and therefore obedience is the best instance of her love; for it

proclaims her submission, her humility, her opinion of his wisdom, his pre-eminence in the family, the right of his privilege, and the injunction imposed by God on her sex, that although in sorrow she bring forth children, yet with love and choice she should obey. The man's authority is love, and the woman's love is obedience; and it was not rightly observed of him that said, when the woman fell, God made her timorous, that she might be ruled, apt and easy to obey; for this obedience is no way founded in fear, but in love and reverence; unless also that we will add, that it is an effect of that modesty, which, like rubies, adorns the necks and cheeks of women. *Pudicitia est, pater, Eos magnificare, qui nos socias sumpserunt sibi*[1], said the maiden in the comedy: "it is modesty to advance and highly to honour them, who have honoured us by making us to be the companions of their dearest excellencies;" for the woman that went before the man in the way of death, is commanded to follow him in the way of love; and that makes the society to be perfect, and the union profitable, and the harmony complete. For then the soul and body make a perfect man, when the soul commands wisely, or rules lovingly, and cares profitably, and provides plentifully, and conducts charitably that body which is its partner, and yet the inferior. But if the body shall give laws, and, by the violence of the appetite, first abuse the understanding, and then possess the superior portion of the will and choice, the body and the soul are not apt company, and the man is a fool and miserable. If the soul rules not, it cannot be a companion; either it must govern, or be a slave: never was king deposed and suffered to live in the state of peerage and equal honour, but made a prisoner, or put to death; and those women, that had rather lead the blind than follow prudent guides, rule fools and easy men than obey the powerful and wise, never made a good society in a house: a wife never can become equal but by obeying; but so her power, while it is in minority, makes up the authority of the man integral, and becomes one government, as themselves are one man. "Male and female created he them, and called their name Adam," saith the Holy Scripture[2]; they are but one; and therefore, the several parts of this one man must stand in the place where God appointed, that the lower parts may do their offices in their own station, and promote the common interest of the whole. A ruling woman is intolerable. But that is not all; for she is miserable too. It is a sad calamity for a woman to be joined to a fool or a weak person; it is like a guard of geese to keep the capitol; or as if a flock of sheep should read grave lectures to their shepherd, and give

[1] Plautus in Sticho, 1. 2, 43.

[2] Gen. v. 2.

him orders where he shall conduct them to pasture. "To have a fool to one's master," is the fate of miserable and unblessed people; and the wife can be no ways happy, unless she be governed by a prudent lord, whose commands are sober counsels, whose authority is paternal, whose orders are provisions, and whose sentences are charity.

But now, concerning the measures and limits of this obedience, we can best take accounts from Scripture: ἐν παντὶ, saith the apostle, "in all things[3];" *ut domino*, "as to the Lord;" and that is large enough; as unto a lord, *ut ancilla domino;* so St. Jerome understands it, who neither was a friend to the sex, nor to marriage. But his mistake is soon confuted by the text; it is not *ut dominis*, be subject to your husbands "as unto lords," but ὡς τῷ Κυρίῳ, that is, in all religion, in reverence and in love, in duty and zeal, in faith and knowledge; or else ὡς τῷ Κυρίῳ, may signify, Wives, be subject to your husbands; but yet so, that at the same time ye be subject to the Lord. For that is the measure of ἐν παντὶ, "in all things;" and it is more plain in the parallel place, ὡς ἀνῆκεν ἐν Κυρίῳ, "as it is fit in the Lord[4]:" religion must be the measure of your obedience and subjection: *intra limites disciplinæ;* so Tertullian expresses it. So Clemens Alex. "In all things let the wife be subject to the husband, so as to do nothing against his will; those only things excepted, in which he is impious or refractory in things pertaining to wisdom and piety."

But in this also there is some peculiar caution. For although in those things which are of the necessary parts of faith and holy life, the woman is only subject to Christ, who only is and can be Lord of consciences, and commands alone where the conscience is instructed and convinced; yet as it is part of the man's office to be a teacher, and a prophet, and a guide, and a master, so also it will relate very much to the demonstration of their affections to obey his counsels, to imitate his virtues, to be directed by his wisdom, to have her persuasion measured by the lines of his excellent religion: "It were hugely decent," saith Plutarch, "that the wife should acknowledge her husband for her teacher and her guide;" for then when she is what he please to efform her, he hath no cause to complain if she be no better: "his precepts and wise counsels can draw her off from vanities;" and what he said of geometry, that, if she be skilled in that, she will not easily be a gamester or a dancer, may perfectly be said of religion. If she suffers herself to be guided by his counsel, and efformed by his religion, either he is an ill master in his religion, or he may secure in her and for his advantage an excellent virtue. And although

[3] Ephes. v. 24. [4] Col. iii. 18.

in matters of religion the husband hath no empire and command, yet if there be a place left to persuade, and entreat, and induce by arguments, there is not in a family a greater endearment of affections than the unity of religion: and anciently it was not permitted to a woman to have a religion by herself: and the rites which a woman performs severally from her husband, are not pleasing to God; and therefore Pomponia Græcina, because she entertained a stranger religion, was permitted to the judgment of her husband Plantius. And this whole affair is no stranger to Christianity, for the Christian woman was not suffered to marry an unbelieving man; and although this is not to be extended to different opinions within the limits of the common faith, yet thus much advantage is won or lost by it, that the compliance of the wife, and submission of her understanding to the better rule of her husband in matters of religion, will help very much to warrant her, though she should be mispersuaded in a matter less necessary; yet nothing can warrant her in her separate rites and manners of worshippings, but an invincible necessity of conscience, and a curious infallible truth; and if she be deceived alone, she hath no excuse; if with him, she hath much pity, and some degrees of warranty under the protection of humility, and duty, and dear affections; and she will find that it is part of her privilege and right to partake of the mysteries and blessings of her husband's religion. Where there is a schism in one bed, there is a nursery of temptations, and love is persecuted and in perpetual danger to be destroyed; there dwell jealousies, and divided interests, and differing opinions, and continual disputes, and we cannot love them so well, whom we believe to be less beloved of God; and it is ill uniting with a person, concerning whom my persuasion tells me, that he is like to live in hell to eternal ages.

2. The next line of the woman's duty is compliance, which St. Peter calls "the hidden man of the heart, the ornament of a meek and a quiet spirit[1]," and to it he opposes "the outward and pompous ornament of the body;" concerning which, as there can be no particular measure set down to all persons, but the proportions were to be measured by the customs of wise people, the quality of the woman, and the desires of the man; yet it is to be limited by Christian modesty, and the usages of the more excellent and severe matrons. Menander in the comedy brings in a man turning his wife from his house, because she stained her hair yellow, which was then the beauty. A wise woman should not paint. A studious gallantry in clothes cannot make a wise man love his wife the better. *Decor occultus*,

[1] 1 Pet. iii. 4.

et tecta venustas; that is the Christian woman's fineness; "the hidden man of the heart," sweetness of manners, humble comportment, fair interpretation of all addresses, ready compliance, high opinion of him and mean of herself.

Ἐν κοινῷ λύπης ἡδονῆς τ' ἔχειν μέρος, "To partake secretly, and in her heart, of all his joys and sorrows," to believe him comely and fair, though the sun hath drawn a cypress over him; for as marriages are not to be contracted by the hands and eye, but with reason and the hearts, so are these judgments to be made by the mind, not by the sight; and diamonds cannot make the woman virtuous, nor him to value her who sees her put them off, then, when charity and modesty are her brightest ornaments. And, indeed, those husbands that are pleased with indecent gaieties of their wives, are like fishes taken with ointments and intoxicating baits, apt and easy for sport and mockery, but useless for food; and when Circe had turned Ulysses's companions into hogs and monkeys, by pleasures and the enchantments of her bravery and luxury, they were no longer useful to her, she knew not what to do with them; but on wise Ulysses she was continually enamoured. Indeed, the outward ornament is fit to take fools, but they are not worth the taking; but she that hath a wise husband, must entice him to an eternal dearness by the veil of modesty and the grave robes of chastity, the ornament of meekness, and the jewels of faith and charity; she must have no fucus but blushings, her brightness must be purity, and she must shine round about with sweetnesses and friendship, and she shall be pleasant while she lives, and desired when she dies. For that will be the end of all merry meetings; and I choose this to be the last advice to both.

3. "Remember the days of darkness, for they are many:" the joys of the bridal chamber are quickly past, and the remaining portion of the state is a dull progress, without variety of joys, but not without the change of sorrows; but that portion that shall enter into the grave must be eternal. It is fit that I should infuse a bunch of myrrh into the festival goblet, and, after the Egyptian manner, serve up a dead man's bones at a feast: I will only show it, and take it away again; it will make the wine bitter, but wholesome. But those married pairs that live as remembering they must part again, and give an account how they treat themselves and each other, shall, at that day of their death, be admitted to glorious espousals; and when they shall live again, be married to their Lord, and partake of his glories, with Abraham and Joseph, St. Peter and St. Paul, and all the married saints. "All those things that now please us

shall pass from us, or we from them[1]:" but those things that concern the other life, are permanent as the numbers of eternity: and although at the resurrection there shall be no relation of husband and wife, and no marriage shall be celebrated but the marriage of the Lamb; yet then shall be remembered how men and women passed through this state which is a type of that, and from this sacramental union all holy pairs shall pass to the spiritual and eternal, where love shall be their portion, and joys shall crown their heads, and they shall lie in the bosom of Jesus, and in the heart of God, to eternal ages. Amen.

---

[1] Θνητὰ τὰ τῶν θνητῶν, καὶ πάντα παρέρχεται ἡμᾶς·
Εἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς αὐτὰ παρερχόμεθα.

BISHOP RUST

A.D. 1661—1670.

The contemporary, and pupil or friend, of Henry More, of Cudworth, and of Whichcote, at Cambridge, and the man who, at a later period, lived on terms of affectionate mutual regard with Jeremy Taylor, could be no ordinary person. Bishop Rust was all this; and accordingly "his praise was" long "in all the churches," and the highest testimony to his merits, as a scholar, a philosopher, and a bishop, is delivered down by an unexceptionable witness—the learned and pious Joseph Glanvil, the editor of the most elaborate production of his pen.

George Rust, like Jeremy Taylor, was a native of Cambridge; where he became a fellow of that society of men of genius, in the latter half of the 17th century, Christ's College; and where he maintained a high reputation for his learning and virtues. He laboured, and with success, to remove the mischief that had been done to the university by the long prevalence of puritanism: "he outgrew," says Glanvil, "the pretended orthodoxy of those days, and addicted himself to the primitive learning and theology, in which he became a great master." With this view, he preached, first in the chapel of his own college, and afterwards at St. Mary's, a discourse on Proverbs xx. 27, which made at the time a considerable impression, and was published after his death by his friend Glanvil, with the title of *A Discourse on Truth.*

The argument of this discourse was directed against the doctrine of arbitrary decrees. Truth, he asserts, is founded, not in the absolute will of God, but in the eternal and immutable relations of things, the independency of which upon God's mere will he asserts to be necessary to the universal rectitude of the Divine nature. Hence, he argues, subjective truth, both in the Creator and the creature, is a representation or conception in the mind, conformable to the unchangeable natures and mutual relations of things.

In the year 1661, Jeremy Taylor, then bishop of Down and Connor, sent over to his own university for a fit person to succeed to the deanery of Connor; the preferment was offered to Rust, who accepted it, and, proceeding to Ireland in the month of August, was received with great kindness and respect by Taylor; he was presently after made dean, and, in 1662, rector, of the island of Magee in the same diocese. These preferments he held, enjoying at the same time the affectionate admiration and regard of his diocesan, as long as Taylor survived. On the death of that great prelate, in 1667, the bishopric of Down and Connor was separated from that of Dromore, which Taylor had held with it, and Rust was appointed to Dromore. After administering his bishopric about three years, he was taken off by a fever, in December 1670, in the prime of life; and lies buried at Dromore, in the same vault with Taylor, whom of all men he most loved and honoured.

"He was a man," writes Glanvil, "of a clear mind, a deep judgment, and searching wit; greatly learned in all the best sorts of knowledge, old and new; a thoughtful and diligent enquirer, of a free understanding and vast capacity, joined with singular modesty and unusual sweetness of temper, which made him the darling of all that knew him. He was a person of great piety and generosity, a hearty lover of God and man, an excellent preacher, a wise governor, a profound philosopher, a close reasoner, and, above all, a true and exemplary Christian. In short, he was one who had all the qualifications of a primitive bishop, and of an extraordinary man."

Dr. Rust published,—

A Letter of Resolution concerning Origen, and the chief of his opinions. 4to. 1661.

A Sermon at the Funeral of Hugh, Earl of Mount-Alexander. 4to. 1644.

A Sermon at the Funeral of the Right Rev. Jeremy Taylor, Bishop of Down, Connor, and Dromore. 4to. 1667.

After his death appeared,

The Discourse of Truth, 12mo. 1677. It was accompanied with annotations, supposed to be written by More.

In 1686, followed *The Remains of Dr. George Rust, late Lord Bishop of Dromore in Ireland. Collected and published by Henry Hallywell.* This small but precious volume

comprises three Discourses. The second in order is that on Truth, already described. The first is on the nature, attributes, and providence of God. Our opinions and sentiments in religion, says the author, will all be squared according to the notion we entertain of God; consequently, it is of the greatest concernment that our conceptions on this point should be free from error. He proceeds to explain the apostle's assertion that "God is love," in a manner which shows that his own soul was deeply imbued with the truth which he enforces. His proofs and illustrations, derived partly from the works of Plato and the Platonic writers, indicate that he had followed, with a kindred spirit, in the steps of More. This discourse also was originally preached in the university church, at Cambridge. The last is, *A Latin exercise performed in the Divinity Schools of that University, in the year* 1656. Its design is to prove, against the assertions of the Jews, that Jesus was the Messiah foretold in their scriptures. In it, observes the editor of the *Remains*, we have a solid and rational refutation of all the cavils and exceptions which the greatest and most learned rabbins of the Jews could invent, to invalidate the force of those predictions which the Christians urge against them, to prove that the promised Messiah is long since come.

A DISCOURSE OF TRUTH.

Truth is of equivocal signification, and therefore cannot be defined before it be distinguished. To our purpose therefore, it is twofold: truth in things, which you may call truth in the object; and truth in the understanding, which is truth in the subject. By the first I mean nothing else, but that things necessarily are what they are; and that there are necessary mutual respects and relations of things one unto another. Now that things are what they are, and that there are mutual respects and relations, eternal and immutable, and in order of nature antecedent to any understanding, either created or uncreated, is a thing very plain and evident: for it is clearer than the meridian light, that such propositions as these, *Homo est animal rationale; triangulum est quod habet tres angulos*, are not arbitrarious, dependencies upon the will, decree, or understanding of God, but are necessary and eternal truths, and wherein it is as impossible to divide the subject, and what is spoken of it, as it is for a thing not to be what it is, which is no less than a contradiction, and as indispensible are the

mutual respects and relations of things, both in speculatives and morals.

For can it be imagined, that every argument can be made a proportioned medium to prove every conclusion? that any thing may be a suitable means to any end? that any object may be conformable to any faculty? Can Omnipotence itself make these propositions, "That twice two are four," or, "that parallels cannot intersect," clear, and convincing arguments to prove these grand truths, That Christ came into the world to die for sinners, and is now exalted as a Prince and Saviour at the right hand of God? Is it possible that there should be such a kind of Geometry, wherein any problems should be demonstrated by any principles; *quidlibet ex quolibet;* as, that a quadrangle is that which is comprehended of four right lines; therefore the three angles of a triangle are not equal to two right ones?

Can the infinite Wisdom itself make the damning of all the innocent and the unspotted angels in heaven, a proportionate means to declare and manifest the unmeasureableness of his grace and love, and goodness towards them? Can lying, swearing, envy, malice, nay, hatred of God and goodness itself, be made the most acceptable service of God, and the readiest way to a man's happiness? And yet all these must be true, and infinitely more such contradictions than we can possibly imagine, if the mutual respects and relations of things be not eternal and indispensable; which that they are, I shall endeavour to prove.

First, we must premise that Divine Understanding cannot be the fountain of the truth of things; nor the foundation of the references one to another. For it is against the nature of all understanding to make it objects. It is the nature of understanding, *ut moveatur, illuminetur, formetur,* &c.; of its object, *ut moveat, illuminet, formet. Intellectus in actu primo* hath itself unto its objects, as the eye unto the sun; it is irradiated, enlightened, and actuated by it. And *Intellectus in actu secundo* hath itself unto its object, as the image to that it represents; and the perfection of the understanding consists in being actuated by, and in an adequate conformity to its object, according to the nature of all ideas, images, or representations of things. The sum is this, no ideas or representations are or make the things they represent; all understanding is such; therefore no understanding doth make the natures, respects, and relations of its objects.

It remains then, that absolute, arbitrarious, and independent will must be the fountain of all truth; and must determine the references and dependencies of things; which assertion would in the first place destroy the nature of God, and rob him of all his attributes. For then it is impossible that there should be such a thing as Divine wisdom and knowledge, which is nothing else but an apprehension of common

notions and the natures and mutual respects and relations of things: for if the nature of God be such, that his arbitrarious imagination, that such and such things have such and such natures and dependencies, doth make those things to have those natures or dependencies, he may as easily unimagine that imagination; and then they that before had a mutual harmony, sympathy, and agreement with one another, shall now stand at a great distance and opposition. And thus the Divine Understanding will be a mere *Protean chimera*, a casual conflux of intellectual atoms: contradictions are true, if God will understand them so: and then the foundation of all knowledge is taken away, and God may as truly be said to know nothing as every thing; nay, any angel, or man, may as truly be said to know all things, as God himself; for then every thing will be alike certain, and every apprehension equally conformable to truth. These are infallible consequences, and a thousand more as absurd as these, if contradictory propositions may be both true; and whether they be so or no, it is a mere casual dependence upon the arbitrarious pleasure of God, if there be not a necessary immutability and eternal opposition betwixt the being and the not being of the same thing, at the same time and in the same respect. Likewise all those truths we call common notions, the system and comprehensions of which is the very essence of Divine wisdom; as the conclusions issuing from them, not by any operose deduction, but a clear intuitive light, are the very nature of Divine knowledge,—if we distinguish those two attributes in God, I say, all these propositions of immediate and indemonstrable truth, if these be only so, because so understood by God, and so understood by God because he pleased so to have them, and not because there is an indispensable relation of harmony and proportion betwixt the terms themselves; then it is a thing merely casual, and at the pleasure of God to change his former apprehensions and ideas of those truths, and to make their contradictories as evident, radical, and fundamental, as themselves but even now were; and so Divine wisdom and knowledge will be a various, fickle, and mutable thing, a mere tumult and confusion. All these consequences infallibly flow from this certain principle, that upon a changeable and uncertain cause effects must needs have a changeable and uncertain dependence. And there is nothing imaginable, in itself more changeable and uncertain, than will not regulated by the dictates of reason and understanding.

If any deny these consequences and deductions, because they suppose that God is mutable, and changeable; I answer, by bringing this as another absurdity, that if there be no indispensible and eternal respect of things, it will rob God of his immutability and unchangeableness; for if there be no necessary dependence betwixt unchange-

ableness and perfection, what should hinder, but that if God please to think it so, it will be his perfection to be changeable? And if will, as such, be the only principle of his actions, it is infallibly his perfection to be so. For it is the perfection of every being to act according to the principle of its nature, and it is the nature of an arbitrarious principle to act or not, to do or undo, upon no account but its own will and pleasure; to be determined and tied up, either by itself, or from abroad, is violent and contranatural.

And therefore from this principle, that absolute and sovereign will is the spring and fountain of all God's actions, it was rightly inferred by a late pamphleteer, that God will one day damn all mankind, good and bad, believers and unbelievers, notwithstanding all his promises, pretensions, or engagements to the contrary; because this damning all mankind in despite of his faithfulness, justice, mercy and goodness will be the greatest advancement of his sovereignty, will, and prerogative, imaginable. His words are, "God hath stored up destruction both for the perfect and the wicked, and this doth wonderfully set forth his sovereignty; his exercising whereof is so perfect, that when he hath tied himself up fast as may be, by never so many promises, yet it should still have its scope, and be able to do what it will, when it will, as it will." Here you have this principle improved to the height. And however you may look upon this author as some new light, or *ignis fatuus* of the times, yet I assure you, in some pieces by him set forth, he is very sober and rational.

In the next place, to deny the mutual respects and *rationes rerum* to be immutable and indispensible, will spoil God of that universal rectitude which is the greatest perfection of his nature: for then justice, faithfulness, mercy, goodness, &c. will be but contingent and arbitrarious issues of the Divine will. This is a clear and undeniable consequence. For if you say, these be indispensible perfections in God, for instance, if justice be so, then there is an eternal relation of right and equity betwixt every being, and the giving of it that which is its propriety; if faithfulness, then there is an indispensible argument betwixt a promise and the performance of it; if mercy, then there is an immutable and unalterable suitableness and harmony between an indigent creature, and pity and commiseration; if goodness, then there is an everlasting proportion and symmetry between fulness and its overflowing and dispreading of itself, which yet is the thing denied. For to say they are indispensibly so, because God understands them so, seems to me extreme incogitancy; for that is against the nature of all understanding, which is but the idea and representation of things, and is then a true and perfect image, when it is exactly conformed to its objects. And therefore, if things have not mutual respects

and relations eternal and indispensible, then all those perfections do solely and purely depend upon absolute and independent will, as will; and consequently, it was and is indifferent in itself, that the contrary to these, as injustice, unfaithfulness, cruelty, malice, hatred, spite, revenge, fury, and whatever goes to the constitution of hell itself, should have been made the top and highest perfections of the Divine nature; which is such blasphemy as cannot well be named without horror and trembling. For instead of being a God, such a nature as this is, joined with omnipotency, would be a worse devil than any is in hell. And yet this is a necessary and infallible consequence from the denial of these mutual respects and relations of things unto one another, to be eternal and unchangeable.

And as by the denial of these the nature of God is wholly destroyed, so in the second place the mind of man would have no certainty of knowledge, or assurance of happiness. He can never come to know there is a God, and consequently not the will and mind of God, which, if there be no intrinsical and indispensible respects and relations of things, must be the ground and foundation of all knowledge; for what means or argument should we use to find out or prove a Divine nature? It were folly and madness to sit down and consider the admirable contrivement and artifice of this great fabric of the universe; how that all natural things seem to act for some end, though themselves take no cognizance of it; how the sun by its motion and situation, or (which is all one) by being a centre of the earth's motion, provides light, and heat, and life, for this inferior world; how living creatures bring forth a most apt composure and structure of parts, and with that a being endued with admirable faculties, and yet themselves have no insight into, nor consultation about this incomparable workmanship; how they are furnished with powers and inclinations for the preservation of this body, when it is once brought into the world; how, without previous deliberation, they naturally take in that food which without their intention or animadversion is concocted in their ventricle, turned into chyle, that chyle into blood, that blood diffused through the veins and arteries, and therewith the several members nourished, and decays of strength repaired;—I say the gathering from all these, (which one would think were a very natural consequence,) that there is a wise Principle which directs all these beings unknown to you, in their several motions to their several ends, (supposing the dependence and relations of things to be contingent and arbitrarious,) were a piece of folly and incogitancy. For how can the order of those things speak a wise and understanding Being, which have no relation or respect unto one another; but their whole agreement, suitableness and proportion, is a mere casual issue of absolute

and independent will? If any thing may be the cause of any effect, and a proportionate mean of any end, who can infer infinite wisdom from the dependence of things, and their relations to one another? for we are to know that there is a God, and the will of that God, before we can know the mutual harmony or disproportion of things; and yet if we do not know these principal respects that things have among themselves, it is impossible we should ever come to the knowledge of a God; for these are the only arguments that any logic in the world can make use of, to prove any conclusion. But suppose we should come to know that there is a God, which, as I have demonstrated, denying the necessary and immutable truth of common notions, and the indispensible and eternal relations of things, is altogether impossible;—however, let it be supposed;—yet how shall we know that these common notions and principles of natural instinct, which are the foundation of all discourses and argumentation, as certain and infallible truth, and that our senses (which with these former principles we suppose this Divine nature to have given us, to converse with this outward world) were not on purpose bestowed upon us, to befool, delude, and cheat us; if we be not first assured of the veracity of God? And how can we be assured of that, if we know not that veracity is a perfection? And how shall we know it is so, unless there be an intrinsical relation betwixt veracity and perfection? For if it be an arbitrarious respect depending upon the will of God, there is no way possibly left whereby we should come to know that it is in God at all. And therefore we have fully as much reason to believe that all our common notions and principles of natural instinct, whereupon we ground all our reasonings and discourse, are mere chimeras to delude and abuse our faculties: and all those ideas, phantasms, and apprehensions of our eternal senses, we imagine are occasioned in us by the presence of outward objects, are mere spectrums and gulleries, wherewith poor mortals are befooled and cheated; as that they are given us by the first Goodness and Truth, to lead us into the knowledge of himself and nature. This is a clear and evident consequence, and cannot be denied by any that doth not complain of darkness in the brightest and most meridian light. And here you have the foundations laid of the highest scepticism; for who can say he knows any thing, when he hath no basis on which he can raise any true conclusion?

Thus you see the noble faculties of man, his mind and understanding, will be to no end and purpose, but for a rack and torture; for what greater unhappiness or torment can there be imagined, than to have faculties whose accomplishment and perfection consists in a due conformation unto their objects, and yet to have no objects unto which they may be conformed? to have a soul unmeasurably breathing after

the embraces of truth and goodness, and after a search and enquiry after one and the other, and to find at last they are but airy, empty, and uncertain notions, depending upon the arbitrarious determinations of boundless and independent will; which determinations she sees it beyond her reach ever to come to any knowledge of?

Here you have likewise the true foundations of that we call *rantism*; for if there be no distinction betwixt truth and falsehood, good and evil, in the nature of the things themselves, and we never can be assured what is the mind and pleasure of the supreme and absolute will, (because veracity is not intrinsically, and *ex natura rei*, a perfection, but only an arbitrarious, if any attribute in the Deity,) then it infallibly follows, that it is all one what I do, or how I live; and I have as much reason to believe that I am as pleasing to God, when I give myself up unto all filthiness, uncleanness, and sin; when I swell with pride, envy, hatred, and malice, &c.; as when I endeavour with all my might and strength, to purge and purify my soul from all pollution and defilement, both of flesh and spirit; and when I pursue the mortification of all my carnal lusts and inclinations. And I have fully as much ground and assurance that the one is the ready way to happiness, as the other.

And this is another branch of the second absurdity, from the denial of the intrinsical and eternal respects and relations of things, that a man would not have any assurance of future happiness; for though it be true indeed, or at least we fancy to ourselves that God hath sent Jesus Christ into the world, and by him hath made very large and ample promises, that whosoever believes in him, and conforms his life unto his precepts, shall be made heir of the same inheritance and glory which Christ is now possessed of, and invested with in the kingdom of his Father; yet what ground have we to believe that God does not intend only to play with, and abuse our faculties, and in conclusion to damn all those that believe and live as is above expressed; and to take them only into the enjoyments of heaven and happiness, who have been the great opposers of the truth, and gospel, and life, and nature of Jesus Christ in the world? For if there be no eternal and indispensible relation of things, then there is no intrinsical evil in deceiving and falsifying, in the damning the good, or saving obstinate and contumacious sinners, (whilst such) notwithstanding any promises or threatenings to the contrary: and if the things be in themselves indifferent, it is an unadvised confidence to pronounce determinately on either side. Yea, farther, suppose we should be assured that God is *verax*, and that the Scripture doth declare what is his mind and pleasure, yet if there be not an intrinsical opposition betwixt the being and not being of a thing at the same time, and in the same respect;

then God can make a thing that hath been done, undone, and that whatever hath been done or spoken, either by himself, or Christ, or his apostle, should never be done, or spoken by him or them; though he hath come into the world, yet he should not be come; though he hath made these promises, yet that they should not be made; though God hath given us faculties, that are capable of the enjoyment of himself, yet that he should not have given them us; and that yet we should have no being, nor think a thought while we fancy and speak of all these contradictions. In fine, it were impossible we should know any thing, if the opposition of contradictory terms depend upon the arbitrarious resolves of any being whatsoever. If any should affirm that the terms of common notions have an eternal and indispensible relation unto one another, and deny it of other truths, he exceedingly betrays his folly and incogitancy; for these common notions and principles are foundations and radical truths, upon which are built all the deductions of reason and discourse; and with which, so far as they have any truth in them, they are inseparably united. All these consequences are plain and undeniable, and therefore I shall travel no farther in the confirmation of them.

Against this discourse will be objected, that it destroys God's independency and self-sufficiency; for if there be truth antecedently to the Divine understanding, the Divine understanding will be a mere passive principle, acted and enlightened by something without itself, as the eyes by the sun, and lesser objects which the sun irradiates: and if there be mutual congruities and dependencies of things in a moral sense, and so, that such and such means have a natural and intrinsical tendency, or repugnance to such and such ends, then will God be determined in his actions from something without himself, which is to take away his independency and self-sufficiency. The pardoning of sin to repenting sinners, seems to be a thing very suitable to infinite goodness and mercy, if there be any suitableness or agreement in things antecedently to God's will; therefore in this case will God be moved from abroad, and as it were determined to an act of grace. This will also undermine and shake many principles and opinions, which are looked upon as fundamentals, and necessary to be believed: it will unlink and break that chain and method of God's decrees which is generally believed amongst us. God's great plot and design from all eternity, as it is usually held forth, was to advance his mercy and justice in the salvation of some, and damnation of others. We shall speak only of that part of God's design, the advancement of his justice in the damnation of the greatest part of mankind, as being most pertinent for the improving of the strength of the objection against our former discourse.

That God may do this, he decrees to create man, and being created, decrees that man should sin; and because, as some say, man is a mere passive principle, not able, no not in the presence of objects, to reduce himself into action; or because in the moment of his creation, as others, he was empowered with an indifferency to stand or fall; therefore, lest there should be a frustration of God's great design, he decrees in the next place, infallibly to determine the will of man unto sin, that having sinned he might accomplish his damnation, and what he had first, and from all eternity in his intentions, the advancement of his justice. Now if there be such an intrinsical relation of things, as our former discourse pretends unto, this design of God will be wholly frustrated. For it may seem clear to every man's understanding, that it is not for the honour and advancement of justice to determine the will of man to sin, and then to punish him for that sin unto which he was so determined; whereas if God's will, as such, be the only rule and principle of actions, this will be an accommodate means (if God so please to have it) unto his design. The sum is, we have seemed in our former discourse to bind and tie up God, who is an absolute and independent Being, to the petty formalities of good and evil, and to fetter and imprison freedom and liberty itself, in the fatal and immutable chains and respects of things.

I answer: This objection concerns partly the understanding of God, and partly his will. As for the Divine understanding, the case is thus; there are certain beings or natures of things which are logically possible; it implies no contradiction that they should be, although it were supposed there were no power that could bring them into being; which natures, or things, supposing they were in being, would have mutual relations of agreement or opposition unto one another, which would be no more distinguished from the things themselves, than relations are from that which founds them. Now the Divine understanding is a representation or comprehension of all those natures or beings thus logically, and in respect of God absolutely possible, and consequently it must needs be also a comprehension of all these sympathies and antipathies, either in a natural or a moral way, which they have one to another: for they, as I said, do necessarily and immediately flow from the things themselves, as relations do, *posito fundamento et termino*. Now the Divine understanding doth not at all depend upon these natures or relations, though they be its objects; for the nature of an object doth not consist in being *motivum facultatis*, as it is usually with us, whose apprehensions are awakened by their presence; but its whole nature is sufficiently comprehended in this, that it is *terminativum facultatis;* and this precisely doth not speak any dependency of the faculty upon it, especially in the Divine

understanding; where this objective, terminative presence flows from the fecundity of the Divine nature: for the things themselves are so far from having any being antecedently to the Divine understanding, that had not it been their exemplary pattern and idea, they had never been created, and being created, they would lie in darkness; (I speak of things that have not in them a principle of understanding, not conscious of their own natures, and that beauteous harmony they have among themselves) were they not irradiated by the Divine understanding, which is as it were an universal sun that discovers and displays the natures and respects of things, and does as it were draw them up into its beams.

To the second part of the objection, the strength whereof is, That to tie up God in his actions to the reason of things, destroys his liberty, absoluteness, and independency, I answer: It is no imperfection for God to be determined to good; it is no bondage, slavery, or contraction, to be bound up to the eternal laws of right and justice: it is the greatest impotency and weakness in the world to have a power of evil, and there is nothing so diametrically opposite to the very being and nature of God. *Stat pro ratione voluntas*, unless it be as a redargution and check of imprudent and daring inquirers, is an account nowhere justifiable. The more any being partakes of reason and understanding, the worse is the imputation of acting arbitrariously *et pro imperio*. We can pardon it in women and children, as those from whom we do not expect that they should act upon any higher principle; but for a man of reason and understanding, that hath the laws of goodness and rectitude (which are as the laws of the Medes and Persians, that cannot be altered) engraven upon his mind; for him to cast off the golden reins, and to set up arbitrarious will for his rule and guide, is a piece of intolerable rashness and presumption. This is an infallible rule, that liberty in the power or principle is nowhere a perfection, when there is not an indifferency in the things or actions about which it is conversant. And therefore it is a piece of our weakness and imbecility, that we have a nature so indetermined to what is good. These things need no proof, indeed cannot well be proved, otherwise than they prove themselves: for they are of immediate truth, and prove themselves they will, to a pure, unprejudiced mind.

Our former discourse doth not infer any dependency of God upon anything without himself; for God is not excited to his actions by any foreign or extrinsical motives; what he does, proceeds from the eternal immutable respects and relations, or reasons of things; and where are these to be found, but in the Eternal and Divine wisdom? For what can infinite wisdom be, but a steady and immoveable comprehension of all those natures and relations? and therefore God in his

actions does not look abroad, but only consult (if I may so speak) the ideas of his own mind. What creatures do, is but the offering a particular case, for the reducement of a general principle into a particular action, or the presentment of an occasion for God to act according to the principles of his own nature: when we say that God pardoneth sin upon repentance, God is not moved to an act of grace from anything without himself; for this is a principle in the Divine wisdom, that pardon of sin to repenting sinners is a thing very suitable to infinite goodness, and this principle is a piece of the Divine nature. Therefore when God upon a particular act of repentance puts forth a particular act of grace, it is but as it were a particular instance to the general rule, which is a portion of Divine perfection; when it is said, "to him that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance," the meaning is, he that walks up to that light, and improves that strength that God hath already communicated unto him, shall have more abundant incomes of light and strength from God. It doth not follow that God is moved from without to impart his grace: for this is a branch of Divine wisdom: it is agreeable to the infinite goodness of God, to take notice of, and reward the sincere, though weak endeavours of his creatures after him; so that what is from abroad, is but a particular occasion to those divine principles to exert and put forth themselves.

Thus have we spoken concerning the truth of things, or truth in the object. It follows that we speak concerning truth in the power or faculty, which we call truth in the subject; which we shall dispatch in a few words.

Truth in the power or faculty is nothing else but a conformity of its conceptions or ideas unto the natures and relations of things, which in God we may call an actual, steady, immoveable, eternal Omniformity, as Plotinus calls the Divine Intellect, ἓν πάντα, which you have largely described by him. And this the Platonists truly call the Intellectual Word, for here are the natures of all things, pure and unmixed, purged from all those dregs, refined from all that dross and alloy, which cleave unto them in their particular instances. All inferior and sublunary things, not excluding man himself, have their excrescences and defects; exorbitances or privations are moulded up in their very frame and constitutions. There is somewhat extraneous, heterogenous, and preternatural in all things here below, as they exist amongst us; but in that other world, like the most purely fined gold, they shine in their native and proper glory. Here is the first goodness, the benign Parent of the whole creation, with his numerous offspring, the infinite throng of created being: here is the Fountain of eternal love,

with all its streams and rivulets: here is the Sun of uncreated glory, surrounded with all its rays and beams: here are the eternal and indispensible laws of right and justice, the immediate and indemonstrable principles of truth and goodness: here are steady and immutable rules for all cases and actions however circumstantiated, from which the will of God, though never so absolute and independent, from everlasting to everlasting, shall never depart one tittle. Now all that truth that is in any created being, is by participation from this first understanding and fountain of intellectual light. And that truth in the power or faculty is nothing but the conformity of its conceptions or ideas with the natures and relations of things, is clear and evident in itself, and necessarily follows from what hath been formerly proved concerning the truth of things themselves, antecedently to any understanding or will; for things are what they are, and cannot be otherwise without a contradiction, and their mutual respects and dependences eternal and unchangeable, as hath been already shewed: so that the conceptions and ideas of these natures and their relations can be only so far true, as they conform and agree with the things themselves, and the harmony which they have one to another.

Dr. ALLESTREE.

A.D. 1640—1680.

The professional accomplishments, courage, and loyalty of this worthy clergyman, though eminent, were not in his time by any means singular; but the personal adventures he was engaged in were of a more striking character than commonly diversified the lives of men of his sober profession, even in the turbulent seventeenth century.

Richard Allestree was born at Uppington, Shropshire, in 1619. Having received the first rudiments of education in a neighbouring seminary, (where he sat on the same form with Baxter), he was sent to the grammar-school at Coventry; and, in 1636, was placed at Christ Church, Oxford, under the tuition of the famous Richard Busby. Here his diligence and abilities quickly obtained the favourable notice of the dean, Dr. Samuel Fell. Bishop Fell, the dean's son, (to whose affectionate regard for their author we are indebted for the editorship of Allestree's sermons, and for the memoir of his life, by which that admirable volume is prefaced), thus narrates Allestree's career at the university. "Six months," writes the bishop, "after his settlement in the university, the dean made him student of the college, which title he really answered by great and happy application to study, wherein he made remarkable progress; as a testimony and encouragement of which, so soon as he had taken the degree of bachelor of arts, he was chosen moderator in philosophy, and had the employment renewed year by year, till the disturbances of the kingdom interrupted the studies and repose of the university."

When, in 1641, the King sent out his commission of array, Allestree was among the foremost of those loyal Oxford students who closed their books, and appeared in arms for him. After a short training under Sir John Biron, he joined Prince Rupert in the west, and was with the garrison at Worcester when it was relieved by the prince, in the smart action of Powis Field. He then returned to Oxford, and for a season resumed the student's gown. In this garb he had, however,

an opportunity of doing the royal cause an important service. Lord Say, entering the university with a body of troops, plundered it of such plate and money as had not been previously sent away for the King's use. In the absence of the dean and his family, who had withdrawn from Christ Church, Allestree was left in charge of the college; and, by a dexterous use of his authority, disappointed Say's party of the prey they expected there. He so contrived, that neither in the college treasury, nor at the deanery, whither the enraged soldiers hurried from that apartment to wreak their vengeance, was anything found beyond bare walls. The delinquent was seized; but the plunderers, being suddenly recalled by the Earl of Essex, permitted him to escape.

Allestree was present at the battle of Edge Hill. The day following that memorable contest, understanding that the King designed to march to Oxford, he set forward to prepare the deanery of Christ Church for his Majesty's reception; but was made prisoner on the road, by a party from Lord Say's garrison at Broughton House. The royal army, however, presently coming up, the garrison surrendered, and Allestree was enabled to pursue his journey.

Under the immediate protection of the King's forces, Oxford was restored to confidence; presenting a singular union of the gaiety of a court, and the ruder bustle of military preparation, with peaceful academical pursuits. At this period, the activity of Allestree was for a time suspended, in consequence of his being seized with a pestilential disorder, which had been bred by the crowded state of the city. Immediately on his recovering, though now a master of arts and fellow of his college, he joined the regiment of students which had lately been embodied for the King's service. The youth who had volunteered to form this corps, served without pay or reward, in all the duties of common soldiers; from whom they differed, indeed, only in their more orderly behaviour, and in their unusual courtesy and honour towards those persons on whom they might happen to be quartered. Nor, even while in active service, were the more legitimate functions of their academic station wholly laid aside. Frequently, we are told, might Allestree be seen "holding his musket in one hand and his book in the other, and making the watchings of a soldier the lucubrations of a student."

In this employment he continued till the melancholy close

of the struggle: then, "betaking himself to that warfare to which his education had designed him, he entered orders at a time when there was no prospect of temporal advantage, and when his being in the service of God threatened no less danger than being in the service of the prince." Allestree took an active part, with every other eminent member, in that honourable testimony of attachment to the sovereign, which the university gave by their unanimous protest against the covenant. In the visitation which followed, he was, of course, not overlooked. Of that discreditable transaction the following summary account is given in his life, by Dr. Fell: "The visitors being at last come with a second commission, having lost the first by overstaying in a long prayer and sermon the time assigned for the opening of it, began their inquiry, and did it not, as one would have expected from men of zeal and godliness, with an inspection into vice and immorality; but set their whole affair upon the short issue of submitting to the authority of the parliament; and they who could prostitute their allegiance to their prince, and their oaths to the university and local visitors, though never so flagitious, were immediately received to favour. All others, however meriting, were without farther regard proscribed; the method whereof was, to write the names of as many as they thought fit to sacrifice at once, on paper, and affix it upon the door of St. Mary's church; wherein was signified, that the persons there named were by the authority of the visitors banished the university, and required to depart the precincts thereof within three days, upon pain of being taken for spies of war, and accordingly proceeded against. By which practice, often repeated, the men of greatest hopes and merit in the university were spoiled of all things, and not suffered to breathe the common air. So that within the compass of a few weeks, an almost general riddance was made of the loyal university of Oxford; in whose room succeeded an illiterate rabble, swept up from the plough-tail, from shops, and grammar-schools, and the dregs of the neighbour university. Those of the ancient stock who were spared upon this trial, were afterwards cast off upon the second test of the engagement, till in the end there were left very few legitimate members in any of the colleges."

Allestree's turn to be expelled came about the middle of July. He retired into his native county, and lived there as chaplain in the house of the honourable Francis Newport. Upon the death of his patron's father, Lord Newport, who

died in France, whither he had fled to avoid the violence of the party in power, Allestree was sent over to secure the property of the deceased nobleman. After the defeat and retirement of Charles the Second, the royalists having occasion for some intelligent and faithful messenger to the exiled prince, it appears that Allestree's successful arrangement of Lord Newport's affairs pointed him out as a fit agent for this delicate service. Among other transactions, the negotiations respecting the means of preserving the episcopal succession in the Church of England, were entrusted to his management. He had succeeded in safely performing several journeys, between the eager subjects of the King at home and his continental mockery of a court, when, on returning from Brussels, in the winter of 1659, he was seized at Dover, conveyed in custody to London, and imprisoned by a committee of the Council of Safety, in Lambeth Palace. Here the severities he had to endure brought on a dangerous illness. But the dawn of better days for the loyal majority of the nation was now plainly visible; and some leading men of the republican side, perceiving the rapid tendency of events towards a restoration, sought to recommend themselves to the future government, by procuring liberty for the imprisoned messenger; which was obtained after a confinement of six or eight weeks.

Hastening down, as soon as he could escape from the capital, to his relations in Shropshire, he proceeded thence to pay a visit to his venerated friend Dr. Hammond, at Westwood; but had the grief of meeting the corpse of that excellent person, borne, in the hour of national jubilee, to the grave. Allestree had reason to be proud of his place in Hammond's esteem; for the author of the *Practical Catechism* had on his death-bed distinguished him among his friends by the bequest of his library.

After the Restoration, Mr. Allestree was made a canon of Christ Church: he likewise accepted one of the popular lectureships in Oxford, with the view of setting an example, how to turn those abused preferments to a better purpose; but the salary he ordered to be distributed among the poor. In October 1660, he took the degree of D.D., and was appointed one of the King's chaplains in ordinary. Soon after he was chosen regius professor of divinity. A second canonry, with the living of Ewelm, attached to the professorship, now falling to him, he presented Ewelm to a friend, and assigned the profits of one of the stalls, in the first instance towards the

repairs of the college, and afterwards for the support of a decayed member of the society.

His ultimate preferment was the provostship of Eton, conferred on him by the personal favour of the King, though not till after two laymen had been designed to fill the vacant office. Mr. Boyle had the offer, and declined it. A nomination was then obtained for Waller; but the poet being, as a layman, rendered ineligible by the statutes, Lord Chancellor Clarendon refused to put the great seal to the grant. In every other situation the career of this mild and good man had proceeded "without competition or difference with any one;" but this, his latest, abode was rendered more peculiarly pleasant to him by the affectionate terms on which he lived with the society by whom he was now surrounded. Throughout his provostship, Eton College presented but one united family. There, accordingly, though solicited to fill a higher dignity, he resolved to pass his remaining days; his epitaph in the chapel of the college, truly affirming, *Episcopales infulas eâdem industriâ evitavit, quâ alii ambiunt*—that he shunned the episcopal dignity as anxiously as other men seek it. To Eton he was a great benefactor. By his careful stewardship he relieved the finances of the college from a heavy incumbrance; he rebuilt the western side of the quadrangle, now the upper school; he obtained a grant under the great seal, by which it was determined, that, for the future, six of the seven fellows should be scholars who had been educated at Eton; and, by his reputation and good management, he, in a few years, raised the institution from a depressed state to that prosperous condition from which it has not since declined, and with reference to which, every lover of ancient learning is disposed to breathe an earnest *Esto perpetua.*

In 1679, perceiving his sight and health begin to fail, he resigned his chair at Oxford. Other symptoms of decay quickly followed, terminating in dropsy. To obtain the best medical assistance, he repaired to London, where he ended his laborious and honourable career, on the 28th day of January, 1680.

Dr. Allestree was more than merely a learned man and an accomplished preacher. The calamities of his time were attended with this benefit to the clergy, (to whom an abundant share of them fell) that they enabled many individuals of that body to gain such an experience of human life, and to

cultivate such habits of business, as are not easily acquired within the walls of a college, or amid the peaceful duties of a parochial cure. We are told, respecting this divine, that he was as well read in men as in books. Nevertheless, through all the vicissitudes of his life, he preserved his innocence, and his love of God and virtue. There was not in the world, avers his biographer, "a man of clearer honesty and courage." His modesty was, at the same time, no less remarkable: "all his discourses were with deference and respect; spoken with the weight which becomes a professor, but with the softness of a learner." One fault he had—the fault of his age and his order—inordinate application to study: it was this, that deprived the church of "his services and his authority," *morte* (records his monument) *immaturâ*. His constitution was by nature so vigorous, and so palpably yielded only to the ceaseless wear of mental toil, that this assertion seems not inconsistent with the fact of his having survived his sixtieth anniversary. He was buried, and his monument still remains, in the chapel at Eton.

There are extant, from the pen of Dr. Allestree, *Forty Sermons*, in two vols. fol. 1684, edited by Dr. Fell; of which the greater part were preached, on various occasions, before the King, and many of them published in the author's life-time. These discourses are distinguished by a degree of vigour and vivacity, accordant with the stirring character and adventurous life of their author; by a thorough knowledge of Scripture; by correct logic, and profound thought; and by felicity of diction and illustration. In style they present a happy medium between the pedantic and stuffed sentences of some of Allestree's immediate predecessors, and the meagre flow of most modern sermons. In Bishop Barlow's *Miscellaneous and weighty Cases of Conscience*, is printed a judgement by Allestree on a case of divorce. Wood mentions also, as a production of this author's, a tract entitled *The Privileges of the University of Oxford in point of visitation;* but this tract has been likewise attributed to his friend Philip Fell, brother of the bishop, and a fellow of Eton.

ON FAITH.

The qualification "believe" is absolutely necessary to make men capable of any benefits from Christ. For in all such benefits as were to come by miracle, it is well known what St. Matthew says of Naza-

reth, his own country, that "he did not many mighty works there, because of their unbelief" (xiii. 58). St. Mark expresses it, "that he could there do no mighty work" (vi. 5), that is, he could not be inclined to work them, so as that he could or would be willing to do any, "saving that he laid his hand upon a few sick folk, and healed them." For though "signs are not," as St. Paul says, "for believers, but for them that believe not" (1 Cor. xiv. 22), so that infidelity seems rather prerequired to them than belief, since they are done on purpose to convince and work men to the faith, on which account some were always wrought first, where he was not known, to raise men's opinions and expectations concerning him, (which if they were heeded, so that they did work some but beginnings of belief, he used to add more to increase that faith and confirm it,) yet where the first essays were ineffectual, and got no credit, there he did forbear; for such rendered themselves unworthy of them altogether; miracles were lost upon them, not attaining that end which they were intended for: which was not for compassion to their sick to heal, or their dead to raise them; for then, as St. Chrysostom observes, he would have cured or raised them all; but for their conviction, to make faith of the divinity of his person and doctrine, and prevail with them to give themselves up to him, as to the Messiah: and therefore from all those who by the knowledge or the fame of his great works were drawn to come to him for help, he still requires profession of the faith they had concerning him; and just according to the measures of that faith so he dispenses aid. Thus (Matt. ix. 28) the blind men that cried after him and followed him for sight, he asks, "Believe ye that I am able to do this?" and when they affirmed, "Yea, Lord," he yields no more but this, "According to your faith be it unto you" (ver. 29). But when the Canaanitish woman did believe even to importunacy and trouble, and her faith was such as would neither be shaken nor receive repulse, but was full proof against Christ's arguments and his seeming reproaches, yea, made use of his upbraidings, urged them to her own advantage, and in spite of all resistance persevered, Christ could not then contain, but cried, "O woman, great is thy faith; be it unto thee even as thou wilt" (Matt. xv. 28). And on the other side, as, while Peter's courage, seeing Christ his master walking towards them upon the water, made him desire to meet him on the water too, accordingly it followed: while he did resolvedly obey his Master and rely on his assistance that commanded him, he was sustained, that confidence did buoy him up; but when a turbulent strong wind once shook his faith, when he began to fear and then to doubt, immediately he sunk (Matt. xiv. 30). And all the reason in the world, that when he doubted whether Christ would or were able to uphold him in obeying him, though he had

present experiment of both, he should be then left to himself; when in the height of the success and the securities of miracles he was afraid and staggered: since it was the whole design of miracles, and by consequence of that, to work faith, and it is the very essence also of faith to assure us of God's power and his readiness to perform whatever he hath promised, howsoever difficult. It was this very faith that gave denomination and acceptance to the Father of the faithful; for when Abraham was bid to offer up that Son in whom he had received the promises that he should be the Father of many nations,—that faith by which against hope he believed in hope, that it would come to pass, and staggering not, considered neither difficulty, or rather natural impossibility, of what was promised, οὐδὲ διεκρίθη, nor was curious to satisfy himself, or indeed examine how it should or could be, as if he would model God's performances or his own expectation by the measures of his comprehension of the means and method; but accounting God was able, if all other methods failed, "to raise him up from death," although he had no instance of that power (Heb. xi. 19), and "being fully persuaded that what he had promised he was able also to perform,—therefore it was imputed to him for righteousness" (Rom. iv. 21, 22). Now as this faith that God was able, was that faith which made Abraham approved; and the like faith in Christ we see was that which made them capable of his miraculous assistances; so (those cures and miracles being emblems, and indeed pledges of that greater cure, that far more comprehensive miracle he undertook, and came to work on mankind,—the healing of their bodies not only shadowing out the healing of their souls, but also restitution of sight to the blind, movement to the lame, and the like, being partial essays of that resurrection which he promised, that was to restore all those to all, at once giving life to the dead), the like assurance of his power and readiness to do all this, together with a full trust in him, that whatever difficulties we encounter or imagine, yet in the performance of his promises he will never fail those who seek after, and pursue them in the ways that he hath chalked out to arrive at them;—this faith, I say, is the first qualification that can make us capable of benefit by him: indeed, as it is the first, so it is the most intimate and only active principle of all obedience, religion, and virtue.

For when all impressions both of God himself, of good and evil, and their after recompence, were defaced, and though the lineaments of these things were wrought into men in their making, and the study of philosophy had refreshed the dying images; yet an inundation of corruption and debauchery had overspread all, so far as that Almighty God did think it needful that his Son should be incarnated to reveal again our duty and teach virtue, and to give us an example

of it in his practice, even in the most severe and fatal instances, and after having suffered for it, and by that means ransomed us from suffering for transgressing of our duty, then to rise again and ascend into glory, to assure the blessed recompences of religion and obedience, and the infinitely miserable returns of impiety and vice;—if, after all, we either shall so far abhor the duty, as that we renounce these glorious obligations to it, turn away from the very proposal of all those advantages that are to crown it, and defy that ransom paid for them, disbelieve all, count them dreams, cheats or illusions; or however, if we cannot satisfy ourselves that those rewards or punishments are possible or likely, certainly it is most impossible there can be a temptation of force to invite men to religion or to any virtue: this method of proposal of such infinite after recompences to our faith, demonstrated by such miracles to evince the power and their certainty, being the most vigorous struggle of Divine compassion towards man, the utmost attempt of mercy, which alone was hopeful since all others failed the trial, was his greatest strength apportioned to the full-grown wickedness of the world.

At first, in one thousand six hundred years from innocence, the whole world was grown so bad, that God could find out but one whole family to save alive; and he destroyed the rest for warning to all future generations: and yet in less than a quarter of that time immediately ensuing, there was again only one family, that of Abraham, which, out of all the world, he could think fit to take into his favour and his care. In whose posterity, although he exercised them with strange prodigies of sufferings and reliefs, and in the midst of miracles renewed his law to them, trained them up in that by all arts of punishments and rewards, kept them as it were in constant discipline with present visible returns of plagues and death, for every act of disobedience; so that the whole sacred history is nothing but a current tide of God's mercy and Israel's provocations, their sin and his punishing it; when famine, pestilence, and war, all the separations which might be expected from the furnace of affliction, were utterly ineffectual, and the people were so settled on their lees, that all attempt to purify only fretted and disturbed, and it was necessary to rack them from those lees, and "empty them from vessel to vessel," so that the nation was carried captive in Babylon; even this digestion of seventy years together had no more prosperous effect, than the preceding frustrate methods: the return of the captivity brought also back the former disobedience and infidelity. And "when the fulness of time was come" that the Messiah should appear, "and restore all things" (Matt. xvii. 11), he came, as the Baptist called it, to "a generation of vipers" (Matt. iii. 7). When "the light shone in darkness, the dark-

ness comprehended it not." When "he came unto his own, his own received him not" (John i. 5, 11). So that, as St. Luke expresses it, "When the Son of man came, he did not find faith in the earth." Where the fairest steps were made to belief, it was exceedingly faint and imperfect: his very disciples were "of little faith," as our Saviour complains (Matt. vi. 30, &c.) Nor was this frailty superseded in the more established growth of Christianity. Though we hear, in the book of Acts, of multitudes of them that believed (iv. 32), yet we hear also of some that opposed themselves, "contradicted, and blasphemed" (xiii. 45), others there were who "made shipwreck of the faith" (1 Tim. i. 19), and others that doubted, and were wavering, and "weak in faith," (Rom. xiv.) And so it is to this day. What St. Paul said to the Corinthians (1 Cor. iii. 1, 2), every preacher of the gospel has to say unto the greatest part of his flock, "I, brethren, could not speak to you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal, even as unto babes in Christ; I have fed you with milk, and not with meat, for hitherto ye were not able to bear it, neither yet now are ye able." The Christian flock more partakes of the folly and weakness of sheep, than the innocence. The faces of both tend to the earth,—intent on their pasture, where they may range and feed with plenty and delight. In the greatest part of professors with their faith there is mixed unbelief, so as sometimes to preponderate, for the most part to alloy and weaken it.

Nor though it should be granted that the motives and the means of Christian faith are of themselves sufficient to convince the minds of men, that the revelations of the gospel are from God, so far as that there can remain no place for any reasonable doubt or scruple, nor by consequence plea for excusing them who give not up their faith to it, yet, notwithstanding all this evidence, arising from those means and motives, still many of the things to be believed are so inevident, for they are mysteries, and are wrapped up in such obscurity, that they astonish and affright apprehension; and while the mind is swallowed up in the abyss of such dark contemplations, whatever light strikes in from motives, yet the mind is mazed so, that, if it assent, it cannot be without suspicion, and some fear, and tremulously: and difficulties often so distract the understanding, that it cannot settle, but is loose and wavering.

Now, as in the contests that often happen in us betwixt the temporal interests and pleasures of this world and the eternal blessednesses of the next, in those that are sincerely satisfied of the real infinite disproportion betwixt them, yet if any present object, that does flatter appetite with strong delight or other satisfaction, chance but to surprise a man so far as that his present whole attention be engaged upon

it, and it be not called off, nor the will apply the understanding to consider and compare the other interests, the everlasting ones, and weigh them both together, it is certain he will yield against his conscience to satisfy his sinful inclination; for to that his surprised appetite applied him, and that application did determine him; (there being no way to resist the forcible assaults of present things that strike the mind with vigour, if the will, some way excited, do not frequently engage the understanding to contemplate on, advert to with intensiveness, even with all its might, those blessednesses which God's promises propose to our belief, that so the mind, by reason of its constant conversation with them, may not fail to call them up on all occasions, and bring them into the comparison, with any present thing that does allure, and then those will preponderate without fail,)—so, in the other objects of our faith, the mysteries, and generally in all objects whatsoever, where the understanding does not reach the nature, so as to discern and look into the truth of them, if there be arguments that make a fair shew and flatter natural reason by complying with its principles, which oppose that truth, and with their difficulties maze and appal the understanding, its assent cannot be settled firmly on the truth, unless the evil cause the understanding to busy and apply itself so to the arguments and motives of its credibility, that it find a principle whereon to bottom its persuasion, such as that it can compare with, and oppose to those objections, and find reason to adhere to it against them; such as this, "God hath said it." So that although, on one side, subtle reasonings seem to commit a rape upon my understanding, and against belief almost force my assent, yet on the other side God's own authority, of which I have no cause to doubt (if I advert sincerely to the motives of its credibility, for we supposed that) is of strength sufficient to secure my faith, and will never suffer it to faint at such objections, as I know arise only from ignorance and want of principles to judge by, and from the incomprehensibility of the object. Now if the will do constantly engage the understanding thus by frequent application to such principles, human reason, howsoever apt to be rebellious, will be easily subdued and brought into captivity to the obedience of faith, and our belief will be unshaken; so that the will is justly said to have a signal interest in, and influence on our faith. To make which good, I might produce councils and schoolmen; but it shall suffice me that the Scripture says, that "with the heart man believeth unto righteousness" (Rom x. 10), and it is required that man "believe with all his heart" (Acts viii. 37), and it is called "an evil heart of unbelief in departing from the living God" (Heb. iii. 12); and for that reason, to believe is amongst God's precepts: faith is strictly commanded, and a great blessed reward proposed to it,

and infidelity is threatened with eternal torments. Now commands, rewards, and punishments, are such things as cannot be proposed but to the will, and are not at all made to move the understanding, which must needs assent exactly as it judges, and must judge according to appearance of objects; and you may as well desire a stone to fall up to heaven, or the senses to perceive that which they have no sense of, as the understanding to believe against its judgment, or to judge in contradiction to what appears to it. Now this being granted, that the heart hath such a vital influence upon our faith, and that the will contributes so much to believing, by prevailing with the understanding to contemplate on, and frequently converse with, and with great advertency attend to, those Divine and heavenly objects, and the motives to believe them;—it does therefore follow,—

Secondly, that whatsoever does engage the heart and take the will off, so as they do not cause this application of mind, must needs weaken and enfeeble faith; for it withdraws that that should nourish and give vigour to it, and makes way for unbelief. Now here, alas! if I should only name the several impediments upon this account, the avocations of the heart, it would be endless. But, to say nothing of particulars, whose state of life, either through the necessities of their condition or the trouble of it, or through a disorderly uneasy temperament of body, or disease, though all or each of these may keep the mind almost in a perpetual disturbance, or at least in great inaptitude to such spiritual application, if there be not strict watch kept to seize all lucid intervals; to pass these, and only touch at two occasions in the general. And,

The first is the understanding; which, if it be apt to be religiously scrupulous in little things, as for the most part scruples rise about such only, whether through weakness of judgment, credulity, and either little probabilities that work upon that, or the arts of seducing teachers, or else, especially, which is most consequent upon any close affliction, scruples rise through applications of God's judgments, or interpretation of the incomprehensible procedures of his providence; if these scruples come to work upon the understanding, so as that it usually entertains the will with no proposals else, which happens very frequently, and if it does thus even till the will delight itself in these its self-tormentings, and engages the whole man in a continual converse with them, so that he comes to love to aggravate his fears against himself, and wilfully retains them, and dwells on them, will not be diverted from such thoughts, which do not only with these their envenomed darts stab and wound the mind perpetually, and the poison of them drinks up his spirits, but they wound his faith: as, when those scruples are in great measure, and grown strong, they use to break out into blasphemies and desperation; so all less degrees also in their proportion raise doubts in

men, not as to their own condition only, but as to God's attributes, and works, and dealings with mankind, which corrupt, and ulcerate, and poison their belief, and it becomes languid, feeble, and unsteady.

But, secondly, that which universally takes off the heart or will from causing this so necessary application to the objects and the motives of our faith, is the lower appetite with its passions. For in man's life, which is so perfectly dramatic, and in which the world is always shifting scenes, there happens an infinite variety of either prosperous delightful, or cross sad accidents, which so goad and stimulate the affections, raise such ebullitions in the blood, and such impetuousness in the motions of the appetite, that the will is hurried along with them with a blind precipitation and a headlong fury; and by consequence, it fares so with the faculties upon the satisfactions of those appetites. Now, in this rout and confusion it is not possible the understanding can attend to spiritual applications; and if this happen frequently, then it being frequently thus diverted, and its conversation with affairs of faith much broken off, seldom reflecting on them, and so being very unaccustomed to those thoughts, all the impressions grow faint, languish, and decay; the motives have no force, and consequently the belief itself is loose, and scarce hath the assurance of a thin opinion, if it were examined. And of all this the experience is so dreadful, that we daily see, if men go on so far as to indulge their appetites habitually, that their minds being thereby taken altogether off from the other contemplations, they come to have no love to them, no regard at all, cannot well endure to think or hear of them; and are therefore given up by God's just judgment, such as was foretold long since, (2 Thess. ii. 10, 11,) "to strong delusions to believe a lie;" even a lie of that eternal dismal consequence, that virtue and religion, and the blessed expectation of it, are mere trumpery, and renounce those truths whereby they should be saved. But I design not to prosecute this to that height; it sufficeth, we having seen how the heart being by such means engaged, and ceasing to employ the understanding upon heavenly things, and on the motive to believe them, and the faith of them, comes so to lose all vigor, as not to be recovered if there be not some assistance to the will, that may be able to take off that ravenous inclination which it hath to present satisfactions, and that gross torpid stupidity it labours under towards future things, and withal excite and inflame it with desires after that "far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory," and besides remove all those other impediments of our belief which I have mentioned. Which assistance from what hand it is to be expected, and how it effects all that, I must next declare.

Now, that the birth, and growth, and strength of faith, (that faith, I say, that is effectual to salvation,) is all from God, from the preventing

and assisting graces of his Spirit, is a doctrine which the scripture is abundant in. It is the "gift of God," St. Paul saith, (Ephes. ii. 8), and Christ says, "No man can come to me" that is, believe in me, "except the Father which has sent me draw him" (John vi. 44), *i. e.* those preparations of the heart by which men are disposed to come at God's call and receive his gospel, whereas others whom it is equally proposed to, and who alike understand it, will not come, are the effect of his good grace; and in that respect such are said to be drawn by the Father, and to be taught of God, (ver. 45) and (ver. 64,) speaking to his followers, and telling them that "there are some of you that believe not," though they had all the methods of conviction, having heard his preaching and seen his miracles, as well as others; yet some of them notwithstanding not believing, he adds, (ver. 65,) "therefore I said unto you, that no man can come unto me, except it be given him of my Father." All the other means and motives, if alone, prevail not. "I have planted, Apollos watered, but it is God that giveth the increase," (1 Cor. iii. 6). I need not say, this is the doctrine of the Church of England; it is so of the Latin and Greek Churches; and on this account of the necessity of grace and the assistance of God's Spirit in believing, the whole Church of Christ hath universally maintained a war against Pelagius and his followers. It is more expedient to show what he doth, and how he does proceed in doing it; how he removes those hinderances of faith I mentioned, in each faculty both of the will and understanding.

First, as to the understanding: that he doth enlighten and clear it into the discerning of those heavenly truths, appears, since David therefore prays, "Open thou mine eyes, that I may behold the wondrous things of thy law" (Psalm cxix. 18,) and (ver. 27) "Make me to understand the way of thy precepts." It should seem, he apprehended wonderful miraculous dispensations in God's discoveries of himself and of his will to man, besides those of his nature; his transcendent goodness also in the pardoning our sins, in giving us such excellent precepts, in assisting us to the performance, in accepting our imperfect obedience, and in preparing everlasting blessed glory to reward and crown it. Now, that he might discern all these so sensibly as to be ravished and transported with them, so as that he might be wrought on to adore the blessed Donor of all these, and cling to him and them with the close and inseparable unions of faith and love; he therefore prays that God would open his eyes, enlighten and remove all those degrees of darkness that remained within him, quicken and enliven all his faculties, give him a vital sense and relish of all those things, make him understand them, that believing them he might adhere to them. And since the scripture says, that "with the heart man believeth unto righteousness," so it also

therefore says, that God does "give an heart to understand" (Deut. xxix. 4), and, "the Lord opened Lydia's heart, that she attended to the things that were spoken" (Acts xvi. 14); thus preventing unbelief, which, as I showed you, comes for want of such advertency.

And, as to the will; that "God works in us to will," is express scripture (Phil. ii. 13). And if we should only put the understanding in that case, wherein, as we before demonstrated, it is needful that the will engage it to make applications of the spiritual objects, when the man is not as yet biassed or corrupted, but is only languid and indifferent and unconcerned, yet then there is an absolute necessity the Spirit should cause it; for if the will be itself a faculty indifferent and free, there must be some prevenient proposal, thought, or motion, that may determine or fix it; and to will what it ought, it therefore must have some good motion or proposal, such as will prevail with it. Now such proposals and motions come not from itself, the will does not propose to itself, it cannot think, or make the motion; and the understanding, which, as the case is put, does need a resolution of the will thus to engage it, is not therefore qualified to make the motion sufficient and of force; for then it could and would apply itself without the will's engaging of it: much less is it qualified, when the will, drawn in by the affections of the lower appetite, hath applied the understanding to converse with sensual objects, and by doing so it is altogether stained with their impressions and images, and hath few others to excite or entertain itself withal. In either case, since neither understanding nor the will is able, there is nothing therefore but God's grace that does it, by so presenting objects and occasions, and disposing circumstances, in soft and congruous seasons, as with the assistance of his overshadowing and incubating on them, may be sure to hatch some inclination and desires that way in the understanding and will both. He does all by these means upon all occasions of Divine truth heard, or read, or meditated on, by his applying intimately to the mind the motives of believing, and to help the evidence by breaking in upon it with his own illuminations, which discover to the soul the beauty of God's promises, and make it see how infinitely advantageous they are to it. Thus he fills it with those beauteous images, then backs the thoughts with their allurements, so as that they love to hover and to dwell upon them. This animates them into cheerful practice of all performances that tend to them. Then he scatters, as it were, some gleams of future glory, shedding faches of it in the joys of conscience, arising from the sense both of God's encouragements and assistances to duty, and of the delights resulting from the faithful sincere practice of it; and by this joy quieting the conscience, if it either raise fears from the apprehension of God's dealings in these outward things, or else if it be scrupulous in little

things to the disturbance of his faith; convincing it, that conscience is not to accuse, or else excuse, but by the measures of sincerity or insincerity in known real duty; not from the events or dispensations of God's providence on one side, nor on the other, in little things wherein there is no law to guide us, and which only prejudice or seduction can make doubtful, assuring us "the kingdom of God is not meat and drink," indifferent rites, "but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost" (Rom. xiv. 17). Thus, as St. Paul says (Heb. vi. 4), "they that have tasted of the heavenly gift," the comfort of the pardon of their sins, and, consequent to that, the peace of conscience, and (ver. 5) "of the good word of God, and of the powers of the world to come," have intimate experimental relish of the gospel promises; those powers of heaven, those omnipotent forces God hath prepared "to cast down" every reasoning or "imagination" that should rise against the Christian doctrine, and "bring every thought to the obedience of it" (2 Cor. x. 5). All which are said to be effected there in them who had been "made partakers of the Holy Ghost."

By these means, therefore, he enflames the will, sets it all on fire with ardent love to God, and his rewards, and consequently to his service in all the works of piety and virtue, and endued with firm and settled resolutions of adhering to him in faithful constant practice of all this. And thus Christ by his Spirit, as he was the author, the "beginner of the faith," which he is styled (Heb. xii. 2), so by the same he is the "finisher" and the completer of it.

He was the author, as that testimony which the Spirit gave by miracles did evince the infallible certainty and the divinity of the doctrine to the world; for the Spirit is said to "bear witness to it" by those signs and wonders (Heb. ii. 3), and those signs are called the "demonstration of the Spirit" (1 Cor. ii. 4), that which did irrefragably prove and demonstrate all the doctrine of the gospel, and make certain faith of it; and in this sense it is, that faith is truly said to be resolved into the testimony of the Spirit. So also by the same he is the finisher, by the graces, the preventings and excitings, the overshadowings and assistings of that Spirit working in us a firm sincere adherence to that faith and the obedience of it; which, when it is wrought, faith hath attained that height, and in that degree, that is to make us capable of those benefits which Christ hath promised to bestow on true believers.

Faith, as the son of Syrach does define it, is ἀρχὴ κολλήσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ, the principle of cleaving to God, that which knits and joints us to him: and St. Paul saith as much, when he makes the formality of an evil heart of unbelief to consist in "departing from the living God;" and to faith, by which the just must live, opposes "drawing back," slinking away for fear of danger or affliction (Heb. x. 38). So that

according as that cleaving and adherency must be firm and indissoluble, so we are to judge of faith.

But, secondly, it is certain this adherency must be without waverings (James i. 6, 7): "But let him ask in faith, nothing wavering; for let not that man" (him that wavers) "think that he shall receive any thing at the hands of God." A firm and infallible assurance of God's promises, a confident expectation of a grant to his petitions, though the power of prayer be almost omnipotent on that account, ("What things soever ye desire, when ye pray, believe that ye receive them, and ye shall have them," Mark xi. 24); yet those are not meant by faith here; for the person that is bid not to expect a grant, is here supposed to think and to be confident he shall receive it: but the prayer here spoken of is for wisdom, how to behave oneself in times of chance and danger, or affliction for the truth's sake, in these "trials of his faith" (ver. 3). Now that he may obtain that wisdom, he is bid to ask for it of God; but he is also bid to "ask" it "in faith, nothing wavering;" *i. e.* he must come to God for it with firm adherence to him, with dependence on him only, and a mind resolved, whatever happens, to stick fast to him and his commands and methods, not to labour or accept deliverance on terms not allowed by God and a good conscience; he must not waver betwixt duty and security, nor be doubleminded, so as to apply now to Christ and religion, now to worldly carnal politics. Such "doubleminded" men, that have a mind to God and their duty, but a mind also to safety, interest, or some other satisfaction, "are unstable," are divided betwixt two, not knowing which to turn to, now taking one, now the other, do not stick to God; they are not faithful. It is not sound faith where there is not a resolved and settled cleaving; such false-hearted wavering ulcerates and gangrenes all.

But then, thirdly, where there is that firm sincere adherency to God and duty with such a dependence on him, there is faith that is effectual to the ends of faith: for this is true faith, that works and is consummated by love, and that begets an efficacious hope, by that hope works out the "purifying of ourselves as God is pure," and, consequently, does entitle us to "see God."

I know there are some, who, besides the certainty of adherence, do require an absolute certainty of evidence, affirming there is no true faith, but such as stands on a clear resolution into principles more evident and certain than those propositions are which are made out to us by demonstration, than any principles of sciences; which principles, since they are more necessary than that first one, "That which is, is," and the contrary to them more impossible than for the same thing that is, to be and not to be at the same time while it is, by consequence cannot but infuse greater necessity and certainty into our faith, than

there is in the knowledge of those propositions; so that it is impossible for him that is a true believer to say, "Lord, I believe; help thou my unbelief."

I shall not put it to the question, whether the rule of faith be firm and immoveable, or the principle which true belief must be resolved into, is the most infallible and necessary; for all those who resolve their faith into God's revelation, and make his word the rule, must needs assert all that. And whereas it is affirmed, that the motives laid in second causes by God's providence to persuade men to embrace the faith, must be such as of their own nature cannot fail to conclude points true; if they mean they cannot choose but be sufficient to conclude that they are such as ought to be believed, that is, assented to as true; yet so far, and in that manner, as God intended that they should conclude, that is, by the assistant grace and influence of his Holy Spirit, so far in that manner I will grant they could not fail to be conclusive. But that God intended they should be conclusive to us themselves with the evidence of such metaphysical necessity, so that by consequence they cannot but infuse a greater certainty and evidence into that assent that must be given to the points of faith, than there is in those propositions that are first in science; and where there is not such necessity, certainty, and evidence raised by clear resolution into principles more evident, certain, and necessary than those are, there is not that faith which is alone, is true; and, consequently, that all true faith must assent with the highest evidence, necessity, and certainty;—this, I say, may be granted, when it shall be made appear how it is possible that God can variously deal to men the measure of faith, if every true believer must needs have the greatest fullest measure; or how any man that hath faith, and by consequence is certain most infallibly, can be weak in faith, or have his faith increase, so as that it may grow exceedingly and wax very strong, even till it come to full assurance and plerophory: all this, I say, is not impossible, if all true faith have essentially this plerophory, this highest most infallible certainty and evidence. But it is certain that God variously deals the measure of faith (Rom. xii. 3), that there are those who have faith, and yet are "weak in faith" (Rom. iv. 19; xiv. 1), that have their "faith increased" (Luke xvii. 5), so as that it grows exceedingly (2 Thess. i. 3), "waxes very strong" (Rom. iv. 20), even to a "full assurance" (Heb. x. 22).

Moreover, if those principles and motives blazed with such an evidence, so bright a lustre, of so cogent a necessity, can any man believe that God would think it needful to arm that necessity with strict precepts, fortify it with the aids of his own Holy Spirit, and eternally reward obedience to a most invincible necessity? Dare any man imagine God could be so sportive in commanding, as on pain of ever-

lasting torment to engage us to believe, that that which is existent is existent, or that the sun does shine at bright noon-day, when we behold it so as that we cannot but see it? (it is our author's own instance), or to assent to these must there be the graces and assistance of the Holy Ghost? or to believe the sun shines, when it does, is that a faith that is fit to be rewarded with eternal light and glory? In fine, since that the only certainty of faith which is effectual to the ends of faith, is the certainty and firmness of adherency to God and Christ, and to our duty, without which all other certainty, however infallible, can but help toward our condemnation; and since where the Holy Spirit and his graces intervene not, however evident men fancy that their principles and motives are, their way of resolution demonstrative, there will be no true faith; and where he works with his graces, though they were not so infallible and bright, yet the adherency is firm, the faith true and saving; therefore there appears no evident necessity of such pompous principles and ways of resolution of our faith. For I would only ask, for whose sake, and on whose account it is so needful that these motives, principles, and ways of resolution should be so infallibly certain, evident, and necessary? Those that do embrace the faith sincerely and are saved, or those that do not give their hearts up to it, and so perish in their unbelief? As to these, since besides all arguments internal to the doctrine, outward testimony (the only argument in matter of fact) in its behalf is far greater and more pregnant than there is for any other fact that ever was; such as, humanly speaking, is impossible not to be true; nor could there ever yet be found a rational exception or just ground of doubt against it, so that it is impossible but they must be convinced in reason, that it is most irrational not to assent; those, therefore, that do wilfully resist their understandings and their reason, and withal God's ordinary methods of conviction, and so put a bar against his graces and his Spirit, since much more than was enough was done for them, they are without excuse; and since they did defy what was more than sufficient in itself, and so resist God's methods also, there is no pretence or reason for more helps of evidence on their account. As for the other, those that give themselves up to the guidance of their light and reason and Almighty God's convictions, and are made partakers of the Holy Ghost, it is most certain that his Holy Spirit will do all that is needful to complete their faith, and make it certain to salvation; so that there is no need on their behalf of such self-evidence of principles and motives to infuse such metaphysical certainty into their faith. And yet this certainty of faith not only is the ground on which alone is built infallibility, wherever that is to be placed, for they are not agreed about it, and indeed, there were no great need to assure their faith into such certainty; but, besides, poor we,

because we do not take upon us to assert dogmatically the necessity of such most infallible certainty, not only are unchurched, but unchristened, concluded, beyond all possibility of evasion, not to have true faith, nor be truly faithful: an heavy imputation; therefore, I crave leave a little to consider it in one word, not desiring to reflect on others, but to justify ourselves; for in truth, God knows, we would as willingly go to heaven as our neighbours, where we know we cannot be received without true faith.

Now, though it looks unlucky that we should be doomed thus, upon grounds, of which the founder is himself under censure for them, and his books that laid them, even by his own church, though we are by virtue of their principles condemned as heretics, because we come not into their church which condemns the founder of these very principles on their account; yet since, however, anything does serve their turns, provided it condemns us, it is not, therefore, to be passed by. Now, the ground not only of their faith, but this their confidence, whereby they so exalt themselves and censure us, is the absolute certainty of the living voice and practice of that church, which resolves her faith by this rule or principle, not to believe, or teach, or practise anything as of faith but what they did receive from their immediate forefathers as of faith, and saw their practice of. For if this principle were their rule always (and if it be now, it must, they say, have been so,) then the faith of each succeeding age must needs have been the faith of the preceding; and by consequence, there having been no change, the faith of this age must needs be the same with that of Christ and his apostles. Now, since in the resolution of our faith we proceed not by this rule, upon this principle we have no rule of faith, nor certain resolution of it, and by consequence no faith. Now, it appears at first sight fully evident, that this rule of theirs does supersede and quite evacuate those doctrines that maintain, either the sayings of the fathers, or decrees of councils, or the definition of the popes, or the infallible authority of the church, whatever that church signify, hath any part or interest in the rule of faith, and very justly so; for fathers are but eminent members of the church, popes can pretend to be but heads of that church, councils but the representatives, and what infallible authority soever can be in the church, that church being the congregation of the faithful, and those only being faithful that hold the true faith; therefore till it be known which is the true faith, it cannot be known who are the true faithful, nor by consequence which is the church, nor therefore which is head, member, or representative of it, or hath that authority; and therefore, before all, those men must have a rule for their faith, whereby they may try which is the true. But when we say we have God's own revelation of his will what he would have to be

believed, his word, the Scriptures, they add that since we cannot know which is the Scripture but by the continued testimony of those that recommended it from the beginning, neither can that be the rule, which needs another rule to establish it; nor can that which is believed upon that other principle of universal testimony be any part of the rule, since what is believed is the object of faith, and so presupposes the rule of faith; and therefore we who make that to be the only rule, have no rule, no, not a part, though the Trent council do allow the Scriptures to go shares with tradition.

It is easy to reply, that that which is the object of that faith whereby we assent to it, as a book written by such inspired men, or as a true historical narration, of which testimony does assure us, may yet be the rule of that faith, whereby we assent to doctrines as revealed from God, which we believe those are that we find there recorded. And it were as easy to retort, that if this arguing were good, men could not know that the doctrine which Christ and his apostles orally delivered to them was from God, but by the testimony of the miracles they taught; therefore neither could Christ's or the apostles' oral tradition, or living voice, be a rule of faith to those ages, since they were the objects of belief, and proposed those miracles as the rule by which men did believe what doctrine came from God. Nor can the succession of doctrine be the rule; for we know not the whole succession but by the living voice of the present church, that does deliver doctrine by the foresaid rule or principle. But not to reply to this scholastically, but suppose for their sakes, that Scripture could be known to be the word of God no otherwise than by testimony; yet that it might be the rule, one short familiar instance shall evince irrefragably to the meanest understanding. We know the books of Scripture are entitled books of the Old and New Testament, both Scripture itself and fathers giving cause for that expression. Now, in making a man's testament, the testator's last bequest, or that which he last of all wills, as to the disposal of his goods and possessions, is the primary rule, we know, by which they are to be disposed of; and when that disposition and will of his is put into writing, signed and sealed, that writing, or that instrument is secondarily the rule by which legacies must be demanded, and upon performance of conditions the inheritance entered upon. Now, possibly, they that either demand legacies, or the executors, yea, the heir, indeed, himself, it may be know not either hand or seal; however, that the writing was in good deed honestly subscribed and sealed by the deceased party, none can know, but they who were present, and saw or heard him declare and publish it: and if any are concerned to be assured whether it be a true will, neither forged, nor altered or depraved, they can no otherwise be satisfied, than by their

testimony. It is on that account that men give credit to that will, from thence it is of force, and afterward continues to be so as to all ends and uses of a will, by being witnessed and sworn to, that is, proved and then enrolled, and laid up in an office for that purpose, and by that becomes a firm record, and as such is there conserved. Now, certainly, no man is so far destitute of common sense, as to say that either the witnesses, or their testimony, or the office that conserves the instrument, or the clerks and registers, or judges of that office, is the rule by which the man's goods must be distributed, or the rule of those things that the heir or the executors must perform; for the man's last will was the prime rule, that will put into writing, signed and sealed, that is that instrument the secondary rule of all that; and the testimony, office, clerks, and judges, are but only means of bringing that will to the knowledge of all such as are concerned, the way of assuring the truth and uncorruptness of the instrument, and of conserving it entire for after use.

The application of this to Christ our Saviour's Testament is easy. If by penmen, which himself inspired, he caused his last will in disposing the inheritance of heaven to be written, and what things he would have believed, what done, all which he sealed with his own, God's seal, with miracles: and if those penmen and the other witnesses, before whom he declared and published it, did attest it, and gave it to the church to be conserved there, and her pastors are perpetual successive conservators of the integrity of these records; it is plain our Lord's will here is primarily the rule of faith and action, and secondarily the Testament, that authentic instrument, is so, and the testimony is no more that rule here than in the man's will, nor yet than the prerogative office, nor the pastor's or the head, (if such an one there were,) than the clerks, the judges of that office; nor all, nor any of these, are the rule itself. The testimony is but the means of conveying down to us the knowledge of that Testament, and of the uncorruptness of it; and as far as that conveyance and that testimony is assured and certain, so far they must grant, the faith we give, that that writing is the rule, must be assured and certain. And since all the means and kinds of their tradition make that very testimony and conveyance of that book, therefore, all that certainty and that infallibility their faith can have from those grounds, the same certainty and infallibility the faith we give to that book must needs have too on their own grounds. But it hath more; for since the ground of all faith must be testimony, and by consequence none but Divine testimony can be ground sufficient for Divine faith, and that testimony was, I shewed you, miracles, wrought by the publisher to confirm the doctrine, both which are in this rule of ours;—therefore, although that universal

testimony, all their tradition for it, which is merely human, may be a sufficient method of conveyance [whereby] to derive all notice; as the first men's eyes and ears that saw the miracles and heard Christ, though they be but human senses, were sufficient to them also; they suffice not yet to a Divine belief, they cannot ground that faith which must be given to Divine supernatural doctrine upon a divine testimony, which tradition is not; but our rule hath. So that the resolution of our faith is made by a Divine rule, such as theirs pretends not to be made by; and the mere conveyance of that rule to us hath all that certainty and that infallibility, that they pretend their rule itself to have, and so we may have faith, and may be Christians.

Sermon on Mark ix. 24.

Dr. ISAAC BARROW.

A. D. 1650—1677.

As, at the Restoration, the English people spontaneously recalled their sovereign, and raised from the dust their ancient institutions by the strength of the national will; so was it evident, in a thousand other particulars, that their character had passed forth from the recent struggle with no loss of strength. The political disgraces of Charles the Second's reign, were the issue, not of weakness, but of selfishness and vice. Force and raciness both of thought and expression distinguish, in the lighter departments of literature, its Butlers and its Drydens. A Ward, a Wallace, a Wilkins, and many more, engaged in the pursuits of physical and mathematical science, with a degree of earnestness, as well as of exactitude and success, before unknown. Nor, stimulated by the surrounding activity, did the characteristic vigour of our theologians fail to keep pace with the efforts made in every other province of intellect. The most nervous, manly, "exhaustive," and hence, in the national esteem, the first of English sermon writers, Isaac Barrow, belongs to this period.

Barrow was well descended; and numbered among his respectable family connections an uncle, of the same christian and surnames, who was successively bishop of Man and of St. Asaph. From childhood he had a strong constitution, and was remarked for his undaunted courage. The first school he was sent to was the Charter-house, where his chief employment and delight were in fighting, and encouraging the pugnacity of his schoolfellows; a disposition at which his father, who designed him for a learned profession, was so much disgusted, that he often solemnly wished, if it pleased God to deprive him of any of his children, it might be his son Isaac: so vain a thing, observes his biographer, is human judgment, and so inadequate a foresight have we in our own affairs!

The boy was in consequence removed from the Charter-house to a school at Felstead, in Essex. Here an unexpected and pleasing change took place. He quickly made so great a

progress in his studies, and improved so much in all other respects, that his master appointed him tutor to a young nobleman, at that time among his pupils. In his fourteenth year he had been admitted a pensioner of Peterhouse, of which college his uncle was then a fellow; but when he became fit for the university, and proceeded thither, which was in 1645, (his uncle having in the meantime been ejected for refusing the covenant,) the college chosen for him was Trinity.

Barrow's father was the king's mercer, and, like the uncle, a devoted royalist; nor did the youth make any secret of his attachment to the same principles: the covenant he stoutly refused to take. Nevertheless, as the extraordinary abilities which, in the unfolding of his character, he was found to possess, were seconded by prudence and propriety of conduct, he readily found friends, even in the height of the presbyterian and republican triumphs. The master of Trinity at that time was Dr. Hill, whom the parliament had put in, on the ejection of Dr. Comber. One day Hill, laying his hand upon young Isaac's head, said, "Thou art a good lad; 'tis pity thou art a cavalier;" and when, afterwards, on the pretext of his having, in an oration upon the Gunpowder-treason, so celebrated the past times as to reflect much on the present, some of the fellows moved for his expulsion, the honest master silenced them with these words,—"Barrow is a better man than any of you." In 1649, he was chosen fellow, purely on the ground of his personal merits; for he had nothing else to recommend him to the ruling party.

Barrow now directed his views towards the medical profession, in which one of his ancestors had acquired some reputation. In natural philosophy he struck out a path for himself, though, no doubt, in the same direction to which the opinions of the times already pointed. He could not be satisfied with the defective systems which still continued to be taught in the universities, but applied himself to the more solid principles of Galileo, Bacon, and Des Cartes. Mathematics he did not begin till he had proceeded far in historical inquiry. What determined him to the study of that sublime science was the observation, that chronology is dependent on astronomy, and this again on geometry. But his powers of mind were such, and seconded by such intense application, that to him nothing was difficult. The author of the life prefixed to his works attests that he saw written with his own hand, at the end of

his edition of *Apollonius*:—"April 12 May 10, *Intra hæc temporis intervalla peractum hoc opus*, this work was finished in twenty-seven (or twenty-eight) days;" a prodigious effort, especially if we remember that between the days mentioned there must have intervened four Sundays, on which he was probably otherwise engaged. Dr. Pope[1], who occupied the same chamber with him, when, later in life, he was an inmate in the family of Bishop Ward, at Salisbury, tells us: "He was unmercifully cruel to a lean carcass, not allowing it sufficient meat or sleep. During the winter months, and some part of the rest, he rose always before it was light, being never without a tinder-box, and other proper utensils for that purpose; and I have frequently known him after his first sleep, rise, light, and after burning out his candle, return to bed before day."

When Dr. Duport, the Greek professor at Cambridge, resigned the chair, he recommended his pupil Barrow as his successor. Barrow justified the professor's opinion of his fitness for the appointment, by an excellent probationary exercise; but failed of his election, on the ground of his reputed Arminianism.

It was probably this incident, coupled with the usual inducements, which determined him to travel. This resolution was formed about the beginning of 1655. In order to raise the necessary funds, he sold his books; a part of the produce of which he had to disburse, on his arrival at Paris, to relieve the necessities of his father, whom he found there in attendance on the miserable court of Charles II., unable to procure any supplies of money from England. After passing the winter in the French capital, he proceeded to Italy, and spent some time at Florence; where he availed himself of permission from the Grand Duke, to examine the collection of books and medals in the ducal library. From Florence, being prevented by the plague from visiting Rome, he returned to Leghorn, and there, in November 1656, embarked for Smyrna.

On this passage an incident occurred, illustrative of Barrow's courage. The ship was attacked by a corsair. The stout scholar armed himself; cheerfully and vigorously took part in the fight which ensued; and refused to quit the deck till the pirate had been beaten off. This engagement, and his

[1] Life of Seth Ward, bishop of Salisbury.

own intrepid defence of his liberty, which, he says, was dearer to him than his life,—

"Almaque libertas vitali charior aura,"—

is described, with many other passages of his travels, in the Latin poems printed in his *Opuscula*. The brief memoirs which remain of him comprise other instances, not less remarkable, of his intrepidity and presence of mind.

At Constantinople, the see of Chrysostom, he read through the works of that eloquent father, whom he preferred to all others. He remained in Turkey more than a year, and then returning to Italy, landed at Venice. Here another providential escape from danger occurred to him; hardly had he disembarked, when the ship in which he had sailed took fire, and, including its cargo, was consumed, though without the loss of any lives. In his way home from Venice, he made the tour of Germany and Holland, and arrived in England in the year 1659. Soon afterwards he received ordination from Bishop Brownrigg.

At the Restoration, Barrow was chosen Greek professor of his university without any competition, and, two years later, professor of geometry at Gresham College. His inaugural orations in both places are printed; but the lectures he delivered in them, some of which are said to have been prepared for the press, were borrowed by a friend, and have never been recovered. The same year, 1662, he wrote a Greek Epithalamium on the marriage of the King; he was chosen at the first election of fellows by the Royal Society; and on the elevation of his uncle, Dr. Isaac Barrow, to the bishopric of Man, he preached the consecration sermon in Westminster Abbey. When, in 1663, the Lucasian professorship of mathematics was founded, his election was secured to that office likewise, through the exertions of his zealous friend, Dr. Wilkins: his *Lectiones Opticæ*, published in 1669, were the first fruits of the new endowment. In the same year he wrote his *Expositions on the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and Sacraments;* and now came to a resolution, for the future to concentrate his great faculties upon the science and practical uses of theology. With this purpose he, in the following year, resigned the mathematical professorship at Cambridge, to his illustrious pupil, Newton; whose first great discovery, the theory of infinite series, Barrow made known to

the world, when the youthful modesty of its author would have suffered it to remain concealed among his manuscripts.

A series of volumes, preserved in the library of Trinity college, attests the comprehensive and laborious course of reading, by means of which this great scholar prepared himself for the professional career of a divine. They consist of manuscript notes, with copious extracts from the orators and moralists of Greece and Rome, and from the fathers of the Church; in which may be traced the elements of those magnificent discourses, which have crowned him with a renown the most brilliant in English pulpit eloquence. In reducing his thoughts and collections to the form of sermons, he first chose those subjects which he judged most important to be considered for his own use at the time; and what is stated by his biographer may easily gain credit, viz., that some of those unrivalled compositions did not acquire their present imperishable form until they had been four or five times re-written.

Barrow had no preferment in the church, except a small sinecure, presented to him by his uncle, in the diocese of St. Asaph, until the learned bishop of Salisbury, Seth Ward, having invited him to reside in his family, rather as a friend and companion than in the quality of chaplain, added a prebend in that cathedral; the latter he held not long, and what emoluments accrued from either he dispensed in charity.

In the mean time, though hitherto passed over, he was not without interest at court, for both Buckingham and Sheldon were well disposed to serve him. He was created doctor of divinity by royal mandate; was made one of the king's chaplains in ordinary; and when, in 1672, the death of Bishop Wilkins, and the succession of Dr. Pearson to the diocese of Chester, left a vacancy in the mastership of Trinity college, Charles conferred it without solicitation on Barrow, observing at the time, with his usual justness of remark, that he had now promoted the best scholar in England.

This preferment was hailed with satisfaction by the university, and by all lovers of learning, but was peculiarly grateful to the members of that splendid society over which he was appointed to preside: nor did the new master fail, by his concern for every thing that interested the college, to

justify their congratulations. In the government of the university, as vice-chancellor, to which he succeeded in 1675, he was no less able and assiduous. His private studies he nevertheless continued with little remission. Some hours were daily taken at this period, from his morning sleep, to enlarge his stock of sermons, and to compose his *Treatise on the Pope's Supremacy.*

The station at which this powerful-minded scholar had now arrived, was precisely that in which he might have been most useful to the world with the greatest satisfaction to himself. It was his determination, that nothing should tempt him to quit it while he lived; and, in order that he might escape all disturbance and distraction on that score, he had procured to be expunged from his patent for the mastership, as not, in his opinion, agreeable to the statutes, a clause by which he was permitted to marry. But it was not the will of Providence that he should long occupy this post of honour and usefulness; he died after having filled it about five years. The circumstances of his death are thus related by his affectionate friend Dr. Pope:—

"The last time he was in London, he went to Knightsbridge, to give the Bishop of Salisbury a visit, and then made me engage my word to come to him at Trinity college, immediately after the Michaelmas ensuing. I cannot express the joy I was in, at having, as I thought, so near a prospect of his charming and instructive conversation; for he was immensely rich in learning, and very liberal and communicative of it, delighting in nothing more than to impart to others, if they desired it, whatever he had attained by much time and study. But of a sudden all my joy vanished. Some days after he came again to Knightsbridge, and sat down to dinner; but I observed he did not eat. Whereupon I asked him how it was with him? He answered, that he had a slight indisposition hanging upon him, with which he had struggled two or three days; and that he hoped by fasting and opium to get it off, as he had removed another, and more dangerous sickness, at Constantinople, some years before. But now these remedies availed him not. His malady proved, in the event, a malignant and insuperable fever; of which he died May 4th, 1677, in the 47th year of his age, in mean lodgings, at a sadler's, near Charing Cross, an old, low, ill-built house, which he had used for several years: for though his condition was much bettered

by his obtaining the mastership of Trinity college, yet he still continued the same humble person, and could not be prevailed upon to take more reputable lodgings. I may truly say—

Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit,
Nulli flebilior quam mihi."

Barrow's remains were buried in Westminster Abbey, where his friends erected a well-known monument to his memory, with an inscription of which the following character is a part:—*Vir prope divinus*, &c. "He was a godlike, and truly great man, if probity, piety, the highest degree of learning, equal modesty, the purest morals, and gentlest manners, can confer that title. Riches, honours, and all things desired by most other men, he did not contemn, but neglect. He imitated God, whom he served from his youth, in wanting few things, in doing good to all, even to future generations; to whom, though dead, he yet preaches."

The bust on the tomb of Barrow is not like him: it is said, he rather resembled the countenance on the coins of Marcus Brutus. He is described as "in person small and lean, but of extraordinary strength; of a fair complexion; his eyes grey, clear, and somewhat shortsighted; his hair of a light auburn, very fine and curling." He was so careless of his person and manner, even in the pulpit, as by his slovenliness greatly to mar the effect of his fine compositions. "He had one fault more," observes Dr. Pope, "if it deserves that name—he was generally too long in his sermons; and now," adds this garrulous biographer, "I have spoken as ill of him as the worst of his enemies could, if ever he had any. He thought he had not said enough, if he omitted any thing that belonged to the subject of his discourse, so that his sermons seemed rather complete treatises than orations designed to be spoke in an hour. He spent three hours and a half in the delivery of his sermon 'on Bounty to the Poor,' before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, in 1671. Being asked, after he came down from the pulpit, whether he was not tired: 'Yes, indeed,' replied he, 'I began to be weary with standing so long.'"

Barrow was indeed *a man*, and a great one; in science, he was neither a mere calculating machine, nor in learning, only a plodding philologist. He considered it to be the duty of writers to endeavour to be of service to mankind: he con-

sequently held in abhorrence the impure dramatic productions of his time; and even thought that an author ought not, in obedience to his inclination, to diffuse himself in general attempts, but rather to prosecute those particular subjects in which his efforts were most likely to prove useful. His character was what his works plainly bespeak him: "calm and sedate, always contented with his condition, not depressed by adversity nor elevated in prosperity, steady and constant in his devotion, beneficent to the necessitous, he could reason coolly with the learned, and suit his discourse to the less knowing, and was very communicative to all who desired his assistance."

A good authority has pronounced Barrow second in learning only to Taylor. His Latin verse, a style of composition in which he delighted, observes the same critic (Mr. Hallam), "is forcible, but not sufficiently redolent of antiquity." His English style, always sustained by peculiar vigour, pith, and nervousness, and occasionally rising to majestic heights of eloquence, is sometimes rendered harsh by the adoption of words alien to the language, or debased by vulgarisms fashionable in the days of the second Charles. His imaginative power, compared with some other faculties of his mind, was not remarkable: the habit of *exhausting* his matter, which gave occasion to the king to call him "an unfair preacher," because he left nothing to those who came after him, seems rather to have been the consequence of thoroughly well-informed good sense, and a determination to do justice to his subject and himself, than of any vast compass of invention. His sermons are a library of moral and theological literature, which no Englishman, who can afford to buy books, should be without. If they have any doctrinal fault, it is that, compared with those of his great contemporaries, they disappoint by a certain dryness and reserve, of Arminian growth, in the evolution of the great elements of the Gospel scheme. The series *on the Government of the Tongue*, has been marked as especially entitled to admiration; but, in truth, they are all so excellent as to render a judicious preference difficult. Barrow does not, in a very obvious sense, belong to any of those classes into which I have, in the course of these remarks, distinguished our theologians: in some shades of opinion, as well as in the peculiar vigour of his style, he stands alone. He may, probably, with justice be cited as an instance shewing the tendency of the experimental method in philosophy to impart strength and confidence to the intellectual powers.

It will be seen by the subjoined list, that several of Dr. Barrow's mathematical treatises appeared in his lifetime: but of his numerous sermons only one, *viz.* that already mentioned, *On Bounty to the Poor*, was published by himself; a second—*On the Passion of our blessed Saviour*—was in the press at the time of his decease. The remainder, with his other manuscripts, he bequeathed to the care of his friends, Tillotson, then Dean of Canterbury, and Abraham Hill; with a discretionary power either to publish them or not. They were published in 1683, in folio, in one volume, with a meagre life of the author by Hill, and a preface, of similar character, by the dean.

Not long before his death, Barrow had given permission to the latter to publish his treatise *Of the Pope's Supremacy.* Tillotson availed himself of this permission in 1680, annexing to that work the tract *On the Unity of the Church*, in which the author demonstrates that, in order to the preservation of unity, a visible head is not needed; thereby striking away, with a vigorous hand, the most plausible pretence for popish supremacy. A reprint of these treatises, with the author's remaining English or theological works, viz. *Sermons and Expositions on all the Articles of the Creed,* and *A brief Exposition of the Lord's Prayer, the Decalogue*, &c. is comprised in the second and third volumes, published in 1686. A folio volume, which came out in the following year, contains the *Opuscula*, or minor works of Barrow, in Latin, viz. *Determinationes, Conciones ad Clerum, Orationes, Poemata*, &c.

MATHEMATICAL WORKS OF BARROW.

Published by the author:

1. *Euclidis Elementa*, 8vo. 1655; translated into English, and published 1660.

2. *Euclidis Data*, 8vo. 1657. This was subjoined to the *Elements*, in some subsequent editions.

3. *Lectiones Opticæ* XVIII. &c. *Lectures on Optics*, delivered in the public schools at Cambridge; in which the genuine laws of that science are investigated and explained. 4to. 1669.

4. *Lectiones Geometricæ* XIII. 4to. 1670. These Lectures on Geometry were afterwards published in the same volume with the former on Optics.

5. *Archimedis Opera*, &c. 4to. 1675. The works of Archimedes; Apollonius on Conic Sections; Theodosius on the Sphere, illustrated and demonstrated, in a new and concise method.

Published after his death:

6. *Lectio de Sphæra et Cylindro*, &c. A Lecture, in which the Theorems of Archimedes respecting the Sphere and Cylinder, are investigated and briefly demonstrated.

7. *Lectiones Mathematicæ*, &c. Mathematical Lectures, read in the public schools of the University of Cambridge, 8vo. 1685. The prefatory oration to the Mathematical Lectures is considered to rank among the most brilliant of this great writer's compositions.

THE PLEASANTNESS OF RELIGION.

PROV. iii. 17.—*Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace.*

THE meaning of these words seems plain and obvious, and to need little explication. "Her ways," that is, the ways of Wisdom. What this Wisdom is, I shall not undertake accurately to describe. Briefly, I understand by it, an habitual skill or faculty of judging aright about matters of practice, and choosing according to that right judgment, and conforming the actions to such good choice. "Ways," and "paths" in Scripture-dialect are the courses and manners of action. For "doing" there is commonly called "walking;" and the methods of doing are the "ways" in which we walk. By "pleasantness" may be meant the joy and delight accompanying, and by "peace" the content and satisfaction ensuing such a course of actions. So that, in short, the sense of these words seems simply to be this; that a course of life directed by wisdom and good judgment is delightful in the practice, and brings content after it. The truth of which proposition it shall be my endeavour at this time to confirm by divers reasons, and illustrate by several instances.

I. Then, Wisdom of itself is delectable and satisfactory, as it implies a revelation of truth, and a detection of error to us. It is like light, pleasant to behold, casting a sprightly lustre, and diffusing a benign influence all about; presenting a goodly prospect of things to the eyes of our mind; displaying objects in their due shapes, postures, magnitudes, and colours; quickening our spirits with a comfortable warmth, and disposing our minds to a cheerful activity; dispelling the darkness of ignorance, scattering the mists of doubt,

driving away the spectres of delusive fancy; mitigating the cold of sullen melancholy; discovering obstacles, securing progress, and making the passages of life clear, open, and pleasant. We are all naturally endowed with a strong appetite to know, to see, to pursue truth; and with a bashful abhorrency from being deceived and entangled in mistake. And as success in inquiry after truth affords matter of joy and triumph; so being conscious of error and miscarriage therein, is attended with shame and sorrow. These desires Wisdom in the most perfect manner satisfies, not by entertaining us with dry, empty, fruitless theories, upon mean and vulgar subjects; but by enriching our minds with excellent and useful knowledge, directed to the noblest objects, and serviceable to the highest ends. Nor in its own nature only, but,

II. Much more in its worthy consequences is Wisdom exceedingly pleasant and peaceable: in general, by disposing us to acquire and to enjoy all the good, delight, and happiness we are capable of; and by freeing us from all the inconveniences, mischiefs, and infelicities our condition is subject to. For whatever good from clear understanding, deliberate advice, sagacious foresight, stable resolution, dexterous address, right intention, and orderly proceeding doth naturally result, Wisdom confers: whatever evil blind ignorance, false presumption, unwary credulity, precipitate rashness, unsteady purpose, ill contrivance, backwardness, inability, unwieldiness and confusion of thought, beget, Wisdom prevents. From a thousand snares and treacherous allurements, from innumerable rocks and dangerous surprises, from exceedingly many needless incumbrances and vexatious toils of fruitless endeavour, she redeems and secures us. More particularly,

III. Wisdom assures us we take the best course, and proceed as we ought. For by the same means we judge aright, and reflecting upon that judgment are assured we do so: as the same arguments by which we demonstrate a theorem convince us we have demonstrated it, and the same light by which we see an object makes us know we see it. And this assurance in the progress of the action exceedingly pleases, and in the sequel of it infinitely contents us. He that judges amiss, not perceiving clearly the rectitude of his process, proceeds usually with a dubious solicitude; and at length, discovering his error, condemns his own choice, and receives no other satisfaction but of repentance. Like a traveller, who, being uncertain whether he goes in the right way, wanders in continual perplexity, till he be informed, and then too late, understanding his mistake, with regret seeks to recover himself into it. But he that knows his way, and is satisfied that it is the true one, walks on merrily and carelessly, not doubting he shall in good time arrive to his designed journey's

end. Two troublesome mischiefs therefore Wisdom frees us from, the company of anxious doubt in our actions, and the consequence of bitter repentance: for no man can doubt of what he is sure, nor repent of what he knows good.

IV. Wisdom begets in us a hope of success in our actions, and is usually attended therewith. Now what is more delicious than hope? what more satisfactory than success? *That* is like the pursuit of a flying enemy, *this* like gathering the spoil; *that* like viewing the ripe corn, *this* like the joy of harvest itself. And he that aims at a good end, and knows he uses proper means to attain it, why should he despair of success, since effects naturally follow their causes, and the Divine Providence is wont to afford its concourse to such proceedings? Beside that such well-grounded hope confirms resolution, and quickens activity, which mainly conduce to the prosperous issue of designs. Farther,

V. Wisdom prevents discouragement from the possibility of ill success, yea, and makes disappointment itself tolerable. For if either the foresight of a possible miscarriage should discourage us from adventuring on action, or inculpable frustration were intolerable, we should with no heart apply ourselves to any thing; there being no designs in this world, though founded upon the most sound advice, and prosecuted by the most diligent endeavour, which may not be defeated, as depending upon divers causes above our power, and circumstances beyond our prospect. The inconstant opinions, uncertain resolutions, mutable affections, and fallacious pretences of men, upon which the accomplishment of most projects rely, may easily deceive and disappoint us. The imperceptible course of nature exerting itself in sudden tempests, diseases, and unlucky casualties, may surprise us, and give an end to our businesses and lives together. However, the irresistible power of the Divine Providence, guided by the unsearchable counsel of his will, we can never be assured that it will not interpose, and hinder the effects of our endeavours. Yet notwithstanding, when we act prudently, we have no reason to be disheartened; because, having good intentions, and using fit means, and having done our best, as no deserved blame, so no considerable damage can arrive to us; and though we find Almighty God hath crossed us, yet we are sure he is not displeased with us. Which consideration, wherewith Wisdom furnishes us, will make the worst success not only tolerable, but comfortable to us. For hence we have reason to hope, that the All-wise Goodness reserves a better reward for us, and will sometime recompense not only the good purposes we unhappily pursued, but also the unexpected disappointment we patiently endured; and that however we shall be no losers in the end. Which discourse is mainly fortified

by considering how the best and wisest attempts have often miscarried. We see Moses, authorized by God's command, directed by his counsel, and conducted by his hand, intended to bring the Israelites into the land of Canaan; yet by the unreasonable incredulity and stubborn perverseness of that people he had his purpose frustrated. The holy prophets afterward earnestly endeavoured to contain the same people within compass of obedience to the divine commands, and to reduce them from their idolatrous and wicked courses; yet without correspondent effect. Our Saviour, by the example of his holy life, continual instruction, and vehement exhortations, assayed to procure a belief of and submission to his most excellent doctrine; yet how few "believed his report," and complied with his discipline! Yea, Almighty God himself often complains, how in a manner his designs were defeated, his desires thwarted, his offers refused, his counsels rejected, his expectations deceived. "Wherefore," (saith he concerning his vineyard,) "when I looked it should bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild grapes? And again, "I have spread out my hands all the day to a rebellious people." And again, "I have even sent unto you all my prophets, daily rising up early, and sending them: yet they hearkened not unto me." Wherefore there is no good cause we should be disheartened, or vexed, when success is wanting to well-advised purposes. It is foolish and ill-grounded intentions, and practices unwarrantable by good reason, that make the undertakers solicitous of success, and being defeated leave them disconsolate. Yea farther,

VI. Wisdom makes all the troubles, griefs, and pains incident to life, whether casual adversities, or natural afflictions, easy and supportable; by rightly valuing the importance, and moderating the influence of them. It suffers not busy fancy to alter the nature, amplify the degree, or extend the duration of them, by representing them more sad, heavy, and remediless than they truly are. It allows them no force beyond what naturally and necessarily they have, nor contributes nourishment to their increase. It keeps them at a due distance, not permitting them to encroach upon the soul, or to propagate their influence beyond their proper sphere. It will not let external mischances, as poverty and disgrace, to produce an inward sense which is beyond their natural efficacy: nor corporeal affections of sickness and pain to disturb the mind, with which they have nothing to do. The region of these malignant distempers being at most but the habit of the body, Wisdom by effectual antidotes repels them from the heart, and inward parts of the soul. If any thing, sin, and our unworthy miscarriages toward God, should vex and discompose us: yet this trouble Wisdom, by representing the divine goodness, and his tender mercies in our ever-blessed Redeemer, doth perfectly allay.

And as for all other adversities, it abates their noxious power, by shewing us they are either merely imaginary, or very short and temporary: that they admit of remedy, or at most do not exclude comfort, not wholly hindering the operations of the mind, nor extinguishing its joys; that they may have a profitable use, and pleasant end; and, however, neither imply bad conscience, nor induce obligation to punishment. For,

VII. Wisdom hath always a good conscience attending it, that purest delight and richest cordial of the soul; that brazen wall, and impregnable fortress against both external assaults, and internal commotions; that "continual feast," whereon the mind, destitute of all other repast, with a never languishing appetite, may entertain itself; that faithful witness, and impartial judge, whoever accuses, always acquitting the innocent soul; that certain friend, in no strait failing, in no adversity deserting; that sure refuge in all storms of fortune, and persecutions of disgrace; which, as Solomon here notes, renders a man's "sleep sweet," and undisturbed with fearful phantasms, his heart light, and his steps secure; and, if any thing, can make the Stoical paradox good, and cause the wise man to smile in extremity of torment; arming his mind with an invincible courage, and infusing a due confidence into it, whereby he bears up cheerfully against malicious reproach, undauntedly sustains adversity, and triumphs over bad fortune. And this invaluable treasure the wise man is only capable of possessing; who certainly knows, and heartily approves the grounds upon which he proceeds; whenas the fool, building his choice upon blind chance, or violent passion, or giddy fancy, or uncertain example, not upon the steady warrant of good reason, cannot avoid being perplexed with suspicion of mistake, and so necessarily is deprived of the comfort of a good conscience.

VIII. Wisdom confers a facility, expert readiness, and dexterity in action; which is a very pleasant and commodious quality, and exceedingly sweetens activity. To do things with difficulty, struggling, and immoderate contention, disheartens a man, quells his courage, blunts the edge of his resolution, renders him sluggish and averse from business, though apprehended never so necessary, and of great moment. These obstructions Wisdom removes, facilitating operations, by directing the intention to ends possible and attainable, by suggesting fit means and instruments to work by, by contriving right methods and courses of process; the mind by it being stored with variety of good principles, sure rules, and happy expedients, reposed in the memory, and ready upon all occasions to be produced, and employed in practice.

IX. Wisdom begets a sound, healthful, and harmonious complexion of the soul, disposing us with judgment to distinguish, and with

pleasure to relish savoury and wholesome things, but to nauseate and reject such as are ingrateful, and noxious to us; thereby capacifying us to enjoy pleasantly and innocently all those good things the divine goodness hath provided for, and consigned to us; whence to the soul proceeds all that comfort, joy, and vigour, which results to the body from a good constitution, and perfect health.

X. Wisdom acquaints us with ourselves, our own temper and constitution, our propensions and passions, our habitudes and capacities; a thing not only of mighty advantage, but of infinite pleasure and content to us. No man in the world less knows a fool than himself; nay, he is more than ignorant, for he constantly errs in the point, taking himself for, and demeaning himself as toward another, a better, a wiser, and abler man than he is. He hath wonderful conceits of his own qualities and faculties; he affects commendations incompetent to him; he soars at employment surpassing his ability to manage. No comedy can represent a mistake more odd and ridiculous than his: for he wanders, and stares, and hunts after, but never can find nor discern himself; but always encounters with a false shadow instead thereof, which he passionately hugs and admires. But a wise man, by constant observation, and impartial reflection upon himself, grows very familiar with himself: he perceives his own inclinations, which, if bad, he strives to alter and correct; if good, he cherishes and corroborates them: he apprehends the matters he is fitting for, and capable to manage, neither too mean and unworthy of him, nor too high and difficult for him; and those applying his care to, he transacts easily, cheerfully, and successfully. So being neither puffed up with vain and overweening opinion, nor dejected with heartless diffidence of himself; neither admiring, nor despising; neither irksomely hating, nor fondly loving himself; he continues in good humour, maintains a sure friendship and fair correspondence with himself, and rejoices in the retirement and private conversation with his own thoughts: whence flows a pleasure and satisfaction unexpressible.

XI. Wisdom procures and preserves a constant favour and fair respect of men, purchases a good name, and upholds reputation in the world: which things are naturally desirable, commodious for life, encouragements to good, and preventive of many inconveniences. The composed frame of mind, uniform and comely demeanour, compliant and inoffensive conversation, fair and punctual dealing, considerate motions, and dexterous addresses of wise men naturally beget esteem and affection in those that observe them. Neither than these things is there any thing more commendable to human regard. As symmetry and harmony to the animal senses, so delectable is an even temper of soul and orderly tenour of actions to rational apprehensions. Folly

is freakish and humorous, impertinent and obstreperous, inconstant and inconsistent, peevish and exceptious; and consequently fastidious to society, and productive of aversation and disrespect. But the wise man is stable in his ways, consonant to himself, suiting his actions to his words, and those to his principles, and all to the rule of right reason; so that you may know where to find him, and how to deal with him, and may easily please him, which makes his acquaintance acceptable, and his person valuable: beside that real worth of itself commands respect, and extorts veneration from men, and usually prosperity waits upon his well-advised attempts, which exceedingly adorn and advance the credit of the undertaker: however, if he fail sometime, his usual deportment salves his repute, and easily makes it credible it was no fault of his but of his fortune. If a fool prosper, the honour is attributed to propitious chance; if he miscarry, to his own ill management: but the entire glory of happy undertakings crowns the head of Wisdom; while the disgrace of unlucky events falls otherwhere. His light, like that of the sun, cannot totally be eclipsed; it may be dimmed, but never extinguished, and always maintains a day, though overclouded with misfortune. Who less esteems the famous African captain for being overthrown in that last fatal battle, wherein he is said to have shewn the best skill, and yet endured the worst of success? Who contemns Cato, and other the grave citizens of Rome, for embracing the just, but improsperous cause of the commonwealth? A wise man's circumstances may vary and fluctuate like the floods about a rock; but he persists unmoveably the same, and his reputation unshaken: for he can always render a good account of his actions, and by reasonable apology elude the assaults of reproach.

XII. Wisdom instructs us to examine, compare, and rightly to value the objects that court our affections, and challenge our care; and thereby regulates our passions, and moderates our endeavours, which begets a pleasant serenity and peaceable tranquillity of mind. For when, being deluded with false shews, and relying upon ill-grounded presumptions, we highly esteem, passionately affect, and eagerly pursue things of little worth in themselves, or concernment to us, as we unhandsomely prostitute our affections, and prodigally misspend our time, and vainly lose our labour; so the event not answering our expectation, our minds thereby are confounded, disturbed, and distempered. But when, guided by right reason, we conceive great esteem of, and zealously are enamoured with, and vigorously strive to attain things of excellent worth, and weighty consequence; the conscience of having well placed our affections, and well employed our pains, and the experience of fruits corresponding to our hopes,

ravishes our mind with unexpressible content. And so it is: present appearance and vulgar conceit ordinarily impose upon our fancies, disguising things with a deceitful varnish, and representing those that are vainest with the greatest advantage; whilst the noblest objects, being of a more subtile and spiritual nature, like fairest jewels enclosed in a homely box, avoid the notice of gross sense, and pass undiscerned by us. But the light of Wisdom, as it unmasks specious imposture, and bereaves it of its false colours; so it penetrates into the retirements of true excellency, and reveals its genuine lustre. For example, corporeal pleasure, which so powerfully allures and enchants us, Wisdom declares that it is but a present, momentary and transient satisfaction of brutish sense, dimming the light, sullying the beauty, impairing the vigour, and restraining the activity of the mind; diverting from better operations, and indisposing it to enjoy purer delights; leaving no comfortable relish or gladsome memory behind it, but often followed with bitterness, regret, and disgrace. That the profit the world so greedily gapes after is but a possession of trifles, not valuable in themselves, nor rendering the masters of them so; accidentally obtained, and promiscuously enjoyed by all sorts, but commonly by the worst of men; difficultly acquired, and easily lost; however, to be used but for a very short time, and then to be resigned into uncertain hands. That the honour men so dote upon is ordinarily but the difference of a few petty circumstances, a peculiar name or title, a determinate place, a distinguishing ensign; things of only imaginary excellence, derived from chance, and conferring no advantage except from some little influence they have upon the arbitrary opinion and fickle humour of the people; complacence in which is vain, and reliance upon it dangerous. That power and dominion, which men so impatiently struggle for, are but necessary evils introduced to restrain the bad tempers of men; most evil to them that enjoy them; requiring tedious attendance, distracting care, and vexatious toil; attended with frequent disappointment, opprobrious censure, and dangerous envy; having such real burdens, and slavish incumbrances, sweetened only by superficial pomps, strained obsequiousness, some petty privileges and exemptions scarce worth the mentioning. That wit and parts, of which men make such ostentation, are but natural endowments, commendable only in order to use, apt to engender pride and vanity, and hugely dangerous, if abused or misemployed. What should I mention beauty, that fading toy; or bodily strength and activity, qualities so palpably inconsiderable? Upon these and such like flattering objects, so adored by vulgar opinion, Wisdom exercising severe and impartial judgment, and perceiving in them no intrinsic excellence, no solid content springing from them, no

perfection thence accruing to the mind, no high reward allotted to them, no security to the future condition, or other durable advantages proceeding from them; it concludes they deserve not any high opinion of the mind, nor any vehement passion of the soul, nor any laborious care to be employed on them, and moderates our affections toward them: it frees us from anxious desire of them; from being transported with excessive joy in the acquisition of them; from being overwhelmed with disconsolate sorrow at the missing of them, or parting with them; from repining and envying at those who have better success than ourselves in the procuring them; from immoderate toil in getting, and care in preserving them: and so delivering us from all these unquiet anxieties of thought, tumultuous perturbations of passion, and tedious vexations of body, it maintains our minds in a cheerful calm, quiet indifferency, and comfortable liberty. On the other side, things of real worth and high concernment, that produce great satisfaction to the mind, and are mainly conducible to our happiness, such as are a right understanding and strong sense of our obligations to Almighty God, and relations to men, a sound temper and complexion of mind, a virtuous disposition, a capacity to discharge the duties of our places, a due qualification to enjoy the happiness of the other world; these and such like things, by discovering their nature, and the effects resulting from them, it engages us highly to esteem, ardently to affect, and industriously to pursue; so preventing the inconveniences that follow the want of them, and conveying the benefits arising from the possession of them.

XIII. Wisdom distinguishes the circumstances, limits the measures, determines the modes, appoints the fit seasons of action; so preserving decorum and order, the parent of peace, and preventing confusion, the mother of iniquity, strife, and disquiet. It is in the business of human life as in a building; a due proportion of bigness, a fit situation of place, a correspondency of shape, and suitableness of colour, is to be observed between the parts thereof, a defect in any of which requisites, though the materials hap to be choice and excellent, makes the whole fabric deformed and ugly to judicious apprehension. The best actions, if they swell, and exceed their due measure, if they be unskilfully misplaced, if in uncouth manner performed, they lose their quality, and turn both to the disgrace and disadvantage of life. It is commendable to pray; but they that would always be performing that duty, by their absurd devotion procured to themselves the title of heretics: and they that will stand praying in places of public concourse, deserved our Saviour's reprehensions; and those men who, against the custom and ordinary use, would needs pray with their faces covered, you know St. Paul insinuates of them, that they were fond and con-

tentious persons. Friendly admonition is very laudable, and of rare use; but being upon all occasions immoderately used, or in public society so as to encroach upon modesty, or endamage reputation; or when the person admonished is otherwise employed, and attent upon his business; or being delivered in an imperiously insulting way, or in harsh and opprobrious language; it becomes unsavoury and odious, and both in shew and effect resembles a froward, malicious exceptiousness. It were infinite to compute in how many instances want of due order, measure and manner, do spoil and incommodate action. It is Wisdom that applies remedy to these mischiefs. Things must be compared to, and arbitrated by, her standard, or else they will contain something of monstrous enormity; either strutting in unwieldy bulk, or sinking in defective scantness. If she do not fashion and model circumstances, they will sit ugly on the things that wear them; if she do not temper the colours, and describe the lineaments, the draught of practice will be but rude and imperfect, and little resemble the true patterns of duty: but if she interpose, and perform her part, all things will appear conformable, neat, and delicate.

XIV. Wisdom discovers our relations, duties, and concernments, in respect of men, with the natural grounds of them; thereby both qualifying and inclining us to the discharge of them: whence exceeding convenience, pleasure, and content ensues. By it we understand we are parts and members of the great body, the universe; and are therefore concerned in the good management of it, and are thereby obliged to procure its order and peace, and by no irregular undertaking to disturb or discompose it; which makes us honest and peaceable men: that we proceed from the same primitive stock, are children of the same father, and partake of the same blood with all men; are endowed with like faculties of mind, passions of soul, shape of body, and sense of things: that we have equally implanted in our original constitution inclinations to love, pity, gratitude, sociableness, quiet, joy, reputation: that we have an indispensable need and impatient desire of company, assistance, comfort, and relief; that therefore it is according to the design of nature, and agreeable to reason, that to those, to whom our natural condition by so many bands of cognation, similitude, and mutual necessitude, hath knit and conjoined us, we should bear a kind respect and tender affection; should cheerfully concur in undergoing the common burdens; should heartily wish and industriously promote their good, assist them in accomplishing their reasonable desires, thankfully requite the courtesies received from them, congratulate and rejoice with them in their prosperity, comfort them in their distresses, and, as we are able, relieve them; however, tenderly compassionate their disappointments, miseries, and sorrows.

This renders us kind and courteous neighbours, sweet and grateful companions. It represents unto us the dreadful effects and insupportable mischiefs arising from breach of faith, contravening the obligations of solemn pacts, infringing public laws, deviating from the received rules of equity, violating promises, and interrupting good correspondence among men; by which considerations it engages us to be good citizens, obedient subjects, just dealers, and faithful friends. It minds us of the blindness, impotence, and levity, the proneness to mistake, and misbehaviour that human nature necessarily is subject to; deserving rather our commiseration, than anger or hatred, which prompts us to bear the infirmities of our brethren, to be gentle in censure, to be insensible of petty affronts, to pardon injuries, to be patient, exorable, and reconcileable to those that give us greatest cause of offence. It teaches us, the good may, but the evil of our neighbour can in no wise advantage us; that from the suffering of any man, simply considered, no benefit can accrue, nor natural satisfaction arise to us; and that therefore it is a vain, base, brutish, and unreasonable thing, for any cause whatsoever, to desire or delight in the grief, pain, or misery of our neighbour, to hate or envy him, or insult over him, or devise mischief to him, or prosecute revenge upon him; which makes us civil, noble, and placable enemies, or rather no enemies at all. So that Wisdom is in effect the genuine parent of all moral and political virtue, justice, and honesty; as Solomon says in her person, "I lead in the way of righteousness," and "in the midst of the paths of judgment." And how sweet these are in the practice, how comfortable in the consequences, the testimony of continual experience, and the unanimous consent of all wise men sufficiently declare. But farther,

XV. The principal advantage of Wisdom is, its acquainting us with the nature and reason of true religion, and affording convictive arguments to persuade to the practice of it; which is accompanied with the purest delight, and attended with the most solid content imaginable. I say, the nature of religion, wherein it consists, and what it requires; the mistake of which produceth daily so many mischiefs and inconveniences in the world, and exposes so good a name to so much reproach. It sheweth it consisteth not in fair professions and glorious pretences, but in real practice; not in a pertinacious adherence to any sect or party, but in a sincere love of goodness, and dislike of naughtiness, wherever discovering itself; not in vain ostentations and flourishes of outward performance, but in an inward good complexion of mind, exerting itself in works of true devotion and charity; not in a nice orthodoxy, or politic subjection of our judgments to the

peremptory dictates of men, but in a sincere love of truth, in a hearty approbation of, and compliance with, the doctrines fundamentally good, and necessary to be believed; not in harsh censuring and virulently inveighing against others, but in careful amending our own ways; not in a peevish crossness and obstinate repugnancy to received laws and customs, but in a quiet and peaceable submission to the express laws of God, and lawful commands of man; not in a furious zeal for or against trivial circumstances, but in a conscionable practising the substantial parts of religion; not in a frequent talking or contentious disputing about it, but in a ready observance of the unquestionable rules and prescripts of it: in a word, that religion consists in nothing else but doing what becomes our relation to God, in a conformity or similitude to his nature, and in a willing obedience to his holy will: to which by potent incentives it allures and persuades us; by representing to us his transcendently glorious attributes, conspicuously displayed in the frame, order, and government of the world: that wonderful Power, which erected this great and goodly fabric; that incomprehensible Wisdom, which preserves it in a constant harmony; that immense Goodness, which hath so carefully provided for the various necessities, delights, and comforts of its innumerable inhabitants. I say, by representing those infinitely glorious perfections, it engages us with highest respect to esteem, reverence, and honour him. Also, by minding us of our manifold obligations to him, our receiving being, life, reason, sense, all the faculties, powers, excellencies, privileges, and commodities of our natures from him; of his tender care and loving providence continually supporting and protecting us; of his liberal beneficence, patient indulgence, and earnest desire of our good and happiness, by manifold expressions evidently manifested toward us; it inflames us with ardent love, and obliges us to officious gratitude toward him. Also, by declaring the necessary and irreconcileable contrariety of his nature to all impurity and perverseness, his peerless majesty, his irresistible power, and his all-seeing knowledge, it begets an awful dread and a devout fear of him. By discovering him, from his infinite benignity, willing, and from his unlimited power only, able to supply our needs, relieve us in distresses, protect us from dangers, and confer any valuable benefit upon us, it engenders faith, and encourages us to rely upon him. By revealing to us his supereminent sovereignty, uncontrollable dominion, and unquestionable authority over us; together with the admirable excellency, wisdom, and equity of his laws, so just and reasonable in themselves, so suitable to our nature, so conducible to our good, so easy and practicable, so sweet and comfortable; it powerfully inclines, and by a gentle force,

as it were, constrains us to obedience. By such efficacious inducements Wisdom urges us to all duties of religion, and withal surely directs us (as I before said) wherein it consists; teaching us to have right and worthy apprehensions of the divine nature, to which our devotion, if true and good, must be suited and conformed: and so it frees us, as from irreligion and profane neglect of God, so from fond superstitions, the sources of so much evil to mankind. For he that wisely hath considered the wisdom, goodness, and power of God, cannot imagine God can with a regardless eye overlook his presumptuous contempts of his laws, or endure him to proceed in an outrageous defiance of Heaven, to continue hurting himself, or injuring his neighbour; nor can admit unreasonable terrors, or entertain suspicious conceits of God, as of an imperious master, or implacable tyrant over him, exacting impossible performances from, or delighting in the fatal miseries of his creatures; nor can suppose him pleased with hypocritical shews, and greatly taken with superficial courtships of ceremonious address; or that he can in any wise favour our fiery zeals, fierce passions, or unjust partialities about matter of opinion and ceremony; or can do otherwise than detest all factious, harsh, uncharitable, and revengeful proceedings, of what nature, or upon what ground soever; or that he can be so inconsistent with himself, as to approve any thing but what is like himself, that is, righteousness, sincerity, and beneficence.

Lastly, Wisdom attracts the favour of God, purchaseth a glorious reward, and secureth perpetual felicity to us. "For God loveth none but him that dwelleth with wisdom." And, "Glorious is the fruit of good labours; and the root of wisdom shall never fall away." And, "Happy is the man that findeth wisdom;" and, "Whoso findeth her, findeth life, and shall obtain favour of the Lord." These are the words of wise Solomon, in the book of Wisdom, and in the Proverbs. God loveth her, as most agreeable to his nature; as resembling him; as an offspring, beam, and efflux of that Wisdom which founded the earth, and established the heavens; as that which begetteth honour, love, and obedience to his commands, and truly glorifies him; and as that which promotes the good of his creatures, which he earnestly desires. And the paths she leads in are such as directly tend to the promised inheritance of joy and bliss.

Thus have I simply and plainly presented you with part of what my meditation suggested upon this subject: it remains that we endeavour to obtain this excellent endowment of soul, by the faithful exercise of our reason, careful observation of things, diligent study of the divine law, watchful reflection upon ourselves, virtuous and

religious practice; but especially, by imploring the divine influence, the original spring of light, and fountain of all true knowledge, following St. James's advice: "If any man lack wisdom, let him ask it of God, who giveth freely." Therefore, O everlasting Wisdom, the Maker, Redeemer, and Governor of all things, let some comfortable beams from thy great body of heavenly light descend upon us, to illuminate our dark minds, and quicken our dead hearts; to enflame us with ardent love unto thee, and to direct our steps in obedience to thy laws, through the gloomy shades of this world, into that region of eternal light and bliss, where thou reignest in perfect glory and majesty, one God ever blessed, world without end. Amen.

BISHOP WILKINS.

A. D. 1640—1682.

The conduct of the English clergy, in our political, scientific, and religious revolutions, clearly proves that men of their profession, though unapt to innovate from passion or caprice, are not deficient in the courage required to quit the beaten path of authority, under the guidance of reason, and in search of truth. Allusion has been made more than once to this fact, as exemplified in the share taken by the leading members of this learned body, in promoting that remarkable advance of physical science which took place during the latter half of the seventeenth century. The life of Dr. Wilkins, bishop of Chester, a prelate mentioned before in connection with this point, is here adduced in its farther illustration.

Wilkins was the son of a goldsmith at Oxford. He was bred a Puritan; for his mother, the daughter of John Dod, a nonconforming divine, famous in his day for a work on the Decalogue, happening to be on a visit at her father's house, at Fawsley, in Northamptonshire, when the boy was born, he was left to pass his earliest years beneath the roof of that venerable relation. Being a youth of quick parts, and trained under an able schoolmaster, he was admitted a member of the university, in 1627, at thirteen years of age. He was first placed at New Inn Hall, but afterwards removed to Magdalen Hall. Having acquired a high reputation in mathematics, graduated, and taken orders, he became successively chaplain to several noblemen; in particular, to the Count Palatine of the Rhine, who was then staying in England. It was while thus employed, that he began to bring before the world those contributions to the philosophy then making its way into the light, which have fixed attention upon him as one of the most fearless and ingenious thinkers of his age. The opinions of Galileo, and the persecutions he was exposed to at Rome, with the discoveries of Kepler, had directed the attention of men to astronomy, a science then shortly to be

invested with so brilliant a light. Wilkins took up his pen in defence of the great Italian: in a discourse on the planetary character of the earth, he attempted to demonstrate its diurnal and annual motions, and shewed the consistency of the Copernican system with Scripture and the evidence of the senses.

When the civil wars broke out, Wilkins, following the bent of his early education, adhered to the side of the parliament, and took the covenant. The reward of his compliance was the wardenship of Wadham College, to which he was appointed at the visitation, in 1648, on the forcible deprivation of Dr. John Pitt.

His removal to Oxford was, however, the means of carrying thither the study of the new philosophy, and with it the germ of the Royal Society. Dr. Wallis and Dr. Goddard followed their scientific friend to that venerable abode of learning; where, being joined by Seth Ward, Dr. Petty, and others, they resumed their meetings, at first, in the house of Dr. Petty, and afterwards in Dr. Wilkins's lodgings, at Wadham College. By the statutes of this college, celibacy is made an indispensable qualification for the wardenship. Wilkins, confident in the strength of his interest with his party, married notwithstanding; and, his wife being a sister of Oliver Cromwell, he was, by virtue of the Protector's dispensation, without difficulty continued in the office. On the death of Oliver, he was promoted by Richard Cromwell, the new protector, to the mastership of Trinity College, Cambridge; and in that university likewise he zealously encouraged the study of natural and experimental philosophy.

The Restoration came; and now Dr Wilkins experienced, for a season at least, the utility of those principles of submission to the will of the Supreme Ruler of events, which he had inculcated some years previously, in a published *Discourse concerning the Beauty of Providence*. He was deprived of all preferment, and of the hope of any; for a strong prejudice against the brother-in-law of Cromwell naturally existed both at court and at Lambeth. Nevertheless, before the close of the year 1660, he received the appointment of preacher at Gray's Inn; and through the exertions of his friends, and his distinguished reputation in those scientific pursuits which had now begun to be cultivated with avidity, and in which even the luxurious monarch took an interest, the tide gradually turned in his favour. In 1662, his zealous friend Ward ob-

tained for him from the crown, a presentation to the living of St. Lawrence Jewry, void by his own elevation to the see of Exeter. This preferment was followed by another to the deanery of Ripon; and shortly after, on the death of Dr. George Hall, bishop of Chester, he was chosen, through Buckingham's interest, to preside over that diocese. His consecration took place November 15th, 1668.

In the same year he produced the most remarkable of his writings, the *Essay towards a real Character and Philosophical Language*. This work seems in some degree an amplification of a Latin treatise, bearing a similar title, published in 1661, by George Dalgarno, a native of Aberdeen, who had settled as a private teacher at Oxford. Wilkins's scheme, however, originally the suggestion of Bishop Ward, had long engaged his thoughts. His book was printed by the Royal Society, to whom the author presented his manuscript. Its design was, to enable nations who do not understand each others' language, to converse together: but the system is at once too cumbrous, and too imperfect, ever to have been adopted in practice.

As was to be expected, the moderation of his temper, no less than his education and connections, induced Bishop Wilkins to be extremely lenient in his treatment of dissenters, and after his elevation to the mitre, he still laboured, as he had done before, to promote the plan for a comprehension which had been so long and so fruitlessly contemplated. He was, notwithstanding, firmer than he could reasonably have been expected to prove, in maintaining the rights and discipline of the ecclesiastical establishment.

But the Church was not long to have the benefit of his moderate counsels. In November 1682, at the house of Tillotson, in Chancery Lane, he was attacked by an acute and painful disorder, the consequence, probably, of severe application to his studies; and there expired on the 18th of that month. Dr. Lloyd, who preached his funeral sermon, uses the following language, in his description of the bishop's last illness. "He was for many days in a prospect of death, which he saw as it approached, and felt it come on by degrees. Some days before he died, he found within himself, as he often said, 'a sentence of death.' In all this time, first of pain, then of immediate apprehensions, at last in the presence of death, who ever saw him dismayed? who ever found him sur-

prised? or heard a word from him unbecoming a wise man and a true Christian? At the times I was with him," continues Dr. Lloyd, "I saw great cause to admire his faith towards God, his zeal for his Church, his constancy of mind, his contempt of the world, and his cheerful hopes of eternity."

Both as a preacher and as a writer, plainness and solidity, the constant marks of a serious and masculine mind, distinguished this prelate. He regarded the substance of his discourse, not its ornaments or adjuncts. He appealed to the understanding of an auditory, rather than to their affections. "He saw so much of the beauty of goodness himself, that he thought the bare showing of it was enough to make all wise men, as it did him, to be in love with it." In his studies he was indefatigable, and the zeal with which he pursued them was supported by a belief that he was thereby benefiting mankind. He thought so, respecting such of them even as were the least connected with his profession; for he considered it the business of universal knowledge to make men wiser and better. This was his reason for the earnestness of his endeavours to advance the Royal Society, an institution which, down to the time of his decease, comprised within its narrow circuit all the light of experimental philosophy, which then existed in England.

Works of Bishop Wilkins:—

Discovery of a New World; or a Discourse tending to prove that it is probable there may be another habitable World in the Moon; with a Discourse concerning the possibility of a passage thither. 8vo. 1638.

This, the earliest, is certainly far from being the soundest, of the author's speculations. Our disposition to smile at its fallacies will, however, be moderated, in proportion as we consider the state of astronomical science in his time. It is remarkable, that the very same year (1638) likewise gave birth to a philosophical romance, which treats the same subject with considerable power of fancy,—viz., Bishop Godwin's *Man in the Moon; or a Discourse of a Voyage thither, by Domingo Gonzales.* Both works were, no doubt, suggested by Galileo's recent discoveries in the lunar sphere.

Discourse concerning a New Planet; tending to prove that it is probable our Earth is one of the Planets. 8vo. 1640. It has been already observed, that this is among the first systematic defences of the Copernican system.

Mercury, or the secret and swift Messenger: shewing how a man may, with privacy and speed, communicate his thoughts to a friend at any distance. 1641. Godwin's romance was of course read by Wilkins; and with so much pleasure that he was naturally led likewise to peruse that author's *Nuntius Inanimatus*, a tract on the means of possible communication between persons so situated as not to be able to converse together. This little tract he has expanded and enriched by many ingenious thoughts on the employment of signals, scientifically contrived for that purpose.

Ecclesiastes; or a Discourse of the Gift of Preaching, as it falls under the rules of art. 8vo. 1646. A sound and judicious work; probably the foundation of nearly all our subsequent treatises on the eloquence of the pulpit. The list it comprises of authors who have treated of the various subjects in divinity, was much augmented in the edition published in 1693, under the auspices of Tillotson. A new edition of the *Ecclesiastes*, bringing down the enumeration to our own times, would be a valuable present to theological students.

Mathematical Magic; or the Wonders that may be performed by Mechanical Geometry. 8vo. 1648.

A Discourse concerning the Beauty of Providence in all the rugged passages of it. 12mo. 1649.

A Discourse concerning the Gift of Prayer, &c. 8vo. 1653. This discourse, originally intended, like the discourse on preaching, for the writer's own use and direction, is calculated to show how far prayer is attainable by study; with directions for that purpose, in respect of matter, method, and expression. It lays down a system perhaps too formal and elaborate; but the usefulness of the work has been evinced by its having passed through many editions.

Essay towards a real Character, &c. 8vo. 1668.

At Bishop Wilkins's death his papers were left to the care of his friend and relation Tillotson, with leave to publish them or not, as he should think fit. The fruits of Tillotson's affectionate and careful labours appeared in the treatise *On the Principles of Natural Religion.* 8vo. 1675; the most popular of the bishop's works. The general design of this treatise is to prove the value of natural religion, as ancillary to revelation. It consists of two books. In the first, the author establishes the great principles of the being and perfections of God, and of a future state, from reason and

conscience; and thence enforces the indispensable obligation of mankind to the performance of religious and moral duties. In the second book, is pointed out the natural and direct tendency of religion and morality to produce happiness, temporal and eternal. These books are divided into twenty-six chapters; of which only twelve had been prepared for the press by the author. The remainder were compiled by Tillotson from his papers.

Sermons, preached on several occasions. 1682. The number of sermons in this volume is fifteen. To it is prefixed a preface by the same friendly editor, designed to vindicate its author from the disparaging account of his life and character, given by Anthony Wood.

PROPOSITIONS, PRELIMINARY TO A DISCUSSION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF NATURAL RELIGION.

Besides what hath been already suggested concerning the first foundations to be laid, in order to a discourse about natural religion, I shall in the next place offer to consideration these seven following propositions, as being very proper to prevent or obviate the cavils of sceptical captious men.

1. Such things as in themselves are equally true and certain, may not yet be capable of the same kind or degree of evidence as to us. As for instance, that there was such a man as king Henry the Eighth, that there are such places as America or China. I say these things may in themselves be equally true and certain with those other matters, that we now see and are awake, that the three angles in a triangle are equal to two right ones. Though for the first of these we have only the testimony of others, and human tradition; whereas for the other we have sensitive proof, and mathematical demonstration. And the reason is because all truths are in themselves equal, according to that ordinary maxim, *veritas non recipit magis et minus.* And therefore nothing can be more irrational than for a man to doubt of, or deny the truth of any thing, because it cannot be made out, by such kind of proofs of which the nature of such a thing is not capable. A man may as well deny there is any such thing as light or colour, because he cannot hear it; or sound, because he cannot see it, as to deny the truth of other things because they cannot be made out by sensitive or demonstrative proofs. The kinds of probation for several things being as much disproportioned, as the objects of the several senses are to one another.

2. Things of several kinds may admit and require several sorts of proofs, all which may be good in their kind. The philosopher[1] hath long ago told us, that according to the divers nature of things, so must the evidences for them be; and that it is an argument of an undisciplined wit not to acknowledge this. He that is rational and judicious will expect no other kind of arguments in any case than the subject-matter will bear. How incongruous would it be for a mathematician to persuade with eloquence, to use all imaginable insinuations and intreaties that he might prevail with his hearers to believe that three and three make six? It would be altogether as vain and improper in matters belonging to an orator to pretend to strict demonstration. All things are not capable of the same kind of evidence. Though the conclusions in mathematics, by reason of the abstracted nature of those sciences, may be demonstrated by the clearest and most unquestionable way of probation to our reason, yet it is not rational to expect the like proof in such other matters as are not of the like nature. This he himself applies to moral things, which being not of such simple abstracted natures, but depending upon mixed circumstances, are not therefore capable of such kind of demonstrative proofs. It is a saying of Jamblicus[2], That demonstrations are not to be expected in matters concerning God and divine things. Nor is this any greater prejudice to the certainty of such things than it is that God is invisible. And thus likewise it is, for the same reason, with many particular conclusions in natural philosophy. And as for matters of fact, concerning times, places, persons, actions, which depend upon story and the relation of others, these things are not capable of being proved by such scientifical principles as the others are. Now no sober man can deny but that several things in moral and in natural philosophy are in themselves as absolutely and as certainly true, and as firmly believed by us, as any mathematical principle or conclusion can be. From whence I infer this, That it is not, ought not to be, any prejudice to the truth or certainty of any thing, that it is not to be made out by such kind of proofs, of which the nature of that thing is not capable, provided it be capable of satisfactory proofs of another kind.

3. When a thing is capable of good proof in any kind, men ought to rest satisfied in the best evidence for it, which that kind of things will bear, and beyond which better could not be expected, supposing it were true. They ought not to expect either sensible proof, or demonstration for such matters as are not capable of such proofs, supposing them to be true. Because otherwise nothing must be assented to and believed, but that which hath the highest evidence. All

---

[1] Aristot. Eth. Lib. 1. cap. 3. Metaph. Lib. 1. cap. ult. [2] Protrept. in Symbol. 25.

other things being to be looked upon as uncertain and doubtful, and wholly excluded from all possibility of being known. And at this rate, men must believe nothing at all in story, because such things cannot be demonstrated; and it is possible that the rest of mankind might have combined together to impose upon them by these relations. And how abhorrent such sceptical principles must needs be to common reason, I need not say. Those who will pretend such kind of grounds for their disbelief of any thing, will never be able to persuade others, that the true cause why they do not give their assent, is because they have no reason for it, but because they have no mind to it. *Nolle in causa est, non posse prætenditur.*

And on the other side, when we have for the proof of any thing, some of the highest kinds of evidence, in this case it is not the suggestion of a mere possibility that the thing may be otherwise, that ought to be any sufficient cause of doubting.

To which I shall only add, that we may be unquestionably sure of many things as to their existence, and yet we may not be able to explain the nature of them. No man in his wits can make any doubt whether there be such things as motion, and sensation, and continuity of bodies. And yet these things are commonly esteemed inexplicable: so that our not being able to see to the bottom of things, and to give a distinct account of the nature and manner of them, can be no sufficient cause to doubt of their being.

4. The mind of man may and must give a firm assent to some things, without any kind of hesitation or doubt of the contrary; where yet the evidences for such things are not so infallible, but that there is a possibility that the things may be otherwise; *i.e.* there may be an indubitable certainty where there is not an infallible certainty. And that kind of certainty which doth not admit of any doubt, may serve us as well to all intents and purposes as that which is infallible. A man may make no doubt whether he himself were baptized, whether such persons were his parents; of which yet he can have no other evidence than tradition, and the testimony of others. Who is there so wildly sceptical as to question, whether the sun shall rise in the East, and not in the North or West, or whether it shall rise at all: because the contrary is not impossible, and doth not imply any contradiction? Suppose that in digging of the earth amongst some ancient ruins, a man should find a round flat piece of metal, in the exact shape of an old medal, with the image and inscription of one of the Roman emperors. Or suppose he should dig up a large stone of the shape of an ancient tomb-stone, with a distinct inscription upon it, of the name and quality of some person said to be buried under it. Can any rational man doubt, whether one of these were not a piece of coin, and the other a grave-stone? or

should a man be bound to suspend his assent and belief of this, barely upon this ground, because it is possible that these might have been the mutual shapes of that particular metal and stone, and that those which seem to be letters or figures engraven or embossed upon it, may be nothing else but some casual dents or cavities, which by the various motions and temper of the matter did happen to them, amongst those many millions of other figures which they were capable of? Who would not think such a man to be strangely wild and irrational, who could frame to himself any real scruples from such considerations as these? Why, it is the same kind of absurd dotage that sceptics in religion are guilty of, in suspending their assent merely upon this ground, because some arguments for it do not so infallibly conclude, but that there is a possibility things may be otherwise. He that will raise to himself, and cherish in his mind any real doubts, according to the mere possibility of things, shall not be able to determine himself to the belief or practice of any thing. He must not stay within doors for fear the house should fall upon him, for that is possible; nor must he go out, lest the next man that meets him should kill him, for that also is possible. And so must it be for his doing or forbearing any other action. Nay, I add farther, *that* man is sure to be deceived in very many things, who will doubt of every thing, where it is possible he may be deceived.

I appeal to the common judgment of mankind, whether human nature be not so framed, as to acquiesce in such a moral certainty, as the nature of things is capable of; and if it were otherwise, whether that reason which belongs to us would not prove a burthen and a torment to us rather than a privilege, by keeping us in a continual suspense, and thereby rendering our conditions perpetually restless and unquiet? Would not such men be generally accounted out of their wits, who could please themselves by entertaining actual hopes of any thing merely upon account of the possibility of it; or torment themselves with actual fears of all such evils as are possible? Is there any thing imaginable more wild and extravagant amongst those in Bedlam than this would be? Why, doubt is a kind of fear, and is commonly styled *formido oppositi;* and it is the same kind of madness for a man to doubt of any thing as to hope for, or fear it, upon a mere possibility.

5. It is sufficient that matters of faith and religion be propounded in such a way as to render them highly credible, so as an honest and teachable man may willingly and safely assent to them; and, acording to the rules of prudence, be justified in so doing. Nor is it either necessary or convenient that they should be established by such cogent evidence, as to necessitate assent. Because this would not leave any

place for the virtue of believing, or the freedom of our obedience; nor any ground for reward and punishment. It would not be thankworthy for a man to believe that which of necessity he must believe, and cannot otherwise choose.

Rewards and punishments do properly belong to free actions, such as are under a man's power, either to do or forbear; not to such as are necessary. There is no more reason to reward a man for believing that four is more than three, than for being hungry or sleepy; because these things do not proceed from choice, but from natural necessity. A man must do so, nor can he do otherwise.

I do not say that the principles of religion are merely probable, I have before asserted them to be morally certain. And that to a man who is careful to preserve his mind free from prejudice, and to consider, they will appear unquestionable, and the deductions from them demonstrable: but now because that which is necessary to beget this certainty in the mind, namely, impartial consideration, is in a man's power, therefore the belief or disbelief of these things is a proper subject for rewards and punishments.

There would be little reason for the Scripture so much to magnify the grace of faith, as being so great a virtue and so acceptable to God, if every one were necessitated to it, whether he would or no. And therefore God is pleased to propose these matters of belief to us in such a way, as that we might give some testimony of our teachable dispositions, and of our obedience by our assent to them. *Ut sermo Evangelii tanquam lapis esset Lydius, ad quem ingenia sanabilia explorarentur*[1], as the learned Grotius speaks concerning the doctrine of the gospel, whereby God was pleased, as with a touchstone, to prove and try what kind of tempers men are of, whether they are so ingenuous as to accept of sufficient evidence in the confirmation of a holy doctrine. And the Scripture doth in several places make use of the word faith, according to this notion of it, as it consists in a readiness of mind to close with and give assent unto things upon such evidence as is in itself sufficient. To which purpose is that expression of our Saviour to Thomas, "Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed," John xx. 29. Signifying it to be a more excellent commendable and blessed thing for a man to yield his assent, upon such evidence as is in itself sufficient, without insisting upon more. It denotes good inclinations in men towards religion, and that they have worthy thoughts of the Divine power and goodness, when they are willing to submit unto such arguments in the confirmation of a holy doctrine, as to unprejudiced persons are in themselves sufficient to

[1] Grot. de Verit. Lib. II.

induce belief. It was this disposition that was commended in the Bereans[2], for which they are styled εὐγενέστεροι, more ingenuous, teachable, and candid, more noble than others, because they received the word with all readiness of mind; *i. e.* were ready and willing to assent to the gospel, upon such evidence as was in itself sufficient to convince reasonable and unprejudiced men.

And on the other side, it was the want of this disposition which is condemned, Matth. xiii. 58, where it is said that our Saviour "did not many mighty works in his own country, because of their unbelief;" *i. e.* that prejudice which there was upon them, by their knowledge of his mean parentage and birth, and their ignorance of his divine commission and high calling, did indispose them for an equal judgment of things, and render them unteachable. And having tried this by doing some mighty works amongst them, he would not do many, because of their incapacity of receiving benefit by them.

Wicked men are in the Scripture phrase stiled υἱοὶ ἀπειθείας, *filii insuasibilitatis*, unpersuadable men, such as no reason can convince[3]. And elsewhere they are styled ἄτοποι, which we translate unreasonable men. But the word may signify absurd, contumacious persons, who are not to be fixed by any principles, whom no topics can work upon, being directly opposite to this virtue of faith, as appears by the next clause, "for all men have not faith."

Supposing mankind to be endowed (as all other things are) with a natural principle, whereby they are strongly inclined to seek their own preservation and happiness; and supposing them to be rational and free creatures, able to judge of, and to choose the means conducing to this end: nothing can be more reasonable in this case than that such creatures should be under the obligation of accepting such evidence as in itself is sufficient for their conviction.

6. When there is no such evident certainty, as to take away all kind of doubting; in such cases, a judgment that is equal and impartial must incline to the greater probabilities. That is no just balance, wherein the heaviest side will not preponderate. In all the ordinary affairs of life men use to guide their actions by this rule, namely, to incline to that which is most probable and likely, when they cannot attain to any clear unquestionable certainty. And that man would be generally counted a fool who should do otherwise. Now let it be supposed that some of the great principles in religion should not seem to some men altogether so evident as to be wholly unquestionable, yet ought their assent still to incline to the greater probability.

---

[2] Acts xvii. 11. [3] Eph. ii. 2, 5, 6. Col. iii. 6. 2 Thess. iii. 2.

When it is said to be a duty for men to believe any thing, or to acquiesce in such kind of evidence as is sufficient for the proof of it; the meaning is not as if there were any moral obligation upon the understanding, which is proper only unto the will; but the meaning is, that men should be careful to preserve their minds free from any wilful prejudice and partiality, that they should seriously attend to, and consider the evidence proposed to them, so as to take a just estimate of it. For though it be true that the judgments of men must by a natural necessity, preponderate on that side where the greatest evidence lies; supposing the mind to be equally disposed, and the balance to be just; yet must it withal be granted to be a particular virtue and felicity to keep the mind to such an equal frame of judging. There are some men who have sufficient abilities to discern betwixt the true difference of things; but what through their vicious affections and voluntary prejudices, making them unwilling that some things should be true; what through their inadvertency or neglect to consider and compare things together, they are not to be convinced by plain arguments; not through any insufficiency in the evidence, but by reason of some defect or corruption in the faculty that should judge of it. Now the neglect of keeping our minds in such an equal frame, the not applying of our thoughts to consider of such matters of moment as do highly concern a man to be rightly informed in, must needs be a vice. And though none of the philosophers (that I know of) do reckon this kind of faith (as it may be styled), this teachableness and equality of mind in considering and judging of matters of importance, amongst other intellectual virtues; yet to me it seems that it may justly challenge a place amongst them; and that for this reason, because the two extremes of it by way of excess and defect, I mean the assenting unto such things upon insufficient evidence, which is called credulity, and the not assenting unto them upon sufficient evidence, which is called incredulity or unbelief, are both of them vices. Now where the excess and defect do make vices, or such things as ought not to be, there the mediocrity must denote something that ought to be, and consequently must be a virtue, and have in it the obligation of duty.

7. If in any matter offered to consideration, the probabilities on both sides be supposed to be equal: (in this case, though an impartial judgment cannot be obliged to incline to one side rather than to the other, because our assent to things must by a necessity of nature be proportioned to our evidence for them; and where neither side doth preponderate, the balance should hang even)—yet even in this case, men may be obliged to order their actions in favour of that side which appears to be most safe and advantageous for their own interest. Suppose a man travelling upon the road to meet with two doubtful

ways, concerning neither of which he can have any the least probability to induce him to believe that one is more like to be the true way to his journey's end than the other: only he is upon good grounds assured, that in one of these ways he shall meet with much trouble, difficulty, danger, which the other is altogether free from: in this case, though a man be not bound to believe that one of them is a truer way than the other, yet is he obliged in prudence to take the safest.

Nay I add farther, if the probabilities on the one hand should somewhat preponderate the other, yet if there be no considerable hazard on that side which hath the least probability, and a very great apparent danger in a mistake about the other: in this case, prudence will oblige a man to do that which may make most for his own safety.

These are those preparatory principles which I thought fit to premise, as a necessary foundation for any debate with captious men about these first grounds of religion. And they are each of them, I think, of such perspicuity, as to need little more than the bare proposal of them, and the explication of their terms, to evince the truth of them.

Principles of Natural Religion, chap. 3.

Dr. HENRY MORE.

A. D. 1640—1687.

The desire is as laudable as it is natural, in men of profound learning and unusual vigour of mind, to harmonize the intuitions and deductions of reason with the dictates of revelation. Philosophy, when she affects to guide and regulate religion, or even to share her authority, is certain fatally to mislead; but when her light is genuine, and she discerns the true limits of her province, when she takes a just advantage of inspiration, and exhibits truth in colours peculiarly grateful to the mental eye of the intellectual and reflective, she is then worthily regarded as the handmaid and associate of revelation. The Alexandrian Platonists enslaved and degraded the gospel, by forcing it to an unnatural conjunction with paganism; the so-called platonic divines of the seventeenth century, one great division of that 'latitudinarian,' or moderate religious party, who sought an asylum in the peaceful recesses of reason, from those polemical storms which were ravaging the world—this band of admirable scholars, not only have reconciled to religion many of those discursive, restless spirits, to whom the highest truth in a popular form was little grateful; but have materially enlarged and confirmed its evidences.

Of such men, in the period we have now reached, the list was numerous, including Cudworth, Whichcote, Smith, Worthington, and many others; but the founder of the school, the philosopher and divine, in whose subtle, comprehensive, and genial intellect, we view its principles in their highest subjective purity, is Dr. More.

Henry More was born at Grantham, in Lincolnshire, October 12th, 1614. His father was Alexander More, a Puritan, but a gentleman of good understanding, and literary taste. We learn from his son's dedication of his *Philosophical Poems*, addressed to him, that Alexander More was in the habit of entertaining his family on winter evenings, with reading aloud the *Faery Queene* of Spenser; the deep impression

produced on the narrator by these lectures, is manifest in his poetical compositions.

The moral and metaphysical characteristics of More's mind were early developed. In the preface to his curious philosophical poem, *The Song of the Soul*, he has left an interesting account of his juvenile years.

"To the end," he informs us, "that it may more fully appear, that the things which I have written are not any borrowed or far-fetched opinions, owing to education and the reading of books; but the proper sentiments of my own mind, drawn and derived from my most intimate nature; and that every human soul is no *abrasa tabula*, or mere blank sheet; but hath innate sensations and notions in it, both of good and evil, just and unjust, true and false; and those very strong and vivid. Concerning which matter I am the more assured, in that the sensations of my own mind are so far from being owing to education, that they are directly contrary to it; I being bred up, to the almost fourteenth year of my age, under parents and a master that were great Calvinists, (but withal very pious and good ones). At which time, by the order of my parents, persuaded to it by my uncle, I immediately went to Eton school; not to learn any new precepts or institutes of religion, but for the perfecting of the Greek and Latin tongues. But neither there, nor yet anywhere else, could I ever swallow down that hard doctrine concerning fate. On the contrary, I remember that upon those words of Epictetus, Ἄγε με, ὦ Ζεῦ, καὶ σὺ ἡ πεπρωμένη, "Lead me, O Jupiter, and thou, Fate," I did (with my eldest brother, who then, as it happened, had accompanied my uncle thither,) very stoutly, and earnestly for my years, dispute against this fate, or Calvinistic predestination, as it is usually called. * * *

"And as to what concerns the existence of God, though in that ground mentioned, [the play-field at Eton] walking, as my manner was, slowly, and with my head on one side, and kicking now and then the stones with my feet, I was wont sometimes with a sort of musical and melancholic murmur to repeat, or rather hum, to myself, those verses of Claudian:

> Sæpe mihi dubiam traxit sententia mentem,
> Curarent Superi terras; an nullus inesset
> Rector, et incerto fluerent mortalia casu.
>
> Oft hath my anxious mind divided stood,
> Whether the Gods did mind the lower world;
> Or whether no such Ruler, wise and good,
> We had; and all things here by chance were hurl'd;—

yet that exceeding strong and entire sense of God, which nature herself had planted deeply in me, very easily silenced all such slight

and poetical dubitations as these. Yea, even in my first childhood, an inward sense of the divine presence was so strong upon my mind, that I did then believe there could no deed, word, or thought be hidden from him; nor was I, by any others that were older than myself, to be otherwise persuaded. Which thing since no distinct reason, philosophy, or instruction taught it me at that age, but only an internal sensation urged it upon me, I think it is very evident, that this was an innate sense or notion in me, contrary to some witless and sordid philosophisters of our present age. And if these cunning sophisters shall here reply, that I drew this sense of mine *ex traduce*, or by way of propagation, as being born of parents exceeding pious and religious, I demand, how it came to pass that I drew not Calvinism also in along with it? For both my father and uncle, and so also my mother, were all earnest followers of Calvin. But these things I pass, since men atheistically disposed, cannot so receive them, as I from an inward feeling speak them.

"I go on therefore with my little narrative. Endued as I was with these principles, that is to say, a firm and unshaken belief of the existence of God, as also of his unspotted righteousness and perfect goodness, that he is a God infinitely good, as well as infinitely great, (and what other would any person, that is not doltish or superstitious, ever admit of?) at the command of my uncle, to whose care my father had committed me, and having spent about three years at Eton, I went to Cambridge, recommended to the care of a person both learned and pious, and, what I was not a little solicitous about, not at all a Calvinist; but a tutor most skilful and vigilant: who presently after the very first salutation and discourse with me, asked me whether I had a discernment of things good and evil? To which answering in somewhat a low voice, I said, I hope I have. When at the same time I was conscious to myself, that I had, to my very soul, a most strong sense and savoury discrimination as to all those matters. Notwithstanding, the meanwhile, a mighty and almost immoderate thirst after knowledge possessed me throughout, especially for that which was natural, and above all others, that which was said to dive into the deepest cause of things, and which Aristotle calls the first and highest philosophy or wisdom.

"After which, when my prudent and pious tutor observed my mind to be inflamed, and carried with so eager and vehement a career, he asked me on a certain time, why I was so above measure intent upon my studies, that is to say, for what end I was so? Suspecting, as I suppose, that there was only at the bottom a certain itch, or hunt after vain-glory; to become, by this means, some famous philosopher amongst those of my own standing. But I answered briefly, and that

from my heart, 'That I may know.' 'But, young man, what is the reason,' saith he again, 'that you so earnestly desire to know things?' to which I instantly returned, 'I desire, I say, so earnestly to know, that I may know.' For even at that time, the knowledge of natural and divine things seemed to me the highest pleasure and felicity imaginable.

"Thus, then, persuaded, and esteeming it what was highly fit, I immersed myself over head and ears in the study of philosophy, promising a most wonderful happiness to myself in it. Aristotle, therefore, Cardan, Julius Scaliger, and other philosophers of the greatest note, I very diligently perused. In which, the truth is, that I met here and there with some things wittily and acutely, and sometimes also solidly spoken; yet the most seemed to me either so false or uncertain, or else so obvious and trivial, that I looked upon myself as having plainly lost my time in the reading of such authors. And to speak all in a word, those almost whole four years, which I spent in studies of this kind, as to what concerned those matters which I chiefly desired to be satisfied about, (for as to the existence of a God, and the duties of morality, I never had the least doubt,) ended in nothing, in a manner, but mere scepticism, which made me, that as my manner was (for I was wont to set down the present state of my mind, or any sense of it that was warmer or deeper than ordinary, in some short notes, whether in verse or prose, and that also in English, Greek, or Latin,) it made me, I say, that as a perpetual record of the thing I composed a stanza of eight verses, which is called Ἀπορία, and it is to be found inserted in the end of my second philosophical volume:

Οὐκ ἔγνων πόθεν εἰμὶ ὁ δύσμερος, οὐδὲ τίς εἰμι, κ.τ.λ.

"Nor whence nor who I am, poor wretch, know I,
Nor yet, O madness! whither I must go;
But in grief's crooked claws fast held I lie,
And live, I think, by force, lugg'd to and fro:
Asleep or wake all one. O father Jove,
'Tis brave we mortals live in clouds like thee;
Lies, night-dreams, empty toys, fear, fatal love,
This is my life; I nothing else do see."

It was while in this painful state of mental darkness and perplexity, that More, who had been admitted a member of Christ's College, in 1631, took his first degree. The interesting history of his progress towards light and repose, by engaging in the study of Plato's philosophy, is thus continued:

"It fell out truly very happily for me, that I suffered so great a disappointment in my studies. For it made me seriously at last begin to think with myself, whether the knowledge of things was really that supreme felicity of man, or something greater and more divine was;

or, supposing it to be so, whether it was to be acquired by such an eagerness and intentness in the readings of authors, and contemplating of things; or by the purging of the mind from all sorts of vices whatsoever; especially having begun now to read the Platonic writers, Marsilius Ficinus, Plotinus himself, Mercurius Trismegistus, and the mystical divines; among whom there was frequent mention made of the purification of the soul, and of the purgative course that is previous to the illuminative; as if the person that expected to have his mind illuminated of God, was to endeavour after the highest purity.

"But amongst all the writings of this kind, there was none, to speak the truth, so pierced and affected me, as that golden little book, with which Luther is also said to have been wonderfully taken, viz. *Theologia Germanica*[1]. Though several symptoms, even at that time, seemed ever and anon to occur to me, of a certain deep melancholy, as also no slight errors in matters of philosophy. But that which he doth so mightily inculcate, viz. 'That we should thoroughly put off, and extinguish our own proper will; that being thus dead to ourselves, we may live alone unto God, and do all things whatsoever by his instinct, or plenary permission,' was so counternatural, as it were, and agreeable to my most intimate reason and conscience, that I could not of anything whatsoever be more clearly or certainly convinced. Which sense yet (that no one may here use that dull and idle expression, *Quales legimus, tales evadimus;* such as we read, such we are,) that truly golden book did not then first implant in my soul, but struck and roused it, as it were, out of sleep in me. Which it did verily as in a moment, or the twinkling of an eye. But after that the sense and consciousness of this great and plainly divine duty was thus awakened in me, Good God! what strugglings and conflicts followed presently between this divine principle and the animal nature! For since I was most firmly persuaded, not only concerning the existence of God, but also of his absolute both goodness and power, and of his most real will that we should 'be perfect, even as our Father which is in heaven is perfect;' there was no room left for any tergiversation, but a necessity of immediately entering the lists, and of using all possible endeavours, that our own will, by which we relish ourselves, and what belongs to us, in things as well of the soul as of the body, might be opposed, destroyed, annihilated; that so the Divine will alone, with the new birth, may revive and grow up in us. And, if I may here freely speak my mind, before this conflict between the Divine will, and our own proper will of self-love, there can no certain signs

[1] This book was the production of John Taulerus, a Dominican, who lived in the fourteenth century, and was styled "the illuminated divine." It was originally written in German.

appear to us of this new birth at all. But this conflict is the very *punctum saliens*, or first motion of the new life or birth begun in us. As to other performances, whether of morality or religion, arising from mere self-love, let them be as specious or goodly as you please, they are at best but as preparations, or the more refined exercises of a sort of theological Hobbianism.

"But there is nothing that the animal man dreads so much as this conflict; and he looks upon it as a piece of mere folly and madness to attempt anything that is not for his own self-interest, or that is not to be accomplished by his own proper sense and reason. And therefore the old man, while it doth but exercise all this time its own nature divers ways, and adjusts itself to outward multifarious opinions and practices in religion, and bends and winds itself about this way and that way; is still a mere serpent, the mere old man; as a dunghill, turn it into what shapes and postures you will, it still remains a dunghill. The divine seed alone is that which is acceptable unto God, and the sole invincible basis of all true religion. The revelation through the divine grace, of which heavenly and sincere principle in myself, immediately occasioned that all my other studies, in comparison of this, became vile, and of no account; and that insatiable desire and thirst of mine after the knowledge of things was almost wholly extinguished in me, as being solicitous now about nothing so much as a more full union with this divine and celestial principle, the inward flowing well-spring of life eternal; with the most fervent prayers breathing often unto God, that he would be pleased thoroughly to set me free from the dark chains, and this so sordid captivity, of my own will.

"But, here, openly to declare the thing as it was. When this inordinate desire after the knowledge of things was thus allayed in me, and I aspired after nothing but this sole purity and simplicity of mind, there shone in upon me daily a greater assurance than ever I could have expected, even of those things which before I had the greatest desire to know; insomuch that within a few years, I was got into a most joyous and lucid state of mind, and such plainly as is ineffable; though, according to my custom, I have endeavoured to express it, to my power, in another stanza of eight verses, both in sense and title answering in a way of direct opposition unto the former; which is called (as that Ἀπορία, inviousness and emptiness, so this) Εὐπορία, fulness and perviousness; and is to be found likewise at the end of my second philosophical volume."

The course of that transition, from the dark passages of doubt and mental bondage, to the free and joyful day-

light, which More has recorded in the epigram here alluded to, likewise furnished the subject of his first publication, the *Psychozoia*. He was stirred, he says to the composition of this work, with no other design than that it should remain by him for a private record of his self-experience; the extreme obscurity of this rugged poem was partly indeed the consequence of a studied design to address none but himself. This was in 1640; yet at the instigation of some learned and pious friends, who had obtained a sight of the work, it was published, with other philosophical pieces in verse, in the year 1642. More, in his study at Christ's College, so profoundly absorbed within himself, like another Archimedes, (as in these writings he appears,) while, all around, the crisis of a mighty revolution was crashing and rending society in pieces, offers to the mind a highly characteristic picture. In all her productions, but especially in her noblest production, man, nature delights herself with the harmony of contrast; and the mental wealth of the period was sufficient to fill at once all the channels into which it could be received. Even the same minds, in that affluent age, poured forth their abundance at once in opposite directions; the finest of Hall's devotional writings, where, in the universal language of supplication and praise, the Christian contends with the Spirit of God alone, immediately succeeded his treatise on the *Divine Right of Episcopacy*, and that courageous defence of his order which he made at the bar of the insulting parliament.

From this time, "as," observes More's biographer, "he had a wonderful sense of God, sacred and ineffable, and of his unconceivable attributes; so he soon found all things, to his high satisfaction, not unsuitable to them. And that there might be 'a turning after righteousness,' (as he speaks) as well as 'running after knowledge,' he set himself to demonstrate with great care the principles both of natural and revealed religion; and to recommend to all at the same time, with the greatest seriousness possible, the practice of morality and virtue, or rather of what is justly called the Christian or Divine life. And yet, that no one might think him to be any ways superstitious, or but narrow-spirited, even in those days of light and liberty, he openly established the noblest principles, both in philosophy and divinity, that their hearts could well desire or imagine. And he was the first that did, in so eminent a manner, espouse and publicly represent them here

in this nation; such as he believed worthy of God, reasonable in themselves, and to have a natural tendency to heighten and improve, in all respects, the souls of men, by inflaming them with the greatest honour for the Deity, and for all God's wonderful ways and providences in the world. But he took a very special care to guard his philosophy and free principles with the duties of virtue and piety, and to make them all subservient to nothing but the purposes of wisdom and goodness; that so all men might attain unto the brightest truth and righteousness both at once. He seems, therefore, to have been raised up by a special Providence in those days of freedom, as a light to those that may be fitted or inclined to high speculations; and a general guide to all that want it, how they are to mix the christian and philosophic genius together, and make them rightly to accord in one common end, viz. the glory of God, with the highest felicity and perfection of men."

The depth and the originality of his metaphysical theories, and the remarkable combination of great argumentative abilities, extensive learning, and ardent piety, with which he set them forth, occasioned his being looked up to as a person of an extraordinary character, by the best and greatest of his contemporaries. Indeed, he himself admitted, with the frankness and simplicity natural to his temper, that the talents and dispositions lavished on him were such as brought him into singular responsibilities; that, to adopt his own expression, he had, "as a fiery arrow been shot into the world, and he hoped that he had hit the mark."

That ecstasy of delight, however, which this great metaphysical genius took in the exercise of his contemplative powers, had by no means the effects of disgusting him with the ordinary affairs and familiar interests of life. When elected fellow of his college, he took charge of several pupils, some of them persons of rank, whose studies he directed with great fidelity and application; his management of them being distinguished from that of more ordinary tutors, chiefly by unusual gentleness and by the deep tone of piety which pervaded his instructions. He has recorded his opinion, that "the exercise of love and goodness, of humanity and brotherly kindness, of prudence and discretion, of faithfulness and neighbourliness, of unfeigned devotion and religion, in the plain and undoubted duties thereof, is, to the truly regenerate soul, a far greater pleasure than all the fine speculations

imaginable." It was life, not notions, which he chiefly valued; and he preferred "a single-heartedness of temper beyond any theories."

More was fortunate enough to escape molestation during the whole tempest of the civil war. "His nearest relations," he has told us, "were deep sufferers for the king; and he was himself exposed, by constantly refusing the covenant, to the loss of that little preferment he had." His security was, no doubt, owing rather to the retiredness of his habits, and to the simplicity and inoffensiveness of his demeanour, than to the general esteem entertained for his piety and moral worth. No unsympathising or unintelligent spectator, he looked, from year to year, on what was passing in the world, with a degree of sorrow, which sometimes sought relief in tears; yet still cherishing the hope of a happy end to the public miseries. Much of his time, during this period, he passed at Ragley, in Warwickshire, the seat of the celebrated Lady Conway, a person of enthusiastic piety and great accomplishments, by whom More and his opinions were held in high veneration. It was among the shades of Ragley, and at the suggestion of this lady, that he composed his *Conjectura Cabbalistica*, his *Philosophicæ Teutonicæ Censura*, and his *Divine Dialogues*.

The Restoration produced no change in the circumstances or disposition of this retired and contented Christian philosopher. He continued averse from all engagements that would have interfered with his life of study and contemplation. The deanery of Christ Church in Dublin, with the provostship of Trinity College, and also the deanery of St. Patrick's, were proposed for his acceptance, as a step to either of two bishoprics, when a vacancy should occur; but he could not be persuaded to accept preferment. It is said, that after the failure of these attempts, a very good English bishopric was procured for him; and that his friends had actually brought him, on some pretence or other, as far as Whitehall, designing to introduce him to the king to kiss hands for the appointment; but when he understood on what business he had been brought thither, nothing could induce him to enter. Once, late in life, he accepted a prebend in the cathedral of Gloucester, to which he was collated by Lord Chancellor Finch: this, however, as the event proved, was only with the view of serving his friend, Dr. Fowler, afterwards bishop of that diocese; into whose hands, with the chancellor's permission, he re-

signed it, refusing, at the same time, repayment of the expenses he had incurred. In the same manner, he for a short time, kept possession of the rectory of Ingoldbury, in Lincolnshire, which his father had purchased for him; and then presented it to several friends in succession. He had the satisfaction of providing in this way for his friend, Dr. Worthington, when that accomplished divine, in common with many other clergymen, lost his church in the fire of London. When at length, the mastership of his college fell vacant, it was proposed to him, in preference to Cudworth, as a piece of preferment, likely, if any could be so, to suit his wishes; he declined it, as he had done every thing else, "passing otherwise his time within those private walls, it may be as great a contemplator, philosopher, and divine, as ever did, or will hereafter visit them." In fact, he believed that by a life of contemplation, and by laying the results of it before the world in his writings, he followed the course appointed him by Providence, as best suited to his disposition and abilities, and likely to be serviceable to that and succeeding generations. Yet so humble were his notions of what he had accomplished, by the employment of so many years in earnest pursuit of those august theories which filled his mind, that he would say, he "had lived a harmless and childish life in the world:" an observation which he carried out to a juster estimate, when, indulging on some occasion, in the recreation of a game at bowls, he said, he had "contented himself here with the greatest things, and with the least," alluding to philosophy and divinity as his studies, and to some short and common diversions as his amusements. His works, he remarked to a person who was speaking in commendation of them, "were such as might please some solitary men that loved their Creator."

The most considerable private grief, by which, at least in his later years, Dr. More was tried, appears to have been the separation of his friend Lady Conway, from the communion of the Church. This lady having sought relief, through many years of most severe bodily pain, in intense mystical devotion, was thence led to admire the patient quietude of the Quakers; and with the opinions of this sect, at that time flushed with all the fervour attendant on novelty, persecution, and success, she was eventually induced to comply. Perhaps the Doctor was conscious, that his own religious views, characterized as they are by a degree of subjectiveness which unfits them for

general reception, (when eagerly adopted by a person of her peculiar temperament, not fortified by the counteraction of those healthier and more robust attainments which prevented any very evil consequences in his own case,) might have prepared the way to this unfortunate result. At all events, he received the account of it with unfeigned affliction, and laboured many years, with all the earnestness of a faithful friend, to reclaim the fair proselyte. He engaged in controversy with William Penn, the chief of the Quakers, both by writing and conversation. An admirable letter on Baptism and the Lord's Supper, addressed on this occasion to Penn, is printed in the appendix to his life. He encountered George Fox, and has left a description of the effect of the interview on his own feelings, little flattering to that ill-used enthusiast. "In conversing with him," he said, "I felt myself as it were turned into brass;" so much, to give the explanation of his biographer, did the perverseness of Fox move and offend his mind.

Though More's strength was displayed rather in what he could elaborate by thought, than in the immediate use of his reading, he was nevertheless a most laborious student; but devoted himself to the study of the best authors only. "He was wont to say, that he was no wholesale man." It was with the weightiest matters that his mind was mostly engaged; though there was no part of learning, laudable and worthy, for which he had not a due esteem. He was fully alive to the evil of exhausting the spirits by over study, and would sometimes forcibly shake off the trains of thought that haunted his mind. Neither did he neglect exercise and fresh air; on the contrary, he was so sensible of the importance of both to the studious, and so susceptible of their beneficial influence in his own person, that he would say, he could wish to be always, if it were possible, *sub dio*. The time came, however, when he had to experience the loss of that alacrity of spirits which in his youth he possessed in an extraordinary degree; and when, as so many scholars, especially the tremendously laborious ones of that age, have done, he discovered that "much study is a weariness of the flesh." For about a year before his death, he was visibly sinking. His mind, sympathising with his body, was, says his biographer, "in a sort, out of tune: I speak as to that deep and plastic sense (to use his own term) he had been under usually in Divine matters." His progress towards the close of life was, nevertheless, marked by humble piety and cheerful

resignation. "Never, he said, any person thirsted more after his meat and drink, than he, if it pleased God, after a release from the body." He professed, that he deserved greater afflictions from the hand of God than he had met with; yet at the same time, expressed a hope, that he had not spent his days in vain, and that when he was called out of the present life, his writings would be of use to the Church of God, and to the world. His last act was an effort of charity. Sending for his nephew, Gabriel More, whom he destined to be his heir, but with whose conduct he had had reason to be displeased, he saluted him at his coming very affectionately, saying, "Nephew, you are kindly welcome." He afterwards signified his cordial reconcilement; and when some one expressed admiration at witnessing so much readiness to forgive, he replied, "There was something that drew a man's affections in such cases, almost whether he would or no." Shortly before his death he expressed his view of what awaited him, by repeating the first words of Cicero's famous exclamation, *O præclarum illum diem*, &c." intimating, as he had also done before, his conviction, that at his release from this painful world, he would be admitted to converse with blessed and congenial spirits. He expired, calmly and almost imperceptibly, Sept. 1st 1687, and lies buried in the chapel of the college, of which he had been for so many years an admired ornament.

Ward, in his life of this remarkable man, already so largely quoted, repeats some extraordinary encomiums passed upon him while living, by eminent persons who knew him well. One of them averred, that he looked upon Dr. More as the holiest person upon the face of the earth; another, that "he was more an angel than a man." More substantial proofs however, than words, of the respect felt for him by his contemporaries, were offered in the attentions paid him by the learned world. It would be difficult indeed to name a Christian grace in which he did not excel. His charity was ardent and universal, and the proofs he gave of it in deeds of beneficence were continual. Self-denial he regarded as the practical ground of moral virtue; and in his own heart and behaviour he evidenced his observation, that humility is the most precious part of piety. Yet the fervour of his direct approaches to and intercourse with God in prayer, could not be surpassed: he affirms that no one, who pretends to follow

virtue without earnest and sincere devotion, will ever be able really to attain it. So intense were his acts of worship, and accompanied with such a joyful sense of the Divine presence, that his friends, when sometimes coming upon him unexpectedly while engaged in prayer, were surprised by irradiations of peace and joy in his countenance truly angelic. His temper was serene and cheerful; his discourse serious, yet lighted up with playful coruscations of wit and humour; "few were of a cheerfuller spirit than he; none, of a more deep felicity and enjoyment." In short, he possessed in as great purity perhaps as it has existed in any man of modern times, the light, sanctity, and blessedness of the Divine life.

As an author, Henry More perhaps never was,—it is almost certain he now never will be, intimately known to the generality of readers. Like the great intellectual philosopher of our own times, (who, in many of his most desirable characteristics resembled, and in some particulars excelled him,) he found in the intense veneration of a few, compensation for the coldness of the many; and (with greater confidence than Coleridge) looked to posterity for that more liberal justice which his contemporaries refused. Early in life, indeed, as soon as he understood the bent of his own genius, his sagacity taught him to look for the comparative neglect of the world; nor has the lapse of nearly two hundred years in any degree improved the prospect of the expectation he confidently entertained being realized, that in some future period of general improvement the cloud would pass away from his fame. The nineteenth century is still more careless than the seventeenth, about the labours, curious as they are always, and often sublime, of this patient, satisfied labourer in the mines of psychological research. An age which, practically at least, denies to theology the dignity of a science, and embraces utilitarianism for philosophy, is, of all others, the least likely to hasten the accomplishment of the prophecy sometimes quoted from this neglected author's *Cupid's Conflict*, to illustrate the vanity of human hopes, and often repeated by him in prose:—

> "The words into the frozen air I throw
> Will then prove vocal at that general thaw."

The neglect of More's writings it is not, however, correct to ascribe either to such causes exclusively, or to their unquestionable abstruseness, to the frequent harshness of his nervous style, and to the difficulty of drawing breath in those giddy

regions to which he commonly conducts the reader. This great and vigorous mind had its peculiarities and its astonishing weaknesses. As a disciple of Plato, he of course held the doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul. He not only derived from the same source opinions, common to all Platonists, respecting the purity and discipline of the bodily vehicle, as necessary to the maintenance of that exalted state of the spiritual faculties, to which he aspired, but added some fanciful notions respecting the odorous purity of his own corporeal vehicle, well fitted to excite the ridicule of an incredulous age. He was at one time an enthusiastic admirer of Des Cartes, and by his writings and conversation obtained vogue for the system of that philosopher at Cambridge. He contended for the immateriality of the soul, but thought this quality compatible with extension. He was a believer in witchcraft, and had faith in dreams, visions, and supernatural warnings and presentiments, which he ascribed to an actual converse with angels. Again, in his expositions of prophecies, though he repudiated as a theological dogma the notion of the Chiliasts, respecting the future personal reign of Christ on earth, he nevertheless looked forward to a degree of holiness and piety prevailing in the latter ages of the world, of which, to say the least, experience affords hitherto no indication. "In the seventh thousand year," he says, "I do verily conceive that there will be so great union between God and man, that they shall not only partake of his Spirit, but that the inhabitants of the ethereal region will openly converse with those of the terrestrial. And such frequent conversation and ordinary visits of our cordial friends, of that other world, will take away all the toil of life, and the fear of death, amongst men. For heaven and earth shall then shake hands together, or become as one house; and to die, shall be accounted but to ascend into an higher room."

Respecting some of these opinions, it may indeed be truly said, that they belong rather to the age than to the individual: and concerning all of them it is certain, that they are not only consistent with sincere piety, but perhaps also with a sound and robust state of the intellectual powers, on other subjects. Clearer insight or a more chastened judgment, in matters strictly within human cognizance, has belonged to no man than to Dr. More; and if obscurity now and then cloud his writings, the fact is to be attributed neither to an imperfect

conception of his own sense, nor to a defect of perspicuity in his language, but to the recondite nature of his subjects, and to the want of those qualifications in the reader which are necessary to his task. More's views respecting the cause and cure of those lamentable divisions by which the Church was distracted in his time, were sound, and healingly expressed; "In this long bustle for and ostentation of an external religion," he observes, "the inward life and spirit of Christianity, which consists in humility, charity, and purity, is left out; and pride and covetousness are the first movers in all our actions." "Verily," he elsewhere says, "this fanatical distemper is so heinous and abominable, that they that are on the right side ought to take heed how in the least shew they imitate it; for a man may be factiously affected in a right cause, and bear an over-proportioned zeal for things of smaller concern out of an over-heightened animosity against sects, to the hazarding the quiet settlement of the whole. And if any one be so affected, I appeal to the sober if he may not justly be reputed to play the sectarian, though it be against the sectaries. No such cure for our breaches and wounds as the most profound humility in all parties, and unfeigned mutual love and charity. Of which virtues or graces whosoever is found destitute, let him call himself (of whatever denomination) Christian, as loud as he please, he hath really in him not one spark of saving Christianity." More was perhaps the most universally tolerant thinker that had yet appeared. His principles were as liberal as his heart was large. No man, even in that age, had a truer horror of the errors, corruptions, and persecutions of the church of Rome, as he has amply shewn in his work, *The Mystery of Iniquity*, written to prove that those abuses were the issue of a satanic principle opposed to the great and holy designs of God; yet his language in speaking of that church is so entirely free from bitterness and personal malevolence, that we cannot for a moment doubt his sincerity, when he solemnly professes that he "took as little pleasure in finding those antichristian characters among its members, as in the discovery of so many plague-tokens upon the bodies of his dearest friends and relations." In the same mould of charity and candour were cast his opinions of those who, from ignorance or choice, remain altogether out of the pale of the Gospel. The following is his manly, though oddly worded censure of that intolerance in which (and in which alone) all parties, in those times, agreed: "Our

high appreciation and value of the Gospel is not best expressed by a mere vilifying and reproaching all other religions,—in damning the very best and most conscientious Turks, Jews, and pagans to the pit of hell; and then to double lock the door upon them, or to stand there and watch with long poles to beat them down again, if any of them should offer to emerge and endeavour to crawl out." He thought it sufficient to hold, "that none shall be saved but by virtue of that truth which is comprehended in the Gospel; that is, before they come under that one Head of the Church, which is Christ Jesus; there being 'no other name under heaven given among men, whereby they must be saved.' But how the conscientious Jews, pagans, and Turks, may be gathered to this Head, it will be a becoming piece of modesty in us to profess our ignorance. We are rather to admit and commend what is laudable and praiseworthy in any of them.—Wherefore," as he speaks again, "those who are the truest lovers of God must be friendly and lovingly disposed towards all his appearances, and bid a kind welcome to the first dawnings of that diviner light." How much to be regretted is it, that writings in which such sentiments are frequent, should be, in a manner, sealed up from the world!

Works of Dr. Henry More:—

Psychozoia, or the Song of the Soul. This poem was written in 1640, when the author was in his 26th year, merely for the purpose of recording the progress of his own mind, in his early years, and without any view to publication; but at the "instance of some learned and pious friends," he in 1642 sent it to the press. A second edition, enlarged by the addition of a canto on the infinity of worlds, and another on the pre-existence of souls, ("wherein," says he, "I have set out the nature of spirits, and given an account of apparitions and witchcraft,") was published in 1647, with a dedication to the poet's father. To this edition was likewise added, *Cupid's Conflict*, a poetical defence of his choice of a retired philosophical life, with several minor pieces. Many passages might be selected from these forgotten writings which, for vigour of fancy and poetic sprightliness of diction, would have done no discredit to the author's model, Spenser.

Enthusiasmus Triumphatus: a Discourse of Enthusiasm. 4to. 1656. A sportive satire against the fanaticism of the age;

which More regarded as the most dangerous enemy of true religion. "I dare pronounce with a loud voice aforehand," writes he, "that if ever Christianity be exterminated, it will be by enthusiasm."

An Antidote against Atheism. 8vo. 1656. To the composition of this treatise, he was urged, on the other hand, by "the bold impiety of the age." He has endeavoured, he tells us, to shew, "that the knowledge of God and a sense of religion is as natural and essential to mankind as anything whatsoever; and that the generations of mankind shall as soon become irrational as plainly irreligious." This is a conviction that lies at the bottom of all More's philosophy. It was while he was engaged in this work that he read Des Cartes, of whose abilities he became an ardent admirer, but was thereby only the more "confirmed that it was utterly impossible that matter should be the only essential principle of things."

Conjectura Cabbalistica: a Conjectural Essay of interpreting the Mind of Moses according to a threefold Cabbala, viz. literal, philosophical, mystical or divinely moral. 1653.

This treatise on the philosophy of Moses, as delivered in the first three chapters of Genesis, is so called because the author takes for his guide the Jewish Cabbala, or mystical exposition of the Pentateuch, which Moses is said to have received from the mouth of God, as Joshua afterwards received it from that patriarch, and the seventy elders from Joshua,—the word Cabbala being derived from "Kibbel," to receive. In this philosophy he finds the Copernican system of the universe, the doctrine of the Trinity, the pre-existence and immortality of the soul, as delivered by Plato. Carried away by the warmth of his admiration for Des Cartes, he identified also the principles of the great French philosopher with the Cabbala: "Cartesianism," he observes, "being a revival of the philosophy which Pythagoras borrowed from the Jews." The work was dedicated to Cudworth, at that time master of Clare Hall.

The Immortality of the Soul concluded from reason and philosophy. 8vo. 1657.

Perhaps no one of Dr. More's numerous treatises is less satisfactory than this, to readers of the nineteenth century. His faith in apparitions and in witchcraft is here shewn in a glaring light. Into these mistakes he was led, in part, by what was still generally regarded as irresistible evidence; but

more by his intense desire to accumulate proofs of spiritual existence. An argument is introduced into the work for his favourite hypothesis, the pre-existence of the soul; he shews that this notion was common to the greatest of the Greek and Roman philosophers, and many of the Christian fathers, and discovers traces of it in Scripture itself. He at least successfully asserts the harmlessness of the theory, and fairly claims the right to maintain and discuss it without offence.

These four treatises, with an appendix to the *Antidote against Atheism*, and his letters to Des Cartes, were collected and republished in 1662, under the title of *Philosophical Writings*. On the general scope of the volume, he thus expresses himself:

"The great cement that holds these several discourses together, is one main design, which they jointly drive at, and which, I think, is confessedly generous and important, namely, the knowledge of God and therein of true happiness, so far as reason can cut her way through the darknesses and difficulties she is encumbered with in this life;" and he proceeds to state that the intention is thereby to serve religion. "For," he continues, "I conceive Christian religion rational throughout. To take away reason therefore, under what fanatic pretence soever, is, to disrobe the priest, and despoil him of his breastplate, and to rob Christianity of that special prerogative it has above all other religions in the world, namely, that it dares appeal unto heaven."—"My design is, not to theologize in philosophy, but to draw an exoteric fence or exterior fortification about theology; that making good those outworks against all the assaults of the confident atheist and his gigantic batteries raised against the belief of the existence of a God, and of a reward in the world to come, I might teach him what a man of vanity and temerity he is, in that he imagines it so feasible a thing, in his unskilful thoughts, to overrun the holy city and sanctuary, he being so easily beat off from the walls thereof."

An Explanation of the Grand Mystery of Godliness—i. e. Christianity; "which," says More, "I look upon as the most precious and most concerning piece of wisdom that is communicable to the soul of man, the very chief and top bough of that tree of knowledge whose fruit has neither poison nor bitterness." *The Mystery of Godliness* was designed as a philosophical and critical view of the whole economy of salva-

tion, in its grounds, history, discipline, and evidences. This is More's great work: the preface itself is a noble discourse upon, and defence of, his main opinions. The four concluding chapters of the 7th book contain a confutation of the pretended science of astrology. Against these a treatise, called "*A Vindication of Astrology*," was published by John Butler, D.D.; whom More honoured by a reprint of these chapters with annotations, "laying open," to use his own words (to which readers of our day will readily give credence) "the wondrous weaknesses of John Butler." *The Mystery of Godliness* first appeared in 1660; the answer to Butler, entitled *A Confutation of Astrology*, in 1681.

A Modest Enquiry into the Mystery of Iniquity. In two parts. Part I. The true idea of Antichristianism; Part II. Synopsis Prophetica. fol. 1664.

The title of Part I. sufficiently intimates the nature of the work: it is, of course, chiefly directed against the church of Rome. Part II. relates principally to the prophecies of Daniel, and the Apocalypse, in which is foretold the reign of Antichrist. The *Enquiry into the Mystery of Iniquity* is the second great work on prophecy published in England. So great was Mede's reputation, that More deemed it necessary to apologise for taking up the subject after him. He however adopts, in his expositions of the Apocalypse, the synchronical system of his great predecessor. This volume likewise contains the author's apology for the general scope of his writings, but especially of several passages in the *Grand Mystery of Godliness.*

Divine Dialogues; containing sundry Disquisitions and Instructions concerning the Attributes and Providence of God. In two parts 8vo. 1668. To the second part is annexed *A brief Discourse of the true Grounds of the Certainty of Faith in points of Religion.*

Exposition of the VII. Epistles to the VII. Churches in Asia; with a Discourse of Idolatry, with Application to the Church of Rome. 8vo. 1669.

Enchiridion Ethicum. 8vo. 1669. This treatise was undertaken at the earnest solicitation of several friends, but delayed for a time on account of a similar project being then in hand by Cudworth: the latter appears however to have laid his manuscript aside, on learning that More was seriously at work.

A Reply to an Answer to H. More's Antidote against Idolatry. 8vo. 1672.

An Appendix to the Antidote against Idolatry. 8vo. 1673.

Remarks on two late Discourses, viz. *about the gravitation and non-gravitation of fluid bodies, and observations about the Torricellian experiment; written by Sir Matthew Hale.* 8vo. 1676.

De Anima Ejusque facultatibus. 8vo. 1675. This was also previously published in English.

An Exposition on the Apocalypse. 4to. 1680.

Enchiridion Metaphysicum. 4to. 1671.

An Answer to several remarks upon his Exposition of the Apocalypse and Daniel; as also upon his Apology. Whereunto are annexed Arithmetica Apocalyptica, and *Appendicula Apocalyptica.* 4to. 1684.

Several Supplements and Defences of his Expositions of the Prophet Daniel. 4to. 1685.

Paralipomena Prophetica; or Supplements and Defences of his Expositions, &c. 4to. 1685.

Notes upon Daniel and the Apocalypse, framed out of the Expositions. 4to. 1685.

A brief Discourse of the Real Presence. 4to. 1680.

A Discourse of the Real Presence, in the celebration of the Eucharist, in answer to the Bishop of Meaux and Mons. Mainbourg. 4to. 1686.

Towards the latter part of his life, Dr. More employed himself in translating a complete collection of his works into Latin. This great labour he chiefly executed at Ragley. The *Opera Theologica* were published in fol. in 1675. The *Opera Omnia*, two vols. fol., in 1679.

The following were published after his decease:

Discourses on several Texts of Scripture. 1692. This volume consists of university sermons and college lectures. It is edited by Worthington.

Sermons. 8vo. 1692.

Letters. 8vo. 1694.

Collection of Aphorisms. 8vo. 1704.

His *Enchiridion Ethicum, or Abridgement of Morals*, was translated into English and published by Edward Southwell, Esq. in 8vo. 1690. The Theological works were republished in English, fol. 1710, from the Latin edition, with a general preface, in which are embodied the original prefaces to the separate treatises.

Glanvil's "*Lux Orientalis*" and Rust's "*Discourse of*

Truth," were published in one vol. 8vo. in 1662, with annotations by Dr. More. He likewise republished the "*Sadducismus Triumphatus*" of the former, in 1681, and again in 1682, with the life of the author, and other additions.

THE PRACTICAL DESIGN OF CHRISTIANITY.

WE have sufficiently proved, that Christianity is not only a reasonable and intelligible idea of something that may be worth Providence's setting on foot some time or other, or as a seminal form lurking unactive in the seed under ground; but that it has shot itself into real existence, and is a grown tree that spreads its arms far and wide. It remains now that we consider the branches and fruit thereof. And I dare boldly pronounce that this is the tree whose leaves were intended for the healing of the nations, not for a pretence and palliation for sin; and that the fruit thereof to the true believer is life and immortality. This is a brief comprehension of the glorious end and great usefulness of the gospel. But we shall be something more explicate in a matter of so mighty importance. You may understand out of what has been said, that the gospel is a kind of engine to raise the divine life into those triumphs that are due to it, and are designed for it from everlasting by the all-seeing providence of God. Let us now consider how fit the dispensation of the gospel is for this purpose, that is to say, those things that are testified in it, or prophesied of it, or intimated by it,—how all these things aim and conspire to this end; partly by affording the most effectual means imaginable for the re-installing the soul into an higher state of righteousness here, than any other dispensation that has yet appeared in the world, and thereby more certainly transplanting her hereafter into a blessed state of immortal life; and partly by exhibiting such warrantable grounds of doing divine homage to the Lord Jesus Christ, in whom this life we speak of resideth so plentifully, he being anointed therewith far above the measure of his fellows. So that in this respect, though the other design has taken so little effect in the world, yet we cannot but acknowledge that the divine life has not been disappointed of all her exterior pomps and triumphs. We shall begin with the former kinds of the powers of this engine.

The first whereof consists in this—in that it is so plainly and clearly declared in the New Testament, that the great end of Christ's coming into the world was to remove sin out of it, and to purify men's souls from all uncleanness and wickedness, as is apparent from sundry places, as 1 John, chap. iii., "He that committeth sin is of the devil; for the devil sinneth from the beginning. For this purpose the Son of God

was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil. Whosoever is born of God, doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him: and he cannot sin, because he is born of God." Again, Titus, chap. ii., "For the grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men; teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world; looking for that blessed hope and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ; who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity and purify to himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works." Also Ephes. chap. v. 25, "Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ also loved the church, and gave himself for it; that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water, by the word; that he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish."

I might add several other places, but I shall content myself with but one ratification more of this truth from the mouth of our blessed Saviour, who professes (Matt. v. 17.) he "came not to destroy the law; but to fulfil it," that is, to set it at an higher pitch, as appears by the whole scope of his sermon upon the Mount. The observance of which precepts he does seriously require of his disciples and followers; as appears from that similitude he closes his discourse withal, (Matt. vii. 24.) where he pronounces that they that kept and practised his sayings, should be safe as one that builds his house upon a rock; but those that heard and practised not, should be as he that built on the sand, that is, upon a false and deceitful foundation. And a little above he does plainly protest, even against such that may have prophesied, cast out devils and done miracles in his name, (which yet are greater matters than either the making or hearing of long prayer or long sermons,) because they kept not this law of righteousness he there propounds, that in the day of judgment he will "not know them," but bid them "depart from him, as workers of iniquity."

This is sufficient to demonstrate, that the end of the gospel is to renovate the spirits of men into true and real inherent righteousness and holiness, which in counter-distinction to the animal life (which had domineered in the world so long, not only in the profane actions but also in the very religious rites of the Heathens, as I have already shewn at large,) I have denominated the life divine, and numbered out those three parts it most consists of, namely, humility, charity, and purity; and therefore it will not be unseasonable to shew how expressly and particularly urgent the gospel is for the promoting these three graces.

Our Saviour Christ (Matt. xi.) makes a solemn invitation to the first of these virtues, propounding himself an example: "Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart, and you shall find rest unto your souls." And (Matt. v. 5), "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth." It is a promise from the same mouth. The meaning of both which places is, that humility and meekness beget a great deal of peace and tranquillity, and enjoyment of a man's self, even in this life, whereas pride exposes a man to perpetual discontent and impatiency. Besides that the proud man is, as it were, the butt that the Almighty shoots his arrows against to gall, wound, and vex; the very hack-stock of divine vengeance, and the sport and pastime of misfortune. "God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble." (James iv. 6.) But my purpose is not to interpret such easy places as I allege, but merely to bring them into the reader's view.

And there are many more yet that testify of the excellency of this grace of humility. For our Saviour again (Matt. xi.) entitles those virtues especially to the knowledge of the mystery of the kingdom of God: "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes. Even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight." And (Matt. xviii), Christ being asked, Who is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven, called a little child unto him, and set him in the midst of them, and said, "Verily I say unto you, Except ye be converted and become as little children, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven. Whosoever, therefore, shall humble himself as this little child, the same is greatest in the kingdom of heaven." And (chap. xx. 25), "Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercises dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you; but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant. Even as the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many." In which passage is insinuated, that useless and pompous honour is to have no place in the church of Christ; but that if any man's office be more honourable than another, it must be also more serviceable, especially in matters appertaining to religion.

For to the like purpose is that (Matt. xxiii.) where the pride and hypocrisy of the Scribes and Pharisees is taxed: "For they bind heavy burthens," saith our Saviour, "and grievous to be borne, and lay them upon men's shoulders; but they themselves will not move them with

one of their fingers. But all their works they do to be seen of men: they make broad their phylacteries, and enlarge the borders of their garments, and love the uppermost rooms at feasts, and the chief seats in the synagogues, and greetings in the market-places, and to be called of men, Rabbi, Rabbi. But be not you called Rabbi," saith our Saviour: "for one is your Master, even Christ, and all you are brethren. And call no man your father upon earth, for one is your Father, which is in heaven. Neither be you called master; for one is your Master, even Christ. But he that is greatest among you, shall be your servant. And whosoever shall exalt himself, shall be abased; and he that humbleth himself, shall be exalted."

Hitherto our Saviour, and that very fully. In whose footsteps the apostles also insist; (Rom. xii. 16.) "Be of the same mind one towards another. Mind not high things, but condescend to men of low degree. Be not wise in your own conceits." And (Eph. iv.), "I therefore the prisoner of the Lord beseech you that ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called, in all lowliness and meekness, with long suffering, forbearing one another in love." And (Titus iii.), "Put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates, to be ready to every good work, to speak evil of no man, to be no brawlers, shewing all meekness to all men." So that we see the Christian religion meets as well with the sauciness of inferiors, as with the affected domination of superiors. Thus expressly does the gospel recommend humility to the world.

The next branch of the divine life is Christian love or charity, than which nothing is more inculcated in the New Testament; Christ has left it as his motto, and the motto of his church, the symbolum or word whereby it may be known to whom they belong: (John xiii. 34), "A new commandment I give unto you, That ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye love one another. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another." As if he should have said, You may have heard something indeed out of Moses, of loving one's neighbour as himself; which precept as it did not reach so far as I intend this of mine, and that which it reached at is utterly laid aside and neglected, I now afresh set it on foot, and upon such terms, and in such a degree and manner, as never was yet. For I would have you "love one another even as I have loved you," that is, so heartily and sincerely, that you will be ready to lay your lives down one for another, if need require. Which is more express, chap. xv. 12, "This is my commandment, That ye love one another, as I have loved you. Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friend." Which Christ doing for his church, especially in those circumstances he did, is an unparalleled specimen of true love

indeed, and the highest obligation that can be of our loving both him and one another.

"Hearken therefore to me, ye that would follow after righteousness, ye that seek the Lord; look unto the rock whence you were hewn, and to the hole of the pit from whence you were digged." (Is. li. 1.) Look upon him whom ye have pierced, and whose blood is the seed of the church, whose spouse was taken out of his side as Eve out of the side of Adam. Acknowledge your original, and recount with yourselves the price of your redemption, even the inestimable blood of that immaculate Lamb Christ Jesus. The sense whereof is the strongest cement imaginable to unite us to our Saviour and one unto another.

But the church having been given up so long a time to bitter factions and persecutions, to war and bloodshed, and all manner of enmity and hostility one against another, it is no wonder if a stranger has invaded that title, which she may justly be thought to have either refused or forfeited. For my own part, I know not how to apologize for either the fond opinions or foul miscarriages of the wilderness of Christendom. But sure I am that the banner over the true spouse of Christ is love; that love is the badge and cognizance of all his faithful members, by which they are known to be his living members indeed; that love and peace is the last legacy which was left to the disciples by their dying Lord and Master, an inheritance entailed upon all the true sons of God for ever; that love is the fulfilling of the law, and has filled almost every page of the gospel and all the writings of the apostles; and when they speak of faith, it is none other faith than that "which worketh by love."

Out of the many repetitions and inculcations of this holy and heavenly virtue I was gleaning some to present you withal, for an evidence how serious the gospel of Christ is, and how sufficient, in the urging of this indispensable duty. We go on therefore, and add to what we have already cited these following places: (Gal. v. 6.) "For in Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but faith which worketh by love." And if circumcision be nothing without faith working by love, what can baptizing or rebaptizing, or any external ceremony be without this true faith, whose life and spirit is love, which the apostle directs us to. And after (vv. 13, 14), "For, brethren, ye have been called unto liberty; only use not your liberty for an occasion to the flesh, but by love serve one another. For all the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." Where this law of love is so carefully described, that the abuse of this title to lust and libertinism is plainly excluded; against such as talk so much of love, and are but libertines at the bottom. Which caution also is very soberly

and prudently put in by St. John, Ep. i. chap. v. 2., "By this we know, that we love the children of God, when we love God and keep his commandments." Which is a plain demonstration, that that love which St. John exhorts to so copiously in his epistle, is a love purely divine, and such as no man can be assured he doth practise, unless he keep all the commandments of God. For even a carnal man may love the children of God, because he finds them harmless, peaceable and beneficial; or because himself is of a good, sanguine, benign complexion. But this love, in a man that makes not conscience of the commandments of God, is merely animal and natural; not proceeding from that community of the Divine Spirit which all the regenerate participate of, but out of complexion and self-love, which will adhere to any thing that it feels a natural comfort from. But if this child of God prove something spinose and harsh in opposing, rebuking, or it may be, not complying with some dearly-beloved humours of this good-natured sanguine person; his corrupt blood will then begin to boil against the Son of God, and return him hatred for his good will.

And as this blessed apostle and peculiarly-beloved of our Saviour has made so careful a caution, that the love he recommends to the world should not slack so low as to draggle in the dirt; so has he wisely provided against the hypocrisy of high-flown religionists, who pretend to be so transported with love to God and his service, that they quite forget their neighbour. And therefore, at the end of the foregoing chapter he does plainly pronounce, that "If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar: For he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen? And this commandment have we from him that he that loveth God, love his brother also." Which duty of the second table being most hard, and the most liable to be cast off through the hypocrisy of men's hearts, the inculcation thereof is most frequent with the apostles. Paul to the Ephesians (chap. iv. 31), "Let all bitterness, and anger, and wrath, and clamour, and evil speaking be put away from you, with all malice. And be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Christ's sake has forgiven you. Be ye therefore followers of God, as dear children, and walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us, and hath given himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savour." And (Coloss. iii.), "Put on therefore (as the elect of God, holy and beloved) bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering; forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, even as Christ forgave you. And above all things put on charity, which is the bond of perfectness: and let the peace of God rule in your hearts, &c." Peter also, in his first general Epistle, "Seeing ye have

purified your souls in obeying the truth through the spirit, unto unfeigned love of the brethren, see that ye love one another with a pure heart fervently." And, in his second Epistle (chap. i. 5), "And besides this, giving all diligence, add to your faith virtue; and to virtue, knowledge; and to knowledge, temperance; and to temperance, patience; and to patience, godliness; and to godliness, brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness, charity."

The coherence of this golden chain of divine graces is so admirable that I cannot pass it by, though it be beside my present purpose to speak any thing of the places I cite. But we shall not so well understand the fit connection of the virtues with themselves, nor of the whole link of them with the precedent text, without rectifying the translation in a word or two. The apostle in the foregoing verses intimates to them how God has provided for them, "according to his divine power, all things appertaining to life and godliness, through the knowledge of his Son Jesus Christ, who hath called us in glory and virtue, (or, power) and given us exceeding great and precious promises, that having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust, we should be partakers of the divine nature:" and then comes in what has been recited, Καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο δὲ, which they have rendered, "And besides this." Which translation makes no connexion of sense with the former words, but is very abrupt, nor will the phrase, I think, bear that meaning. It is better sense and more laudable criticism to render it thus: "And therefore forthwith," or "without any more ado, add to your faith virtue," &c. Which latter words are not well rendered neither. The Greek is ἐπιχορήγησατε ἐν τῇ πίστει ὑμῶν τὴν ἀρετήν. Grotius would have ἐν to be redundant there; so that his suffrage is for the English translation. But, for my own part, I think that ἐν is so far from being redundant, that it is essential to the sentence, and interposed that we might understand a greater mystery than the mere adding of so many virtues one to another; which would be all that could be expressly signified if ἐν were left out. But the preposition here signifying causality, there is more than a mere enumeration of those divine graces. For there is also implied how naturally they rise one out of another, and that they have a causal dependence one of another. Therefore the sense is, that God having on his part fitted all things for their salvation, and they having obtained like precious faith with the Apostle himself, through the efficacy of their faith they should also acquire "virtue," that is, strength and fortitude. For, high and noble promises excite courage and resolution to set upon the difficulties through which they must pass that would obtain the promises. And this encountering with the difficulties that are in a Christian man's way, while he is not a talker of Christianity, but a real actor and

cordial endeavourer to follow the precepts and example of Christ, will beget not verbal but true knowledge in him, that is, holy "experience" in the ways of God. And in this "experience" he is taught how those fleshly and worldly lusts and desires have often deceived him and led him out of the way, blinding his judgment by their importunate suggestions, and extinguishing, or at least dulling, those more religious and divine senses of the soul, when their importunities are listened to and their cravings satisfied. And therefore this "knowledge" and "experience" begets "temperance," that is, a more rigid resolution of curbing and keeping under of all wordly and carnal desires, and a peremptory refraining from giving any answer to their imprudent beggings and cravings. Which things if a man seriously attempt in its due extent and latitude, questionless he will put himself upon a very intolerable task, and there will be no remedy but "patience," which he will find so mightily out of his power, that he will be forced upon his knees to the God of heaven to comfort, assist, and strengthen him in his agony and conflict against his domestic enemies, and to support his spirit in so great anguish and pain. Whence it is plain that we cannot keep close to the laws of temperance, but that patience will necessarily emerge therefrom; nor be kept in this spirit of patience without the invocation and acknowledgment of Divine assistance, which is an unquestionable fruit of godliness properly so called.

Nor can we apply our hearts seriously and sincerely to this kind of godliness long, but we shall find answers to our prayers and breathings after God beyond both our own expectation and the belief of others; and, therefore, enjoying the victory through the Divine grace that is sufficient for us, and getting so glorious a triumph over our lusts, we finding our souls transported with an high sense of thankfulness to our Redeemer and Benefactor, who wants nothing of our retributions himself, the stream of our affections is naturally driven downwards to his church, to the saints that dwell upon earth, and those that excel in virtue, or at least pretend unfeigned endeavours after it. And this is properly "brotherly kindness," which carries our affections to those that profess the same religion with ourselves; which "brotherly kindness" arises not only out of this consideration of thankfulness towards God, but out of the very temper and condition of the soul thus purified: according to what St. Peter intimates, that, having purified our souls in obeying the truth through the Spirit, the end and result thereof is the loving our brethren. Or else what serves this purification for?

Shall envy, shall hatred, shall lust, shall ambition, shall luxury, shall those enormous desires and affections, be cast out of the soul by sanctity and purity, that she may be but a transparent piece of ice or a

spotless fleece of snow? Shall she become so pure, so pellucid, so crystalline, so devoid of all stains and tinctures, of all soil and duller colours, that nothing but still shadows, and night may possess that inward diaphanous purity? Then would she be no better than the nocturnal air, no happier than a statue of alabaster. All would be but a more cleanly sepulchre of a dead, starved soul. But there is no fear of so poor an event upon so great preparations. For love and desire are so essential to the soul, that she cannot put them off, but change them. She is αὔλον καὶ ἀσώματον πῦρ, as Psellus calls her, "an immaterial and incorporeal fire," an unextinguishable activity, and will catch at some object or other; and, therefore, if she has ceased to love the world, and the lusts of her own body, she will certainly love the body of Christ, the church, and study how to help them and advantage them.

Nor can she stop here; but this pure and quick flame mounts upwards, and is reflected again downwards, and vibrates every way, reaching at all objects in heaven and in earth, as natural fire enters all combustible matter; and, therefore, in her pure and ardent speculations of the Godhead and his unlimited goodness, and also her observations of the capacity of the whole creation, of receiving good both from them and one another, she overflows those narrow bounds of brotherly love, and spreads out into that ineffably-ample and transcendently-divine grace and virtue, universal "charity," which is the highest accomplishment the soul of man is capable of either in this life or that which is to come: and thus, at last, she becomes "perfect, as her Father which is in heaven is perfect."

This is that "most excellent way" which St. Paul speaks so transportedly and triumphantly of, 1 Cor. xiii.; where, having first numbered out the manifold gifts that God bestowed upon his church, as preaching, prophesying, working of miracles, gifts of healing, and diversity of tongues, he immediately breaks out in the rapturous commendations of charity above all: "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as a sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal. And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing. And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing." And after he has raised our expectation and estimation of this heavenly grace with these high words of his, he does not, as the vain enthusiast does, heat our fancies and leave our judgment in the dark; but he does very distinctly and copiously describe to us the nature of this divine virtue, so that we may plainly

know where to be, and what to seek, and how to be satisfied whether we have attained to it or no: "Charity suffereth long, and is kind; charity envies not; charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave herself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil, complies not with iniquity, but rejoiceth with the truth, beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things."

This is a very full and lively description of love and charity, and the character of the sweetest and heavenliest perfection that is communicable to the nature of man; and so warmly poured out from the sincere heart of this rich possessor of it, the holy apostle, that it is to me more moving than all the canting language of the highest fanatical pretenders to the profession of this mystery.

This is the highest participation of Divinity that human nature is capable of on this side that mysterious conjunction of the humanity of Christ with the Godhead; and, therefore, this is that whereby we become the sons of God, as St. John has evidently declared in his First Epistle General, chap. iv.: "Beloved, let us love one another, for love is of God; and every one that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God. He that loveth not, knoweth not God; for God is love." And (verse 10), "Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be a propitiation for our sins. Beloved, if God so loved us, we ought also to love one another. No man hath seen God at any time. If we love one another, God dwelleth in us, and his love is perfected in us." And again (verse 16): "God is love; and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him."

Several other testimonies there are of the high estimate the true church of Christ has of this holy virtue of love; but what I have already cited is sufficient to show how urgent the precepts of the gospel are for this excellent branch of the divine life which we call "charity;" as also how inexcusably injurious, impious, and blasphemous to Christ those fanatical impostors are that revolt from the church, superannuate Christ's offices, and antiquate the Christian religion, under a pretence of an higher dispensation and revelation upon which they have set the title or superscription of "Love," adorning themselvs with the church's colours that, by this evil stratagem, they may the more safely fall upon her and destroy her; at least, seduce the most simple and, many times, the best-meaning members of the church from their true Head, Christ Jesus, who ransomed them with his own most precious blood, whose sovereignty over his church cannot cease, himself not ceasing to be; but he is a Priest and King for ever, according to the prophecies.

The third branch of the Divine life is purity; in the urging whereof,

both Christ and his apostles being so earnest, it is plain that that love which they recommend to the world can be no suspected affection, like that which the canting language of the enthusiasts may justly be thought to favour; but that it is that pure and holy love, indeed, which, deservedly, we have styled "Divine."

And how severely this purity we speak of is required, I shall give you some few but very sufficient instances. (Matt. v. 27): "Ye have heard that it was said by them of old times, Thou shalt not commit adultery. But I say unto you, That whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery already with her in his heart. And if thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee; for it is better for thee that one of thy members should perish, than that thy whole body should be cast into hell. And if thy right hand offend thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee," &c.

What more serious and earnest monition can there be made to continence, and abstinence from sensual pleasures, than this of our Saviour, who, upon no less penalty than the torments of hell, interdicts us all looseness and uncleanness; forbidding us all preludious preparations to the foul acts of lust, and not permitting so much as an imaginary scene of illicit transactions to which our will could really assent if opportunity were offered?

And we shall find the apostles insisting in the footsteps of their Master in this matter (2 Cor. vi.): "Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separated, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean things, and I will receive you: And I will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty. Having therefore these promises, dearly beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God." And (1 Thess. v.), "The God of peace sanctify you wholly; and I pray God your whole spirit, and soul, and body, be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ." And (in the former chapter, verse 3), "For this is the will of God, even your sanctification, that ye should abstain from fornication: that every one of you should know how to possess his vessel in sanctification and honour; not in the lust of concupiscence, as the Gentiles that know not God." And (1 Cor. vi. 13), "Now the body is not for fornication, but for the Lord; and the Lord for the body: And God hath both raised up the Lord, and will also quicken us by his own power. Know ye not that your bodies are the members of Christ? shall I then take the members of Christ, and make them the members of an harlot? God forbid." And, a little after: "Flee fornication. Every sin that a man doth is without the body; but he that committeth fornication sinneth against his own body: What! know ye not that your body is the

temple of the Holy Ghost in you, which ye have of God, and ye are not your own? For ye are bought with a price: therefore glorify God in your body and in your spirit, which are God's." Also (Col. iii. 5), "Mortify therefore your members which are upon the earth: fornication, uncleanness, immoderate affection, evil concupiscence, and covetousness, which is idolatry. For which things' sake, the wrath of God cometh upon the children of disobedience." Parallel to which is that (Ephes. v. 3), "Walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us; but fornication and all uncleanness and covetousness, let it not be so much as once named amongst you, as become saints. Neither filthiness, nor foolish talking, which are not convenient; but rather giving of thanks. For this ye know, that no whoremonger, nor unclean person, nor covetous man, who is an idolater, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God. Let no man deceive you with vain words; for because of these things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience. Be not you therefore partakers with them." And (Cor. vi. 9), "Know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God? Be not deceived, neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God."

I have made a more ample collection of the enforcements of this duty of purity and sanctity than I intended; and yet I cannot abstain from adding two more; the one out of St. Peter (1 Epist. ii.): "Dearly beloved, I beseech you as strangers and pilgrims to obstain from fleshly lusts which war against the soul." The other out of him whom I have already so often cited (Rom. xiii. 12): "The night is far spent, and the day is at hand; let us therefore cast off the works of darkness, and put on the armour of light. Let us walk honestly as in the day, not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying: But put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ; and make no provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof."

I have now abundantly shewn how plainly and explicitly Christ and his apostles urge all men that are hearers of the gospel to be careful and conscionable doers of the same, that they should be holy even as Christ was holy, in all manner of conversation; that they are bound to endeavour and aspire after the participation of the Divine life, and all the branches thereof, humility, love, and purity, "hating even the garment spotted by the flesh," as the apostle Jude speaks: and how this holiness and righteousness is required of them with no less seriousness and earnestness than upon the forfeiture of their eternal salvation, if they do not act according to those precepts. Insomuch

that I stand amazed while I consider with myself that hellish and abominable gloss that some have put upon the gospel, as if it were a mere school of looseness, and that the end of Christ's coming into the world was but to bring down a commission to the sons of men whereby they might be enabled to sin with authority, (I am sure, with all desirable security and impunity;) nothing being required, on their part, but to believe that Christ died for them, and upon no other condition than that bare belief: as if Christ did not give himself to redeem us from sin, but to assert our liberty of sinning, which is the most perverse and mischievous misconstruction of the grace of God revealed in Christ that possibly could be invented, and point-blank against the end and design of his coming into the world. For "he gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works."

Yet as repugnant and irrational as this error is, it had attempted the church betimes; as appears by sundry monitions of the apostles, when exhorting their charge to holiness of life and real righteousness, they often intimate their proneness of being deceived in thinking they had leave to be remiss in these matters. Some instances you may have observed already; to which you may add that of St. James, "Be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only, deceiving your own souls." But that of St. John is most express and emphatical: "Little children, let no man deceive you; he that doth righteousness is righteous, even as he is righteous;" that is, even as Christ was righteous, who was not putatitiously and imaginarily righteous, but really so indeed: though it seems, by this caution, there were that went about in those times to persuade it might be otherwise. And I could wish that this error were not so taking in the church as it is at this day; than which, notwithstanding, no greater I think can be committed, nor more dangerous; it rendering this admirable engine, as I have termed it, which God has set up in the world for the advancement of life and godliness, altogether invalid and useless.

That which Plato commends in lawgivers and institutors or governors of commonwealths, that they have a special and prime care of childhood and youth, as the diligent in husbandry make peculiar fences for their young plants, to save them from the dangers their tenderness exposes them to, that also is observable in the blessed apostle; who, amongst many other provisions he has made in the behalf of all younglings in Christianity, has also armed them and fenced them with this caution against being mistaken so dangerously in Christianity as to conceit they may by a bare professing themselves Christians be righteous, though there were neither any real righteousness in their hearts, nor any fruits of it in their hands: a wicked

error which several seducers tempted men to, such as were Nicolaus, Marcion, and Carpocrates, as historians have taken notice of.

And because there can be no better antidote than the being convinced that there is an obnoxiousness in younger Christians to this contagion, I shall search out and set forth the causes whereby they become obnoxious, that, finding themselves so, they may have the greater care to keep themselves from being smitten with this pestilential infection.

And here we shall find that come to pass in scriptural things that often happens in natural. For as weak bodies contract diseases from meats and drinks, nay, from that which is so perpetual and palpable a principle of life that we can scarce live one moment without it, I mean, the refreshing air, which casts many tender bodies into agues, and fevers, and other distempers; so tender and weak souls often by ill concoction turn the very bread of eternal life, the word of God, into morbific matter; and instead of getting growth and strength by feeding thereon, weaken the Divine life in them, and sink themselves into most dangerous and desperate maladies.

The first cause then of the proneness of young Christians to this present error, is certain places of scripture, the meaning whereof they not rightly understanding, make bold to interpret them in favour to their own carnality and fleshly desires. It would be too voluminous a business to cull out all the places that are perverted to this ill purpose. We shall content ourselves in producing the chiefest, in answering to which we shall naturally satisfy all the rest.

And these I may cast into two sorts. For they are such as either seem to import, that a bare faith will justify us, and so we may become righteous by an empty belief; or else such as seems to say, that the righteousness of Christ becomes ours, or, that we are righteous by that righteousness that is in him.

And of the first kind is that, Rom. iv., "Abraham believed God, and it was imputed to him for righteousness. Now to him that worketh, is the reward not reckoned of grace, but of debt; but to him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness." And Rom. v., "Therefore being justified by faith, we have peace with God, through Jesus Christ our Lord." And Rom. x., "For Christ is the end of the Law for righteousness to every one that believeth." And, at the ninth verse of the same chapter, "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt belief in thy heart that God has raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved." Which places seem to imply, that a mere belief that Christ has done or suffered this or that, is our justification and salvation. I might add Gal. ii. v. 16, but I shall defer it till its proper place.

We come now to the second sort of testimonies of Scripture which seem to impute the righteousness of Christ to us, and to teach us that it is that by which we become righteous. 1 Cor. i. 30., "But of him are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption." And (Rom. v.) "Therefore as by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men to justification of life. For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the disobedience of one shall many be made righteous." From these and such like places, young and unskilful Christians are prone to infer, that they may be righteous by the obedience or righteousness of Christ applied or imputed to them, though they have no real righteousness in their own souls, nor care to act righteously. And this is the first cause of their proclivity to this unwholesome error. But there is another behind, without the concurrence of which this former would be ineffectual. For all the passages in holy Scripture are certainly both sound and true, but it is the unsoundness and corruptness of our own minds that draws poison out of these herbs and flowers of paradise.

I say therefore, in the second place, that the main cause of the propension of Christian childhood to this gross error is in the very condition itself of those that are but children in Christianity. For this childish state, I conceive to be this: when a man makes indeed a free, open profession of Christianity, and with all possible expressions of thanks to God for his rich mercy in the blood of Christ for the remission of sins, lays fast hold (as he think) on this grace by faith, having also some more weak inchoations of the life of righteousness; but the old man is still very strong, the body of sin very little subdued or impaired, so that whensoever they are encountered, the toil is very heavy, and a world of work still behind, and such ungrateful work and painful, that it is no metaphor nor hyperbole to say, it is a perpetual death, a continued crucifixion. This being then the condition of one that is but a little young child in Christianity, I appeal to any one if there can choose but be a very considerable proneness in such persons to be delivered from this toil and torture of mortification, whereby they are to enter into higher degrees of righteousness and life. And now we being very easily drawn to believe those things which make for our own interest and the accomplishment of our desires, it must needs be that if anything sound towards that sense, we shall easily make it up with a lusty belief that it is so indeed, and (it may be) thank God to boot for this *amabilis insania*, for these clear mistakes and dreams of ours. Wherefore the Scripture seeming at first sight something to favour this opinion of being righteous without any real righteousness in ourselves, but by that which is at

a wide distance removed from us, and placed in another, to save the pains of the great anguish and agony that the aspiring to inward real righteousness will cost in this weak estate of Christian childhood, it cannot be but that he that has arrived to no higher condition, should very easily close with this so welcome a notion, and having once embraced it, be angry at the very heart at any one that would rouse him from this so pleasing repose, or dissettle him from this false ease and joy; the weak and fainting heart of this tender age choosing rather (for present avoiding of smart) an hasty palliation than a sound cure.

But that I may not rather confirm than bring off these younglings from this dangerous error, by noting their most pregnant places and saying nothing to them; I shall endeavour to make it plain that, if they please, they may understand those places otherwise than they do: and then, because that their gloss is not so consonant to reason, nor the rest of the Scripture, that they ought to relinquish this unwarrantable sense which they have harboured in favour of their own vices and wickedness.

The Great Mystery of Godliness.

Dr. WORTHINGTON.

A. D. 1650—1671.

"Worthington," writes his contemporary, Burnet, "was a man of eminent piety and great humility, and practised a most sublime way of self-denial and devotion." His name connects the great philosophical divines of Cambridge with the plainer and more practical writers who succeeded at the close of the seventeenth century. For some of the former he discharged the office of a laborious and conscientious editor; by the latter he was, in his turn, revered, as reflecting downwards the greatness of a past age of intellectual giants.

Worthington was born, in 1618, at Manchester, where his father was "a person of chief note:" by his mother's side, he was descended from the family of Whichcote. His education was completed at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, of which society he was a fellow. When, upon the ejectment of Stern, Laud's chaplain, afterwards archbishop of York, the mastership of Jesus College became vacant, he was persuaded to accept that office, and held it till the Restoration. In the meantime he was successively incumbent of Horton in Buckinghamshire, of Graveley and Fen Ditton in the county of Cambridge, of Barking with Needham in Suffolk, and of Moulton All Saints in Norfolk. In June 1664 we find him entering upon the cure of St. Benet Fink in the city of London. His earnest labours in this church were cheered by many evidences of profit to the congregation; and he continued them without intermission during the year of the plague, and till the destruction of the edifice in the fire of London. We have already seen that Dr. Henry More then presented him to his living of Ingoldsby in Lincolnshire; to which Archbishop Sheldon, who had a great regard for him, procured the addition of a prebend in Lincoln cathedral. From Ingoldsby he returned to the neighbourhood of London; and being chosen lecturer of Hackney, died there in the following year, 1671, and was interred in the church of that place.

An elaborate eulogium on Worthington is extant in his funeral sermon by Tillotson. The following character of him is from the preface to one of his posthumous works, by Dr. Fowler, bishop of Gloucester. "As he was highly valued, by men capable of understanding the worth of that accomplishment, for his excellent learning, so all good men that had the happiness of knowing him, could do no other than greatly love and honour him, for the incomparably more noble endowment of a divine temper and most Christ-like spirit that appeared in him. Among other, there were no virtues he was more observed to be an example of, than a dove-like innocence and simplicity; a lamb-like meekness, humility, and peaceableness; the greatest benignity, candour and ingenuity; the most Christian, that is, unlimited and universal charity; in which those that dissented from him in matters of religion, which is rare in these days, had not only a real but great interest, entire self-resignation to the will of God, and a very devout temper of mind towards him. And those must needs conclude that he loved God and the souls of men in an eminent degree, that observed how very public-spirited he was, and wonderfully industrious in contriving and promoting designs for the bettering of the world, and in exciting others to do the like."

Bishop Fowler alludes here to the admiration which Worthington so strongly evinced for the works of great and excellent men, and to his indefatigable exertions to bring them before the world in a state worthy of themselves, and likely to be profitable to his own and future times. He published an English translation of Thomas à Kempis; but his chief pains, as an editor, were bestowed on the works of Mede, and the *Select Discourses* of John Smith, of Cambridge. He esteemed it a sacred duty to spare no exertions to do justice to those admirable authors, and at the same time to confer the benefit he designed for the public in the most perfect form. "In what I undertake," says he, "for the public good, in publishing the posthumous works of others, I think I can never do too much, nor do it too well." In another place, he avers that in these undertakings he followed the great Christian rule of "doing to others as we would they should do to us." And Tillotson, in the funeral sermon already alluded to, states of him, that he performed his part as the editor of Mede, with so much care "that it would be hard to instance,

either in our own nation, or perhaps anywhere else, so vast a work, that was ever published with more exactness: by which," continues the archbishop, "he hath raised up to himself a monument, likely to last as long as learning and religion shall continue in the world." His original works were all posthumous. The Bishop of Gloucester, being left in charge of his papers, published, in 1674, his *Scripture Catechism;* and, in 1675, *The great Duty of Resignation to the Divine Will;* both of which had been prepared by the author for the press. A third treatise, on *The Christian Law of Love*, was published by his son, J. Worthington, in 1691. His *Prayers for a Family, taken from the Holy Scriptures*, were likewise published by Dr. Fowler, in 1693. Afterwards, in 1704, having recovered some other manuscripts not originally in his hands, the same friendly editor produced them in an 8vo volume, under the title of *Miscellanies*. The contents of this volume relate chiefly to the millennial hypothesis; but, in that part of the work which some readers may regard as not the least valuable, is a collection of twenty-four letters addressed by Worthington to the famous Mr. Hartlib. In these he discusses the literary topics and characters of the day. Worthington's admiration of More and his friends appears frequently; as does also his affectionate regard for Patrick. Like most of the literary and scientific persons of his time, he appears to have been fond of supernatural and marvellous stories.

His best, as it is also his best known treatise, is that on self-resignation. This important virtue,—the peculiar temper of the follower of Jesus Christ,—he treats, 1st, by adducing the most powerful obligations which enforce the submission of the human to the Divine will; 2dly, by directing his readers to the most effectual means of rendering the duty of acquiring and practising it as easy as possible to man's frail and corrupt nature.

The writings of Worthington evince a thorough knowledge of scripture, extensive learning, the command of a pure style, and, above all, a tone of deep and unaffected piety, which sometimes reminds the reader of the holiest of uninspired writers, Archbishop Leighton.

SELF-RESIGNATION THE WAY TO SPIRITUAL LIGHT, PEACE, AND FREEDOM.

SELF-RESIGNATION is *the way to Light;* and that in the greatest difficulties, and darkest perplexities.

There is a kind of divine oracle within the self-resigning soul, which speaks clearly and plainly; not darkly and ambiguously, as that oracle in Greece. There is a spiritual priesthood, which hath the *Urim* and *Thummim* (not upon the breast, as Aaron had, Exod. xxvii. 30; but) within the breast: light and integrity go together.

"The secret of the Lord is with them that fear him; and he will show them his covenant" (Ps. xxv. 14): or, as it is better in the margin, "and his covenant to make them know it:" that is, it is part of God's gracious covenant not to conceal from them, but to make them know his will. That which concerns them to know and practise, God will not hide from the sincerely obedient. God makes such "to know wisdom in the hidden part" (Ps. li. 6); or in "the hidden man of the heart" (1 Pet. iii. 4), to use St. Peter's phrase.

That may safely be understood, and is most true of the self-resigning soul, which the son of Sirach doth affirm: "Let the counsel of thine own heart stand, for there is no man more faithful unto thee than it: for a man's mind is sometimes wont to tell him more than seven watchmen, that sit above in a high tower" (Eccles. xxxvii. 13, 14).

But to speak more particularly: where this inward principle of self-resignation is, there are the fewest doubts and perplexities; or in case of such doubts, there are the speediest and surest resolutions.

Now the doubts and solicitudes, that perplex and disquiet Christians, may be chiefly ranked under these two heads; they are either about their duty, or about their state: and in both, self-resignation is the way to light, and affords the greatest advantages of knowing aright.

First. Be the doubts and perplexities about our duty; what we are to do: The self-resigning soul is in the best disposition to give a right judgment in this case; as also the best prepared to receive divine light, and the guidance of God's counsel.

1. This soul is best prepared to receive divine light, &c.—Such a soul is wholly made for obedience and quiet submission to the will of God. It is brought up at the feet of Christ; sits there, with Mary, in the posture and spirit, and all the becoming qualities of a willing and obedient disciple: and the teacher of souls will not neglect "to show" unto such "the path of life" (Ps. xvi. 11). God will write his law in the humble and obedient heart; the laws and rules of life and obedience shall be written within it by the Spirit of the living God. "The meek shall he guide in judgment, the meek shall he teach

his way" (Ps. xxv. 9). The eternal characters of goodness and righteousness which are in the mind of God, are copied out and transcribed in the soul of a resigned Christian: "we have the mind of Christ" (1 Cor. ii. 16), saith the apostle; and these letters are not dead letters, like those written with ink and paper; but they are living characters, as they are in God, and writ on living tables: they are "the law of the Spirit of life" (Rom. viii. 2), an inward living principle in such souls.

Again, the self-resigning soul is still and silent before the Lord: lusts and corrupt interests, which make a continual noise and clamour in the unregenerate and unresigned, by their importunate solicitations, and fill them with din and tumult, are here quieted and silenced; and therefore such a soul is better prepared to hear God coming to it in the "still small voice" (1 Kings xix. 12), as once he did to Elias. Those soft and gentle whispers of the Spirit, *venæ Divini murmuris*, as Prudentius calls them, those inward manifestations of himself, are best discerned and attended to, in this solemn silence. When the wind is high, and beats upon the windows and doors of the house, it is hard to hear what is said within. All tumultuous and boisterous passions must be calmed, and the soul be in a state of due stillness and tranquillity, to hear what God speaks to it. And when this is the language of our hearts, as it was of Samuel, "Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth" (1 Sam. iii. 10); then it is, that we hear a voice behind us, saying, "This is the way, walk in it" (Isa. xxx. 21). And thus shall "the path of the just be as the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day" (Prov. iv. 18).

2. The self-resigning soul is in the best disposition to give a right judgment, and to discern the will of God—When men are unresigned, unwilling to be wholly God's, and have some design and interest to serve, contrary to the design of Christ and righteousness, and are passionately and eagerly carried out to it; it is no wonder, if they "err in their hearts," and "know not the way" (Ps. xcv. 10) of God, the way wherein he hath declared he will have them to walk: for they are easily brought to fancy that to be right, which they strongly will; and to judge things to be thus, from their impetuous willing them to be so. And it is just with God to give them up to an injudicious and undiscerning mind, so that things appear to them, not as they are, but as they would have them to appear; not according to their own inward form and nature, but according to the lusts of their own hearts.

Lusts and passions cast such a mist before men's minds, that they cannot see their way; nor well discern between good and evil. And it is easy to observe, that the same men, when they are free from temptations, and from the power of passions, clearly see many things

to be evil, and condemn them; which at other times they will not be convinced are so, but pronounce the quite contrary concerning them.

Therefore the self-resigning Christian, having that subdued in him that would tempt him to judge amiss, is in the ready way to the clearest discerning the will of God. What is said of Christ, is, according to his measure, true of a faithful Christian; he is "of a quick understanding in the fear of the Lord" (Isa. xi. 3); of a quick הריה "scent or smell," as the Hebrew doth import, he hath a more exact κριτήριον, 'faculty of judging' and discerning; his senses are spiritually "exercised to discern both good and evil" (Heb. v. 14).

Such as "are not conformed to this world, but transformed by the renewing of their minds, shall prove and discern what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God" (Rom. xii. 2).

Unpurified reason and understanding is far from being a sure and safe guide and director about τὸ δέον, "what ought to be done;" for it looks at what is profitable, rather than at what is honest. Though it may be quick enough to discern matters merely speculative and notional; yet it is very apt to miscarry in morals, or matters of practice. But "a good understanding have all they that do his commandments" (Ps. cxi. 10): a better light shines into holy and purged hearts; "they see light in God's light" (Ps. xxxvi. 9): the "day-star is risen in their hearts" (2 Pet. i. 19): Εὔχον δέ σοι πρὸ πάντων φωτὸς ἀνοιχθῆναι πύλας, "the gates of light are opened to them," as it is expressed by Justin Martyr, in his dialogue with Tryphon the Jew, telling the manner of his conversion by an old man, who gave him this counsel

This is the privilege of the self-resigning soul, that knows no will of its own divided from the will of God, and would not will any thing but what he doth will; such a soul shall "understand the fear of the Lord" (Prov. ii. 5), and hath great and frequent occasions of saying, with David, "I will bless the Lord, who hath given me counsel" (Ps. xvi. 7).

Secondly. Be the doubts about our condition, or state; what it is toward God, and in reference to eternity: as St. James speaks, "From whence come wars and fightings?" (James iv. 1). I may add, whence come those fears, anxieties, and uncertainties, that are to be observed in many about the state of their souls; those fears that have torment in them? Come they not hence, even from the lusts that war in their members? *scelera dissident*, one lust often wars against another; but all "war against the soul" (1 Pet. ii. 11).

Are not most of those tormenting fears and troubles in Christians to be resolved into the want of an entire self-resignation, as the proper and true ground? Men will not come off thoroughly to this.

They would be indulged in something or other; and yet would be at peace and rest. They would be cured of their distemper; and yet are unwilling to have the root of it taken away.

Consider therefore: Is there not something of self-will that works, and is too powerful within thee? Wouldst thou not be unresigned, and please thyself in this or that thing? Dost thou not say, with Naaman the Syrian, "The Lord pardon thy servant in this thing?" (2 Kings v. 18); and as Lot, in another case, "Is it not a little one?" (Gen. xix. 20). If it be so, God, who seeth the heart, seeth all this; and he will not be mocked, nor be bribed to give thee peace, by thy making a great show of being subdued and resigned in other things.

But if by the power of God's grace our wills be entirely subjected to the divine will, we cannot have the least reason, upon any account whatsoever, to torment ourselves with anxious thoughtfulness about our state: we may be sure that the outward hell shall not be our portion, if we are delivered from the hell within; and that we cannot miss of the heaven above, while we have a heaven within us, and are put into a fit disposition for it, by a free resignation to the will of God.

They to whom the doing God's will is connatural, and their meat and drink, "have eternal life," as, in the Epistles of St. John, the phrase is more than once; they, in a lower degree, live the life of souls in glory, are affected as they are, and have the disposition and temper of heaven.

Indeed it is as impossible for souls, whose sincere care it is "to purify themselves as God is pure" (1 John iii. 3), and only to will as he wills, to be in hell, as it is for impure, self-willed, and disobedient souls to be in heaven. It is as impossible for "love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance" (Gal. v. 22, 23), and the like fruits of the Spirit, to be in hell, as it is impossible for "adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulation, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings, murders, drunkenness, revellings" (Gal. v. 19—21), and such like works of the flesh, to be in heaven.

That soul cannot be miserable, and is uncapable of the hellish state, which is entirely resigned, for such a one "dwelleth in love;" and therefore "in God, and God in him" (1 John iv. 16): nor can the infinitely good God abandon and cast off any that "cleave unto him with full purpose of heart" (Acts xi. 23), and prefer his will above their chief joy. Thirstings and holy breathings after the enjoyment of God, godlike dispositions, and a frame of heart agreeable to the heart of God, cannot fail to be united to Him their original.

Self-resignation is the way to true *Peace*, rest, and joy; "joy unspeakable" (1 Pet. i. 8), as St. Peter, "Peace which passeth all understanding" (Phil. iv. 7), as St. Paul calls it.

By the way, observe that neither words nor thoughts can reach spiritual excellencies: this is their sole privilege, that they can never be overvalued, overpraised. Other things we may easily speak too highly off; but we can never invent too magnificent expressions concerning these, we cannot raise men's expectations too high concerning them; they will ever prove better than they are reported to be. It will be said by the soul that comes to know these things by experience, as it was by the queen of Sheba, "Behold, half was not told me" (1 Kings x. 7).

But to return: self-resignation is the way to true rest; to *sabbatum cordis*, "the sabbath of the heart," as St. Austin calls it. If thou wilt enjoy the true rest, and keep the inward sabbath, thou must not "do thine own ways," nor "speak thine own words," nor "find thine own pleasure" (Isa. lviii. 13), to borrow those words of Isaiah; thou must "cease from thine own works" (Heb. iv. 10), as St. Paul phrases it.

All desire rest, peace, and pleasure; but nowhere shall we find it, but in "yielding ourselves unto God" (Rom. vi. 13). And that it is to be found in this way, our Saviour hath told his disciples. "Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest to your souls" (Matt. xi. 29). In taking Christ's yoke upon us, in bearing his burden, in a sincere, free, and entire obedience to his laws, in learning of him, who was meek and lowly in heart, a pliable and obedient frame and temper of spirit, we shall undoubtedly find the sweetest ease and tranquillity of mind.

As the soul groweth in resignation, it returns more to its rest; it comes to be more as it would be, by being more restored towards its original constitution, its first state. Man was made after God's image; and while his will was the same with the divine will, he dwelt in peace and joy; but when he would needs have a will of his own, divided from the will of God, in falling from resignation, he fell also from peace and rest, into trouble, fear, shame, and confusion.

The resigned soul enjoys religion in all the sweetnesses and privileges thereof; it is prepared "to taste and see, how good the Lord is" (Ps. xxxiv. 8). And the more a man is conformed to the will of God, and grows in obedience, the more he enjoys "the peaceable fruits of righteousness" (Heb. xii. 11). "To him that overcometh" (that overcometh his own will, those lusts that war against his soul,) shall be "given the hidden manna; and the white stone, with a new name written in it, known by him only that receiveth it" (Rev. ii. 17);

and "a stranger intermeddleth not with his joy" (Prov. xiv. 10). Such a one hath meat which the world knows not of; and is fed with the food of angels.

They that have the Holy Spirit for their guide, shall undoubtedly have him for their comforter. "The work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance for ever" (Isa. xxxii. 17).

A man can have no peace that lodgeth and cherisheth his deadly enemy in his bosom; nor can it be well with him, in whom selfishness, the morbific matter, and root of all distempers, abounds. Self-desires and lusts are the diseases of the soul; they are the corrupt humours that disturb the inward man; and till these be purged out, there can be no health, no soundness, no joy, no rest. Inordinate self-love breeds perpetual tumults and disorders in our breasts; for having many appetites to be satisfied, so long as any of them are crossed or not fully pleased, as they can never be, they must necessarily be very troublesome: but a sweet calm and composure of soul enters in with self-resignation; and it must needs so do, as it removes the cause of trouble and disquiet.

There is indeed pain in the first tearing off our wills from those things they cleaved and stuck fast to. As it is said of the milch-kine that drew the ark; their calves being shut up, they went lowing all the way that they went to Beth-shemesh (1 Sam. vi. 12): so it is with souls in their passage to resignation; they then parting with what was dear to them, fondly beloved, and eagerly pursued by them, with that which was their life and nature. Yet they are no sooner arrived at this state, but "the bitterness of death is past," the bitterness of the death of the old corrupt man. The hour of travail is over, and they "remember no more the anguish, for joy" that "the new man, created after the image of God" (Eph. iv. 24), is born within them. They have broken through the difficulties in the way, are got out of the wilderness, over Jordan; and their feet are on the holy land, the land of righteousness and rest. Henceforth the ways of religion are not, as before, grievous; but "paths of peace," and "ways of pleasantness" (Prov. iii. 17); flowery and sweet, rosy and soft ways. Religion is now become their temper, constitution, and life; and sin is grievous, strange, and hard to them. It is not so troublesome to them to be patient, as to be passionate; to forgive, as to revenge. Humility is more easy to them than pride; sobriety than intemperance; chastity and purity are more sweet than lust and sensuality: and the like may be said of the other graces and virtues. It is no longer well with them than while they are true to resignation; when at any time they fail here, they are sensible they take great hurt, they find themselves immediately ill at ease. To

the self-resigning soul, Christ's commandments are so far from being grievous, that the inward voice of such a soul is, "I delight to do thy will, O my God" (Ps. xl. 8), as David spake of old, the divine will is its just satisfaction, its full content, joy, and pleasure.

And as *jugum legis*, "the yoke of Christ's law," so *jugum crucis* "the yoke of his cross," is not grievous to the self-resigned. He saith, with his Saviour, "The cup which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?" (John xviii. 11). Let God "feed him with wormwood" (Jer. ix. 15), and fill him with bitterness" (Lam. iii. 15), yet his "meditation of God is sweet" (Ps. civ. 34): his spirit is not embittered against the divine providence; he is still and silent before the Lord: he "possesseth his soul in patience" (Luke xxi. 19); and that also with joyfulness.

It is sweet and pleasant to a Christian, to find himself willing to be without that which he desired, and to suffer that which he was most averse to, and goes most against the hair; when, after his "requests made known to God by prayer and supplication" (Phil. iv. 6), and making known his troubles and difficulties to others with desire of their help, and other due means used, it appears to be the will of God that he should have such trials, and continue in such circumstances. How sweet is such a temper of patience to the soul! it is far sweeter than the obtaining and enjoying of that we desire.

But as for the unresigned, his impatience and self-willedness makes his cup more bitter, and his cross, whatever it is, far heavier than it is in itself. To such a one even "the grasshopper is a burden" (Eccles. xii. 5); and a light affliction intolerable. He is sick for this or that, as Ahab was for Naboth's vineyard, and will not be satisfied without it: he is soured with discontent, and his spirit is embittered against providence. He would be carried through the world in a sedan, and is not able to bear being jogged or disturbed in the way; so distempered, crazy, and rotten is he.

I may in the close of this, add, that self-resignation is also the way to peace among men: and that it is self-willedness which puts the world into confusions, and makes it so uncomfortable, so uninhabitable a place.

Men that are passionately carried out to please themselves, are neither themselves at rest, nor will they suffer others so to be. These create differences, heighten animosities, blow the coals of strife, are ready to "set on fire the course of nature" (James iii. 6), τὸν τροχὸν τῆς γενέσεως, or "the wheel of affairs," and from the abounding of such comes complaining and crying in our streets.

From this self-willedness it is that we cannot sit down quietly "under our own vine, and our own fig-tree:" and from hence it is

that the world is become a great *Alkeldama*, or field of blood; and a vale of tears.

Those that "despise government," and "speak evil of dignities," are such as are "presumptuous" and "self-willed" (2 Pet. ii. 10).

They that make times perilous, are such as in the first place are called, φίλαυτοι, "lovers of their own selves" (2 Tim. iii. 2).

The holy angels sang, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will towards men" (Luke ii. 14). But these men are far from peace and good-will towards men; though they sometimes pretend glory to God.

Self-resignation is the way to true *Liberty* and freedom of spirit; which confirms the former consideration.

That which some call freedom and liberty, namely, "to walk in the ways of their hearts, and in the sight of their eyes," is in truth straitness, bondage, and perfect slavery. The apostle St. Peter saith, "of whom a man is overcome, of the same is he brought in bondage" (2 Pet. ii. 19). Now he that lives to the pleasing his own will, is overcome of pride, envy, covetousness, unruly passions, fleshly or spiritual lusts; and therefore is in bondage to them. Wicked men are described as "serving divers lusts and pleasures" (Titus iii. 3); not one, but many lords; and these such as to be under the power of whom, is a most ignominious and shameful bondage.

But "if the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed" (John viii. 36); free with a true and excellent freedom. And he makes men free by delivering them from their self-will; by bringing them to will as his Father, and he, willeth; by uniting their wills with those things that are intrinsically, immutably, and indispensably holy, things which are in their own nature good; by enabling them to act conformably to the idea of everlasting and unchangeable righteousness and goodness. But they that would have nothing unchangeably good or evil to them; that would live as they list, in giving indulgence to the flesh, and "fulfilling the lusts thereof" (Rom. xiii. 14); these affect such a kind of freedom as God himself hath not; and therefore that which is utterly unworthy of so excellent a name, and is indeed the vilest and most intolerable slavery.

The commands of sin are most tyrannical and unreasonable. Never was poor Israelite so abused by Egyptian task-masters, as the soul of man is by sensual lusts: they command impetuously and cruelly, and one or other of them is continually putting upon it such offices and employments as are no less contrary to freedom than to the excellency and dignity of its nature. To be *acted by hot* and eager ambition, or greedy and unsatiable covetousness, or a vehement thirst after bodily

pleasures; what a miserable bondage and servitude must it needs be to the free and heaven-born spirit of man!

But there is no such liberty as to be free to good, and enlarged to spiritual obedience. He that is so, hath an empire within him: he is in his own power. He hath victory over the world, both the good and the evil things of it. His mind is unhampered, disentangled, and set loose; and it is lord over those whom it before obeyed. Solomon expresseth the excellency of the freedom this man enjoyeth in these words; "He that ruleth his own spirit (or passions) is better than he that taketh a city" (Prov. xvi. 32). And what a glorious conquest is this! *Nulla est major victoria quam quæ de cupiditatibus refertur*, "There is no victory more glorious, than that whereby we become conquerors over inordinate affections," saith St. Cyprian; nor is there any victory so glorious.

To do good with a free and willing spirit, with readiness of mind, and without reluctance, is then the most glorious of liberties; and this is the happy consequent of self-resignation.

For the farther clearing of this grand truth, know, that God is not cruel, or over-severe, in his restraint of our wills. He doth not, like Rehoboam (1 Kings xii. 14), and Pharaoh (Exod. i. 11), wicked rulers, affect to lay any unmerciful burdens and loads on men; nor doth he, as one ambitious to show his superiority and absolute sovereignty over us, give out his laws and commands merely for his own will and pleasure. But be we possessed with this important truth, *that the business of religion is wholly for the good of man.* Therein God seeks not any advantage that may accrue to himself; for he is self-happy, all-sufficient, and an infinitely perfect being: but in all his injunctions he seeks the good, the well-being, the spiritual interest of his creatures. He "is not worshipped with men's hands, as though he needed any thing" (Acts xvii. 25), saith St. Paul. This free and noble speech, with what follows, the apostle spake at Athens, the famous university of Greece; and he spake it before the grave and strict judges sitting in Areopagus, a council made up of the more select and excellent persons. And what this great apostle here affirms, "That God doth not expect or require to be worshipped with men's hands," προσδεόμενός τινος, "as though he needed any thing;" this is the same with what Plato, that great philosopher at Athens, had discoursed of: for Clement Alexandrinus (Strom. 2), quotes this excellent speech of his; "God made not the world" χρείας ἕνεκεν, "for any need that he had of us, or angels; that he might reap the praises and venerations of men and angels, and thereby gain a certain rent and revenue, and more comings in from his creatures, and have a stock of glory still improving and increasing." "My goodness," saith David, "extendeth not unto thee"

(Ps. xvi. 2). And to this purpose speaks Elihu, "If thou be righteous, what givest thou him? or what receiveth he at thine hand?" (Job xxxv. 7); *i.e.* what is God advantaged or benefited by thee? Nothing at all.

We cannot profit God by our righteousness, though we may profit others thereby, and "do good to our own souls," as it is said of the merciful man. Nor can we hurt God by our self-willedness and disobedience; but we shall thereby most certainly wrong and destroy our own souls: and because this pleasing our own will is no better than sweet poison, therefore the lover of our souls warns us of the danger of so doing.

In short, thus: as God, most holy and wise, our Creator and Lord, is worthy and most fit to give us a law and rule to walk by, so "the law," that he hath given us, "is holy; and the commandment holy, and just, and good" (Rom. vii. 12). He doth not in that law written on men's hearts, and more fully declared in the holy Scripture, command us any thing but what it is absolutely better for us to be obliged to the observance of, than otherwise: nor hath he forbidden us any thing, but it is absolutely better for us that it should be forbidden, than that it should be allowed us, as would be easy to demonstrate, by enumerating the particular commands and prohibitions declared in the gospel: and therefore it cannot be doubted, but that the truest liberty consists in *the resignation of our wills to the divine will.*

This excellent and weighty truth is most clearly discerned by the self-resigning soul: for the spiritual man never feels himself so free, or so much master of himself, and in his own power, as when he is engaged in God's service. But the natural, that is the sensual man, cannot receive this doctrine; and it is foolishness to him. He looks upon the laws of his Creator and Redeemer as too nice and severe; and the entire observance of them, as unnecessary and troublesome strictness: as if the wisdom of God did not know, better than he, the just bounds and measures where man was to be restrained, and where he might be indulged: as if God did not best know what belongs to human nature, and the ordering and regulating men's affections and actions: as if there were in the infinitely good God envy, ill-will, and an evil eye towards us, in denying us any thing that is for our good. But to suppose this, to have such an inward thought, is blasphemy in a high degree.

It becomes us, therefore, to have our minds deeply affected with these truths; that it cannot be liberty to be loose from God: that the substance of all he commands us, is in its own nature unchangeably good; and all his laws are such as it is most fit for us to be governed by: that both his commands and restraints proceed from his tender care and love of us.

Though souls, as yet unskilful and unexperienced in religion, do not understand thus much at first, but are apt to think that God might have dealt less severely with them than he hath done; yet they come to be of another mind when they are once grown up to good maturity in Christ. They then evidently see, that all God commands, or forbids, is out of the most tender goodness: and therefore, what at first was grievous to them, becomes their choice: nor do they wish to be indulged in this, or that, which is forbidden; nor that they might be free from this, or that, which is commanded. They "esteem," with David, "all God's precepts concerning all things to be right" (Ps. cxix. 128). They do not think the way that leads to life too strait or narrow; nor wish it broader than it is. They do not wish the yoke, or burden, of Christ to be more easy, or lighter, than it is: all they wish is, that they were more strong to bear it; to obey more cheerfully and constantly. They "choose the way of truth, the way of God's precepts" (Ps. cxix. 30); they choose it, as that which best tends in itself to their happiness and welfare. That which grieveth them is, that they are not so strong in obedience as they should be; and they pray for grace to enable them to obey better: but seek not an indulgence, or relaxation. They know for certain, that the only way to have their wills, is to give and resign them to God: and that it is for their own advantage, not God's, that he calls for their hearts; that he requires them for this end, that he may fill them with true peace, rest, and heaven; that he commands them to quit and forsake their false selves, that they may enjoy their best and true selves; that he forbids them to gratify that which the world accounts self-love, because it is indeed no other than self-hatred.

The great foundation of men's backwardness to receive this doctrine, is their mistake of that which they call themselves; their generally valuing themselves by their body, and their reference to this present world: by which means they are chiefly carried out in their affections towards the things thereof; to the pleasing of the body, and satisfying its appetites, though never so unreasonable and prejudicial to their soul's welfare.

The vulgar opinion is, that the body is the man; and consequently, to love the body is for a man to love himself, and "to make provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof" (Rom. xiii. 14), is to make provision for himself. But the ancient and wisest philosophers, as also the primitive fathers, the Greek especially, those great lights of the Church, would not so much as allow the body to be one half or part of the man: this was their sense, *Animus cujusque is est quisque*, that "Every man's soul is the man;" that, Ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν οὐ τοῦτο τὸ ὁρώμενον, "The man is not that part which is seen:" and the holy Scriptures put נפש "soul" for the person very frequently.

Man is a creature that can think, reason, and understand: that which doth this, is the soul only; and therefore this is the true man. To do acts proper to a man, is above the power of body or matter; and therefore, both in the holy Scriptures and in the writings of philosophers, the body is called by those low names of a house and tabernacle, wherein the soul dwelleth.

Upon this account God, though he allows us to provide for the necessaries and due conveniences of the body, forbids us to love our bodies better than our souls, or equally with them; and permits us not to satisfy the cravings of our bodily appetites, to the hurt and damage of our souls. And all the declarations of his will, concerning us, are for the great end of restoring to the soul its dominion over the body and sensual part, and maintaining its dignity and superiority. And when it is able so to do, by cleaving to God, and willing as he wills, its slavery ceaseth; and it hath recovered true amplitude, largeness, and liberty. "I will walk at liberty," saith the Psalmist, "for I seek thy precepts" (Ps. cxix. 45).

Adam, affecting to be loose from the will of God, thought to have gained more liberty; but he was sadly mistaken; for he hereby became a poor contracted and straitened thing. And David would once be free to gratify the unwarrantable desires of his heart; but by his licentious and false freedom he lost the true, he miserably sunk himself into a poor, narrow, and slavish spirit; and therefore he prays that God would "renew a right spirit within" him, and that he would "establish" him רוח נדיבה "with a free spirit" (Ps. li. 12).

Dr. WHICHCOTE.

A. D. 1640—1683.

Though less remembered in this age than some of those learned persons with whom, as one of the philosophical or moderate divines of Cambridge, his name is associated, Benjamin Whichcote is every way worthy of his place among that admirable band of scholars. He was descended of an ancient family resident at Whichcote Hall in Shropshire, and was born in the year 1609. That his family were puritans, there is no doubt; for when, in 1626, he was sent to the university, the college selected for him was Emmanuel; which, though far from being deficient in reputation for scholarship, was regarded in those times as the peculiar seminary of puritanism, and numbered among its members some of the most eminent nonconformists of Charles the Second's reign. Being chosen a fellow of that society, he acquired great reputation as a tutor; such distinguished scholars as Wallis, Smith, Worthington, Cradock, besides others more remarkable for rank, having been his pupils.

In 1636, by an irregularity not without parallel among his contemporaries, he was admitted, on the same day, to the orders both of deacon and priest. He was soon afterwards appointed one of the university preachers; and was presented by his college to the living of Cadbury, in Somersetshire. He now married, and resided at Cadbury; till, on the deprivation of the learned Dr. Samuel Collins, provost of King's College, and regius professor of divinity, (who was ejected for refusing the covenant,) Whichcote was selected to be his successor. This choice was not acquiesced in by him without much deliberation and considerable delay; but at length he consented, and was admitted provost in March, 1644.

Although, as observed by Tillotson, in accepting and continuing to hold this office, he occupied the place of another who had been wrongfully ejected, yet he, at least, made a just and honourable use of what, by the injustice of the times, had become his. As long as Collins survived, he shared with

him the stipend allowed to the provost; and, by his interest with the parliamentary visitors, was enabled to obtain for the greater number of the fellows the privilege of exemption from taking the covenant, and, in consequence, of remaining undisturbed in their fellowships. It is an extraordinary fact, that he was himself also permitted to evade that engagement.

By his able, impartial, and pious conduct in his office, and by his constant exertions in the pulpit, he contributed more than any other individual to maintain a sober sense of religion among the students, in the midst of the prevailing fanaticism. He established, with this view, a weekly lecture, at Trinity church. Some other good preachers followed his example; till pulpit-oratory flourished so much at Cambridge, that Tillotson is recorded to have usually heard there four sermons every Sunday.

At a time when favour and preferment were reserved almost exclusively for men of puritan sentiments, Whichcote freely gave his countenance and aid to meritorious scholars without regard to party. We have an instance of this liberality, in his endeavours to procure the Greek professorship for Barrow, at that period struggling with the almost insurmountable impediment of imputed loyalty.

He was created a doctor of divinity in 1649, in which year he served the office of vice-chancellor. The following year he resigned his living in Somersetshire to Dr. Cudworth; receiving instead the sinecure of Milton near Cambridge, vacant by the death of his predecessor Collins.

Whichcote's sound and masculine intellect had by this time effectually broken through the narrow prejudices of his education. His old associates, now raised, like himself, to dignity and opulence in the university, were terribly annoyed by the manifest evidences of this change which appeared in his sermons and public discourses. In a correspondence, which will presently be noticed, with one of them (Dr. Tuckney), he ascribes the enlargement of his narrow theological views wholly to the study of Scripture. "Preaching seven years since" says he, "at Trinity lecture, on the first chapter of the Romans, and taking notice withal of somewhat in the second, these phrases of the apostle (ch. i. verses 18—21, 28, 31, and ch. xi. ver. 14), have forced upon me all those notions I entertain, or have publickly delivered, concerning natural light, or the use of reason."

The hand of philosophy had, however, earlier led him from the gloom of Geneva to a more cheerful system of opinions. He is reminded by his pious but severe correspondent that, from the time of his coming to be a lecturer in the college, he in a great measure laid aside other studies, and betook himself to philosophy and metaphysics; "which," continues he, "some think you were so immersed in, that ever since you have been cast into that mould, both in your private discourse and preaching."

Whichcote's conversion, in the meantime, was not so complete as to prevent his contributing a copy of Latin verses to the *Musarum Cantabrigiensium luctus et gratulatio*; which, like the other pieces printed in that collection, celebrated at once the death of Oliver Cromwell and the succession of his son Richard.

Dr. Collins had now been long dead, and his successor had deserved and obtained general esteem for the wisdom, piety, and moderation of his conduct. At the Restoration, he was, nevertheless, removed from the provostship by an especial order from the king. He left Cambridge, and was chosen to the living of St. Anne's, Blackfriars; where he continued till the destruction of that church by the fire of London, and then retired to his parsonage at Milton. While occupying himself there in the punctual discharge of the pastoral duties, he was recalled to a more desirable preferment in the same vicinity. This was the vicarage of St. Lawrence Jewry; which, falling vacant by the promotion of Dr. Wilkins to a bishopric, was, through his interest, procured from the crown for Whichcote. It was several years, however, before the parish-church, then lying, with so many others, in ruins, was rebuilt: in the interim, the vicar preached in Guildhall chapel.

It is by such remains as are extant of his labours, in this the last scene of their exertion, that Dr. Whichcote is known to posterity. In his lifetime he enjoyed universal esteem as a man, and a high reputation as a preacher. Fanaticism and superstition on the one hand, atheism on the other, were the evils with which the clergy of that period had chiefly to contend; and the temper and principles of this exemplary pastor were suited to the task. His mental structure was thoroughly rational and solid. From habitually studying the writings, and mixing in the conversation, of the great philo-

sophical divines of his university, he had acquired a depth and dignity of thought, which associated well with his natural earnestness of manner and masculine plainness of language. While he thoroughly appreciated, and loved to set forth, the regenerative power of the gospel, he was not afraid to do justice also to the essential constitution of human nature. He pleaded for its native sympathy with truth and goodness; he proclaimed, that there is an inherent punishment in vice, an inherent blessing in virtue, from which no power can ever separate them.

Whichcote lived till 1683. About Easter in that year he went to Cambridge, and died there, after a few days' illness, in the month of May, at the house of his friend Dr. Cudworth, in Christ's College. While in the immediate view of death, he strongly declared his dislike to all pretences of separation from the Church, and the sincerity of his attachment to her communion. He was buried in his own church, and there his funeral sermon was preached by Tillotson, whose picture of his friend's virtues and abilities has been thought to partake a little of the coldness of his own temperament.

For Whichcote was no common man. His reputation for learning was great, in a learned age and among men not accustomed to inconsiderate eulogy. He retained to the close of his life his mental activity and love of knowledge. His conversation was equally kind and instructive, grave and winning. He was slow to utter his opinions, and modest in delivering them; and though of a large understanding and chastised judgment, listened with the utmost patience to those who differed from him, readily yielding to any tolerable show of reason. Anger, and every other violent passion, he had thoroughly subdued: some soft and gentle word, some inoffensive sign of dissatisfaction, were all the reproof he ever gave any one in company. Such, however, was the respect entertained for his character, that this commonly was found effectual.—Burnet's well-drawn portrait of this good man has been often cited:—

"Whichcote," writes the historian, "was a man of a rare temper, very mild and obliging. He had great credit with some that had been eminent in the late times; but made all the use he could of it to protect good men of all persuasions. He was much for liberty of conscience: and being disgusted with the dry systematical way of those times, he studied to

raise those who conversed with him to a nobler set of thoughts, and to consider religion as a seed of deiform nature (to use one of his own phrases). In order to this, he set young students much on reading the ancient philosophers, chiefly Plato, Tully and Plotin, and on considering the Christian religion as a doctrine sent from God, both to elevate and sweeten human nature, in which he was a great example as well as a wise and kind instructor."

Dr. Whichcote does not appear to have himself published any thing.

A little book of *Select Notions and Apophthegms*, purporting to have been faithfully written down from his mouth by "a pupil and particular friend," was printed about three years after his decease.

In 1698, a volume, containing twelve of his select sermons, appeared, with an excellent preface, believed to have been written by the Earl of Shaftesbury, author of the *Characteristics*. Respecting this publication, his lordship says:

"The sermons which are here printed have been selected out of numbers of others less perfect; there being not any of our author's extant, but such as were written after him at church; he having used no other than short notes, not very legible. And, since none of these discourses were ever designed for the world, in any other manner than as he, once for all, pronounced them from the pulpit, they must of necessity appear to have a roughness in them. For though the publisher has sometimes supplied him out of himself by transferring to a defective place that which he found in some other discourse, where the same subject was treated; yet so great a regard was had to the text and letter of his author, that he would not offer to alter the least word, that nothing might appear as our author's own, which was not perfectly his."

The noble editor gives no account of the manner in which he obtained the materials of this volume. It was republished at Edinburgh, in 1742, by Dr. Wishart.

A more complete edition of Whichcote's sermons, from the doctor's own notes in the possession of his family, was published, in 3 vols. 8vo, in 1701–3, by Dr. Jeffery, archdeacon of Norwich; to which a fourth volume was added, by Dr. Samuel Clarke, in 1707. But the best is that of Aberdeen, 4 vols. 12mo, 1751, published under the care of Drs. Campbell and Gerard, containing a short account of the author's life,

chiefly extracted from Tillotson's funeral sermon, with a reprint of Lord Shaftsbury's preface.

Dr. Jefferys, having all the papers of Whichcote before him, also selected from them nearly five thousand moral and religious aphorisms; a thousand of which he printed in 1703. This collection, revised, and augmented by the addition of five hundred aphorisms, from the archdeacon's papers, was, in 1753, republished by Dr. Salter, prebendary of Norwich, who also added eight letters on religious topics, containing the correspondence before mentioned, which passed between the author and Dr. Anthony Tuckney, master of Emmanuel College. This correspondence is full of interest. It discusses, and with ability on both sides, the points in dispute between the moderate and Calvinistic parties. It is opened by Dr. Tuckney, who had been Whichcote's tutor, with a warm remonstrance on the change which his sentiments had undergone. A tone of affectionate candour is common to the two separated friends; yet in the letters of the master of Emmanuel, the comparative narrowness and coldness of himself and his party is evident throughout: "I do not," he says, "fancy, as some others, this affected word *ingenuous*; and I wish the thing itself were not idolized, to the prejudice of the grace of God."

TRUTH, AND OUR OBLIGATION TO FOLLOW IT.

THE truth of things lies in this, that things do exist of their own principles, as a man is a true man because he doth consist of such a body and an immortal soul. Things are true as they do exist of their principles, and as they are answerable to the idea of them in the divine mind pre-existent to them; for this is the manner of working of an intelligent agent, to do things according to a preconceived apprehension of his mind. Now this truth of things is no charge of ours, it is God's charge; it is the effect of God's creation, for he hath made all things true, and therefore things must be true: for God cannot fail either through want of power, or through error of judgment, and if anything be monstrous, it ariseth either from some gross matter, or from impediment; if there be any redundant or defective matter, or if the effect be hindered, then the thing must be monstrous, but otherwise we are to take it for granted that things are true because they are God's workmanship. But then that which we are concerned in, is the truth of our apprehensions, and our apprehensions are then true when they agree with the truth and existence of things, when we conceive of things as

they are, and if we think otherwise, then there is a lie in our understandings. And here is the occasion of all the evil that breaks in upon mortals, that we do not conceive of things as they are, but that all men (except some few) either worship the idol of some particular imagination, or the idol of popular superstition; they either follow private imagination of their own, or general mistakes; and he is a man of a thousand that can rise up and quit himself of these two idols. By false imagination a man deprives himself of good, for it is a true rule, that imagination makes the case within, though not without; for as a man conceives, so is the case within: and Solomon observes, that the simple or the fool believes every thing that is represented. But the state of things is determined; this is fixed by God in the moment of creation, and our judgment and apprehensions are to be conformable to the reality and existence of things, and when our affections and actions are suitable to such a judgment and sense of our minds, we are then in the truth, and never else. The first belongs to a man's understanding, and that speaks him an able man, a man of judgment, a man of sense and experience; and the latter speaks him a good man; and indeed if men's actions comply not with the sense of their judgments, there will be self-condemnation and no peace at all, and this is a great and mighty distinction, the truth of things. And there it is first, and that is God's charge: God made things to exist as they do; God made all things true; God made all our faculties true, and we may be assured our faculties are true, because God gave them us; and we may believe our faculties, because they came out of the hands of God. Our faculties are the tools that God gave us to work by, and by them we receive whatsoever God offers to our consideration. If our faculties are not true, we are not chargeable for not understanding God, or not receiving from him. And this is the first truth in things; but then the second is our charge, truth in our apprehensions; and the truth in our apprehensions lies in their conformity to the truth of things. If we think otherwise than the truth of things, we live in a lie.

Now man's obligation to truth (that is, that truth should be in all his actions and apprehensions) is grounded upon the state and principles of his creation; which I explicate in four particulars.

1. Man's capacity. 2. Man's proper employment. 3. Man's true end. 4. Man's relation.

1st. Man's capacity: and thereby he is under an obligation of duty to God, because God hath made him capable to know that he is, and to know that he himself arises from other causes greater and more good than himself: for the spirit of a man is the candle of the Lord, and no man hath mind and understanding, but he may as naturally know that there is a God upon whom he depends, as he may know there is a sun in

the firmament if he will open his eyes. By the power of his understanding he is made apprehensive of God, and then by that prerogative and privilege of liberty and freedom, he is able to sacrifice to God, and to bring God the free consent of his mind, to offer up himself to God an offering of a sweet-smelling savour. And he may know, according to the rule of righteousness, what he ought to do and what to forbear; that he ought to do righteously, and live soberly, and to live in regard and observance of God, and to avoid the contrary: and this is grounded upon man's capacity.

2dly. Man's proper employment. The natural employment and proper business of mind and understanding, is to attend upon God, to be employed about him, to observe him, to receive from him, to comply with him and obey him, &c. And if men do not do thus, neither have God in their thoughts, but employ mind and understanding to drudge to worldly ends and purposes, at the day of judgment it will appear to be sacrilege.

3dly. Man's true end. God is a man's ultimate end, and the centre in whom he doth rest. God is as properly the end of souls, as anything is the end of another; it is as proper for a man's soul to make towards God, as it is for anything in the world to make to its centre, as it is for heavy things to fall downwards, or light things to fly upwards. That God is original to me, I ought to make him final to me; and if I receive all from God, I ought to refer to him and rest in him.

4thly. Man's relation. And that is treble: to God, to his fellow-creatures, and to himself. Now see what things are founded in a man's relation.

1st. His relation to God doth import all dependence upon God, all observance of God, all submission to God, all high apprehensions of God, faith and affiance in him, that he adore and reverence him, love and honour him, rejoice and delight in him, make acknowledgment to him, and give him thanks for his free communication and influence, by and through which we live and enjoy all things.

2dly. His relation to his fellow-creatures. And that lays a foundation of equity and righteousness, and requires a man to do as he would be done by, and to live in love and good-will, wishing well to others, taking delight to do courtesies, to injure none, to offend none, but to have his mind discharged from all spite, fury, malignity, mischief, &c. Then,

3rdly. In the relation he standeth into himself, as he doth consist of an immortal soul, and a corruptible body. This engageth him to use a proportionable care of his soul in competition with his body, according to the excellency of his soul above his body. The truth of things requires that the soul have the predominance over the body, and that the

body be subordinate to it; for in all reason the worse must be subordinate to the better.

Upon all these considerations man is obliged to abide in the truth, and to perform all acts of sobriety as to himself, all acts of righteousness as in conjunction with others, all acts of duty and piety to God as his Sovereign and as his Maker.

AGREEMENT OF RELIGION AND REASON.

THAT which is the height and excellency of human nature, *viz.* our reason, is not laid aside nor discharged, much less is it confounded by any of the materials of religion; but awakened, excited, employed, directed, and improved by it. For the mind and understanding of man is that faculty whereby man is made capable of God, and apprehensive of him, receptive from him, and able to make returns upon him, and acknowledgments to him. Bring that with you, or else you are not capable receivers. Unless you drink in these moral principles, unless you do receive them by reason, the reason of things by the reason of your mind, your religion is but shallow and superficial. For this you are to understand, that man is a compound of different things, hath several sorts of faculties, above any creature in this visible world. He hath an immortal spirit, as well as a bodily substance; and though the spirit of man in this state be joined to a body, and made a member of this material visible world, yet itself doth belong to another country. I say, a man is a compound of different and several things; he hath several sorts of faculties, which we are wont in our philosophy to call his upper and his lower powers; and by these he doth converse with things of a very different order. By the higher powers he is able to converse both with God and things spiritual and celestial; and by the lower powers, with terrene and earthy. As to instance: by mind, and understanding, and will, he hath intercourse and communion with God, and things invisible; and by these he is fitted to the improving all the lower objects to heavenly ends and purposes. But then, by sense, imagination, and brutish affection, we can only maintain acquaintance with this outward and lower world. But by this principle of reason and understanding, we are made capable of religion. So that man's peculiar object and proper business is in things of the mind; and therefore he ought to use those high faculties of his soul to inquire after God, and find out truth and the reason of things; and consequently, after such inquiry, to determine himself in his resolution and choice, to things according to their intrinsic worth and value.

Two things here I say. First: No man is born to be idle in the world; for though it is the privilege of some particular persons that

they who were born before them have provided for all comforts, necessities, and conveniences of life, so that they have enough to enjoy, with a superfluity and abundance; yet this I will say of all men, and indifferently of all our ancestors, that though they might acquire inheritances and worldly conveniences, yet they could not acquire for, or leave to any of us, mental endowments, nor habitual dispositions. But in respect of these, it is true, that every body is master of his own fortune under God. Every man hath himself, as he useth himself. He that by motion upwards contemplates God, converses with things spiritual and immaterial: he doth fit himself more for attendance upon God, and converses with angels and separate souls: but he that through brutishness and sensuality sinks into this lower world, and lives to grow less, he will finally shrivel up and come to nothing.

Now here is that which I recommend to you all—work for the mind; and this is that which is most peculiar and proper to human nature. No one is born to this more than another. But if you will be intellectually improved, if you will be refined in your spirits, refined in your morals; if you will be more than the *vulgus hominum*, you must set yourselves in the ways of reading, meditation, and conference, and self-reflection, and awaken your intellectuals; or else you shall come to nothing.

2. That which in the second place I superadd, is this: That the first operation in religion is mental and intellectual; *viz.* consideration, discussion, examination, self-reflection, approving the reason of things to the reason of our minds as the proper rule. This is a notion worthy of your consideration. In all things of weight, in the great points of conscience, in the great materials of religion, there is a reason in the things that doth enforce them, and enjoin them upon us, and require them of us. As, if I be God's creature, stand in relation to him, am capable of him, I am naturally and unavoidably under an obligation of duty and affection to him; and I am bound to serve him, honour, and live in regard of him. Here is the reason of the thing; and the reason of your mind is to find it out, which a beast cannot do; therefore is uncapable of religion. But this is that which you are to do; and there is no religion but in this. I say, if so be a man doth not admit what he receives with satisfaction to the reason of his mind, he doth not receive it as an intelligent agent, but he receives it as a vessel receives water; he is *continens* rather than *recipiens*. But this is the peculiarity of human nature, that through the reason of his mind he may come to understand the reason of things: and this is that you are to do; and there is no coming to religion but this way. Wherefore they begin at the wrong end, who do not set themselves at first thus to work; and so are not at all likely to hold out, or go on; or if they

do continue to retain a certain mode or way of religion, they are not likely to bring any thing in religion to perfection. For the mind's satisfaction and resolution is the first and principal; and if we leap over this, and jump into a profession of religion, without this consideration, discussion, examination, self-reflection, and approving the reason of our minds to the reason of things as the proper rule, we shall be ever lame in our way, and slight in our business. We shall not build upon a rock; we shall not lay a solid foundation. Our Saviour therefore bids us, before we engage to build a tower, to sit down, consider, and recount whether we shall be able to finish it (Luke, xiv. 26—32). For assure yourselves, whatsoever is rashly begun, it uncertainly goes on, and foolishly deceives, either in religion or any thing else.

Of all impotencies in the world credulity in religion is the greatest. This Solomon hath observed, that simple, weak, shallow heads are foolish, and believe that which any one saith; sail with every wind that blows (Prov. xiv. 15). "The simple believeth every word; but the prudent man looketh well about him." When a man hath made a deliberate act of judgment in a case, upon consideration of reason, grounds, and principles, he hath always ever after within him, whereby to encourage him to go on, and answer all objections as they shall arise. Whereas, he that begins not thus, upon all contrary appearances, he will be unsettled and unstable in all his ways. But the person of examination and consideration, that begins upon discussion, &c., and so comes to well-grounded resolution; he is encouraged from the memory of the motives that made him begin, the motives that set him at work, and the prospect of the end at which he did aim, and which he did design, and which he hath also constantly in his eye. But he that begins inconsiderately, he is so weak in his way, that there is little expectation of his holding out. And truly this is a just account of all the shameful and horrid apostacy of all formal professors. They did never weigh and examine, they did never reconcile their religion to the reason of their minds; so that really they have but an external denomination from their profession.

Man is not at all settled or confirmed in his religion, until his religion is the self-same with the reason of his mind; that when he thinks he speaks reason, he speaks religion; or when he speaks religiously, he speaks reasonably; and his religion and reason are mingled together; they pass into one principle; they are no more two, but one; just as the light in the air make one illuminated sphere, so reason and religion, in the subject, are one principle.

To hold this forth more fully, I will lay it out in four propositions.

First. It is lowness and imperfection in religion to drudge in it; and every man drudges in religion that takes up religion as a task, carries it as a burden, and doth it because he must do it, or because his superiors require it of him, or because time and place and custom calls for it; because the day requires it, or because it is such an hour; because he is now up, or because he must now go to bed. If this be the best motive a man hath, his religion is but a burthen. But they who are come to any growth in religion, are free-spirited in it, and do it with inward satisfaction, pleasure, and content. They harmonize with it; they understand it is in itself best, and fit so to do; and that it is also good in itself, and good for them; worthy in respect of God, and becoming them in the relation they stand in to him; tends to their perfection, and will bring them to happiness.

A man hath this at least by his religion, that if by accident he admits of sin, he never does it with pleasure; he doth not, like the ox, drink iniquity like water, as Eliphas elegantly expresses it. But this is his temper, and he hath Joseph's resolution, "How can I do this great wickedness and sin against God." I say again, he hath this advantage by his religion, that if by temptation, by surprise, or violent assault, he happens to admit any evil, he doth it with displacency, he offends himself as well as God; and he hath a principle within him of self recovery, *viz.* that which St. Paul speaks of (Rom. vii. 23), the law of his mind. So that, as water, if it chance to be sullied, hath in it a principle to work the dregs to the bottom; so will this man, by repentance and ingenuity, recover himself to his innocency. And this is that which our Saviour means by "pure in heart;" and in this he hath a convinced, satisfied judgment, because he hath an internal principle. The reason of his mind is taught and illuminated; he is in this condemned in his own conscience, and he will hasten to make his peace with himself as well as with God.

And, indeed, I tell you by the way, it is a harder matter for a truly good man, of honest principles, to forgive himself, than to obtain forgiveness of God; though I make no question but that God, according to his promise, doth presently forgive every true penitent, if he go to God according to his direction.

I say in this case he is condemned of himself; and therefore he *will* hasten to set all things right and straight within himself, and be at peace with his own mind; and that is by revocation of what was done amiss, by deprecating God's displeasure, by asking God's forgiveness, by crying him mercy, by double diligence and watchfulness and resolution never to do the like again.

Secondly. The seat of religion is the inward man; it is first the sense of a man's soul, the temper of his mind, the pulse of his heart.

You have always an intellectual nature, the elicit acts, as we call them; that is mental and internal acts; and they always precede and go before imperate acts, that is, external acts. The elicit acts of the mind, they are first. It lies first within the mind; after that it doth appear externally, in speeches, gestures, actions, and the effects of all good self-government.

In rational, and in all intellectual nature, you have first that which we call the speech of a man's mind with itself; the mind doth parly with itself, debates the thing thoroughly: then you have the overt acts, and afterwards you have the mind's sense put into language. This is the way of operation in intellectual natures—to speak with ourselves before we speak with others; and it doth not become us to make too much haste with the latter, before the former be over. It is just as Solomon hath observed it (Eccl. x. 14), "The fool is full of words, but the wise man is not so;" at least he thinks before he speaks.

My third proposition is this:—That in the state of religion spirituals and naturals join and mingle in their subjects; so that if a man be once in a true state of religion, he cannot distinguish between religion and the reason of his mind; so that his religion is the reason of his mind, and the reason of his mind is his religion. They are not two things now, they do not go two several ways, but concur and agree; they both run into one principle, they make one spirit, make one stream. The effects and products of his reason and religion are the same, in a person that is truly religious; his reason is sanctified by his religion, and his religion helps and makes use of his reason. So that in the subject it is but one thing; you may call it, if you will, religious reason, and reason made religious; they are not divided or separated; but the union is more intimate and near, as these principles are more immaterial and spiritual; whereas gross and material things keep at a distance, because of the impossibility of penetration.

Fourthly, and lastly. Religion doth us great service, great pleasure, both for mind and body.

1. For our mind, immediately by its formal presence and residence.

2. For our body, by the good consequences that follow upon the mind's good government.

In particular: your religion is the mind's health and good temper, and it doth help to conserve the body's strength. As, for instance, sobriety, gentleness, temperance, meekness, modesty, humility, which are the materials of religion; all these do spare and favour the body. On the contrary, pride, arrogance, haughtiness, presumption, fierceness, intemperance, which are things contrary to religion, these waste and spoil the body. Also faith and affiance in God, love of God, goodness

and complacence with God, harmony with him, delight in him; these do maintain and keep up men's spirits; and you know men's spirits do strongly resist all manner of disease. On the contrary, malecontent, distrust, despair, diffidence, sourness, peevishness, wrathfulness, anger, displeasure, these do hurt our minds, spoil all our mettle, and abate our courage. Wherefore you see God hath given us religion altogether for our advantage, not only for the future estate, but also for the present—the soul's safety, the body's better security.

To go on further. How doth malice, envy, and purpose of revenge, prey upon the body, spend men's spirits? whereas they who live in love and good-will are of gentle and quiet spirits—they favour their bodies; the body is wasted under the former, but bodily strength is maintained under these. (Psal. lv.) "The bloody and deceitful men do not live out half their days." And it is observed by Solomon (Prov. iii. 13,) "Happy is the man that findeth wisdom." Wisdom is religion in his sense. And (verse 16) "Length of days are in her right hand, and in her left hand riches and honour. Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace." Farther; in ways of temperance there is health, strength, and long life: whereas the licentious and exorbitant livers, they do load themselves with distempers, and often die before the time. Wherefore Solomon advises (Eccl. vii. 17,) "Be not overmuch wicked, neither be thou foolish; why shouldest thou die before thy time?" Wherefore, you see religion is good for the purposes of this life, as well as for the state of eternity.

I hasten now to a conclusion, and will conclude with a double exhortation.

1st. If you love yourselves, either bodies or souls, acquaint yourselves with religion.

2dly. If you would be religious, be intelligent and rational in your religion; study religion till the reason of your minds receive satisfaction; for till then you cannot account it your own, neither call it your own; neither hath it security and settlement in its subject.

And till this be, men will not be friendly to their religion; they will not make it their choice; but rather look upon it as their exactor, their tormenter, the controller of their liberty. It will be a taskmaster, they will carry it as their burthen, which a man will throw off as soon as he hath opportunity.

Now I dare undertake to shew, that all true reason is for religion, and nothing of truth against it; and this I will shew thus. There are but two things that are sincere and solid, real and substantial, in the world—the reason of the thing for the rule, and the reason of the subject for the discerning faculty. Now the reason of the thing,

that is certainly for religion; and the reason of the thing is as infallible a rule, and as certain as the law of heaven. For the reason of the thing, if it be in institutes, it is according to the revelation of the Divine will; and if it be in necessaries, it is according to the nature of God himself. In things depending upon will and pleasure, revealed from God, it is according to the Divine will; in things that are in themselves necessary, it is according to the nature of God. Therefore the reason of the thing, that is certainly for religion. Now the reason of the subject, either it is blind or biassed, prepossest or corrupted, if it be against it—that for certain. Now, if it be so, here is our great challenge: the reason of the thing, that is made to our hands; the use of our faculties, that is to find it out. The reason of the thing, it is a rule to the reason of the subject; if it varies, it is to be rectified—corrected by the rule. The reason of the thing is always for religion; if the reason of the subject is to comply with the rule, then a man's reason and his religion will accord and meet. If we be in the true use of reason, we may see cause for what we do in the way of religion; but if we be ignorant, we are neither rational nor religious.

Where a man hath not weighed and considered, searched and examined, he is nobody. If he be rational, then he discerns the reason of the thing; and the reason of the thing, if he comply with it, is religion. Blind presumption and suspicion are very sorry things, and have no place anywhere; for prepossession and anticipation shew men to be of a party, but no true discerners of truth.

In the close of all, let me advise you to clear understanding, true perception, and right apprehensions of things, that you charge yourselves with upon account of religion. I would never advise a man to be light of faith in matters of religion, or to run away with suppositions, or dully to refer himself or compromise with any party; but so far as he thinks religion concerns him, let him take to himself leisure and opportunity; let him weigh and consider, and let him use his faculties as he may do. This is the direction in religion; use your reason so far as you may have perception of these things, and such a sensation of them that you may receive satisfaction. If you do not do so, really you do not come within the compass of religion. A man may admit that which is a true principle upon account of religion; yet because he doth not receive it upon account of its own evidence, light and truth, he doth not entertain that of religion as a point of religion, but he believes it as he believes a story that he hears a man tell, but never considers it whether it be true or false.

Religion is not a thing that can be made up of ignorant well-meanings, or of fond or slight imaginations, credulous suspicion, or fond

conceit—such are the suppositions of all superstition—but of deliberate resolutions, and diligent searches into the reason of things, and into the rational sense of holy Scripture.

We have cause to give God thanks, that so far as revelation is necessary to convey anything by way of superaddition to the light of God's creation, to the principles whereof God made us in the moment of his creation; God hath not left us to vain supposition, nor to the ungrounded guesses of fond minds, but you have it clearly, plainly, fully, satisfactorily laid down in holy scripture; so that religion is the clearest and most self-evident thing in the world; but if a man do not inquire into the reason and grounds of his persuasion, if he give himself up to drudge in the world, and refer himself in his religion to other men's sense, delivering himself to a party, I will assure him he is not religious, not in that which he receives, though it may be materially true in religion; for he doth not receive it as becomes a disciple of reason, much less of religion, for it might have been false, or the contrary, for any thing he knows, and for the self-same reason that he admitted this as truth, he might have admitted the contrary, if so be the party, with which he doth compromise, had offered it.

The truly religious are not idle bodies, but they do exercise themselves in the highest and noblest employment, and their work is to affect the inward man, and we are wont to say, that in competition the body is nothing, it is but the soul's mansion-house, every man's mind is the man.

I will conclude all in a few words, to recommend religion to the reason of your minds.

1st. It doth relieve us in the case of the greatest evils that we are in danger of; and the greatest evils we are exposed to are the guiltiness of our consciences, and malignity in our minds.

2dly. Religion doth possess us of the truest inward good.

3dly. It restores us to the object of our happiness, and to our ultimate end.

First. Religión doth relieve us in respect of the greatest inward evils that we are liable to, viz. guiltiness in our conscience, and malignity in our minds, which, if not removed, we must of necessity be miserable, as a man must be miserable though he lie upon a bed of down, if he be sick and distempered, and cannot be cured of internal malady. Now these two are internal evils, that are greater than any other internal evils in the world; a wound in the conscience, guiltiness in the mind—the worm of conscience, the sting of sin—these two are the life of hell. And then the other great evil is malignity, rancour, malice, and poison in the mind; and this mars our natures, spoils our dispositions and tempers, and puts us at a distance and abhorrence of God and goodness,

and makes us harmonize with the devil and sin. Now there is no way to be relieved in respect of these internal evils but in the way of religion, and by the blood of sprinkling, for the cleansing our consciences by way of atonement, and by the operation of the Spirit, for the renewing, repairing, and restoring our natures. That is the first.

Secondly. It possesses us of the truest inward good, and that in three particulars.

1. Satisfaction to a man's mind; and content, all the world will say, is one of the greatest goods. What is better to a man than his mind's satisfaction? And in the way of religion, a man's mind is satisfied, for he understands upon what grounds and in what way, and he sees before him, and knows what he is to trust to.

2. Religion is restorative to the nature of man; and what is more to any man than to be internally whole? If a man hath an internal disease, an internal wound, or any inward ulcer in his mind, to restore him to perfect health and strength, this is done in the way of religion.

3. It is pacifying to a man's conscience; for what is more dreadful than the torments of a man's own breast? When a man's heart aches, though he be applauded and adored by bystanders, yet his heart aches because of his guilt; he finds internal wounds. He may fly from the world, but he cannot fly from himself. "The wicked flees when no man pursues." And it is observed, that guilt in a man's breast is a prophet that foretells future evils: "Art thou come to call my sins to remembrance?" But innocency is stout, rises up in its own defence; but when a man is faulty, his heart will not serve him.

Thirdly and lastly. Religion restores us to the object of our happiness, to our ultimate end. So saith the Psalmist, (Psalm xvii. 15,) "I will behold thy face in righteousness; I shall be satisfied when I awake with thy likeness." We must be reconciled in temper and disposition to the nature, mind, and will of God, and the law of everlasting goodness, righteousness, and truth; or else it will come to what Solomon saith, "Can two walk together that are not agreed?"

Discourses, Vol. IV.

Dr. CUDWORTH.

A. D. 1640—1688.

Cudworth, it has been observed by a living writer, occupied the point of transition between the ancient and modern schools of philosophy. His maturity, indeed, occurred at a period when all the great subjects of human thought and interest—government, philosophy, religion—had been brought, by the strife of contending parties, into an unsettled and disjointed condition. The mere design to reduce this intellectual chaos to order, could scarcely have suggested itself to any mind not of gigantic power and vast attainments; and though Cudworth did not carry this magnificent plan into complete effect, he yet left behind him such monuments of his great attempt as produced a lively impression on his own age, and continue to present to succeeding times an enduring basis of thought and principle.

Ralph Cudworth was born, in 1617, at Aller, in Somersetshire; of which village his father, likewise named Ralph, was the incumbent. The father died in his son's boyhood; and his widow marrying Dr. Stoughton, a preacher of eminence in his day, the management of the youth's education devolved upon that person. Stoughton proved a liberal and discerning step-father. He perceived young Ralph's quick and penetrating genius, and proportioned to it his own care in the discharge of the parental duty. By his means he was admitted of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, as early as 1630; although his matriculation did not take place till two years later.

At the university, Cudworth applied himself with vigour to the usual studies, but especially to the various systems of ancient philosophy. He was chosen, in 1639, a fellow of his college; and became highly popular and successful as a tutor. About 1641 he obtained preferment—the living of North Cadbury, in the county of Somerset, presented to him by his college. In 1644, having taken the degree of B. D., he was

appointed master of Clare Hall; and, the year following, was unanimously chosen to the Regius Professorship of Hebrew.

From that time, we are told, he withdrew from the ministerial functions, and gave himself wholly up to academical studies and employments. Of his habits at this period we know nothing farther; they could hardly, however, have been so simple and inexpensive as those of most of the great scholars of his time; for, notwithstanding his possession of those honourable offices in the university, we find him, some years later, absenting himself from residence "through want of maintenance." This was in 1651; in which year he took the degree of D. D.

That Alma Mater should be deprived, for such a reason, of the presence of one of her most distinguished sons, was matter of general regret at Cambridge, and we find it especially lamented by Worthington, then master of Jesus College, the friend and admirer of Cudworth, as he was of most of the great and good scholars of his time.

At length, in a letter of the date of January 1654, the affectionate Worthington announces to his correspondent, that, "after many tossings, Dr. Cudworth is, through God's providence, returned to Cambridge, and settled in Christ's College." In fact, on a vacancy occurring in the mastership of that distinguished society,—in which Mede was still remembered with delight, and which was still enriched by such minds as More, Rust, and others of a kindred order,—Cudworth was chosen to the place.

He now married; and in this honourable station passed the remainder of his days, occupied with labours alike serviceable to the university, the church, and mankind. The history of these labours is the true history of Cudworth.

This able scholar first appeared as an author by the publication, in the year 1642, of his *Discourse concerning the true Notion of the Lord's Supper.* In this learned little work, he proposes to demonstrate that the Lord's Supper in the Christian church, in reference to the sacrifice of Christ, is a parallel to the feasts upon sacrifices which were customary both among the Jews and pagans. It has been praised by high authorities: Warburton calls it "a master-piece in its kind;" and observes, "that he has undoubtedly given the true nature and character of the sacrament."

In the same year, he also published his *Union of Christ and the Church shadowed.* It appears, however, that he had by this time begun to form designs more answerable to the extent of his knowledge, the solidity of his judgment, and his indefatigable powers of application.

At the Cambridge commencement, this year, he maintained, in his exercises for the degree of B. D., the following theses:—1. *Dantur boni et mali rationes æternæ et indispensabiles.* 2. *Dantur substantiæ incorporeæ suâ naturâ immortales*[1]. In these propositions are contained the germ of those important works which have immortalized his name among those of our first English thinkers.

"He lived in an age when the disputes concerning liberty and necessity, mingling with the political scheme of the leaders of opposite parties, helped to cause strong convulsions in the state, and to spread no less fatal an influence upon the principles and manners of the generality of people. For debauchery, scepticism, and infidelity, as he complains, flourished in his time, and grew up, in his opinion, from the doctrine of the fatal necessity of all actions and events, as from its proper root.

"These sentiments disposed him to bend much of his study this way, and to read over all the ancient philosophers and moralists with great accuracy. He then set himself to gather and answer all the ancient and modern arguments for the necessity of all actions, which had been maintained by several persons, upon very different grounds.

"He accordingly distinguished three sorts of fatality. First, natural or material, which, excluding God out of the scheme, and supposing senseless matter, necessarily moved, to be the first principle and cause of all things, is truly and properly the atheistical fate. This he found defended by Epicurus; and to refute him and the other assertors of the atomic material necessity, he published his learned and unanswerable book, which he entitled, *The Intellectual System of the Universe.* Secondly, theologic or Divine fate, which, indeed, allows in words the existence of that perfect intellectual Being, distinct from matter, whom we call God; yet, affirming that God irrespectively decrees and determines all

[1] "That the principles of good and evil are absolute and eternal: That spiritual substances are in their own nature imperishable."

things, evil as well as good, doth in effect make all actions alike necessary to us. In consequence whereof, God's will is not regulated by his essential and immutable goodness and justice; God is a mere arbitrary will, omnipotent: and, in respect to us, moral good and evil are positive things, and not so in their own nature; that is, things are good or bad because they are commanded or forbidden, and that which is now good might have been bad, and bad good, if the pure will of God, at first, had not determined them to be what they are at present. Thirdly, the Stoical fate, which constrains also the natural and moral actions of the universe, and makes necessity to be so intrinsical to the nature of every thing, as that no being or action could possibly be otherwise than it is. For all things, according to this notion, depend in a chain of causes all in themselves necessary, from the first principle of being, who pre-ordered every event before it fell out, so as to leave no room to liberty or contingency anywhere in the world[2]."

To overthrow this triple fortress of irreligion, was the great design to which Cudworth dedicated his life. His assault on one only of its divisions was completely carried through. His great work, the first part of *The true Intellectual System*, was completed, and received the imprimatur of Dr. Samuel Parker, Sheldon's chaplain, in May 1671; but the book was not published till 1678. This delay was owing to the efforts of a party who sought to destroy the reputation of the work before it saw the light, on account of some of its views apparently tending to heterodoxy. In truth, Cudworth's mind was as fair and candid, as it was richly furnished with a knowledge of all opinions, with their grounds, and apologies. Hence, he was accused of having, by his earnest and liberal statements, betrayed the cause which he had undertaken to defend.

Those singularities which exposed the *Intellectual System* to this severe remark, are mainly two:—one philosophical, the other theological.

The atheistical philosophers, to account for the formation of organized beings, without the intervention of an intelligent Creator, have been obliged to ascribe to insensible matter itself an innate tendency to certain combinations. It was

---

[2] Bishop Chandler; Preface to "*A Treatise concerning Immutable Morality.*"

alleged, that Cudworth, in imagining what he calls a "plastic nature;" *i. e.* an energy, unintelligent, but endowed with causative power, operating in the universe in the production of animal life, was in reality giving support to that theory. It was in vain answered, that the plastic nature was nothing more than the vital principle of the physiologists; and that neither can, in the least, favour the atheistic hypothesis, because these principles are no more than instruments in the hands of God, from whom alone they derive their efficacy, and by whom all their operations are directed. For Bayle, who afterwards engaged in the controversy, justly retorted, that in granting the existence of a plastic nature, which produces organized beings without knowing what it does, the argument from nature for the existence of a First Cause is effectually undermined, inasmuch as the order and regularity of the universe are what we allege as the evident proof of that existence. It is impossible in this place, and (unless to put the youthful reader on his guard against the imperfections which he must expect in every human work) it were needless, to go further into this abstruse question. Suffice it to say, that this injudicious theory has found few adherents; even Warburton, among the warmest admirers of Cudworth, admitting that it was "fully overthrown by Bayle."

The second, or theological, peculiarity advanced in the *Intellectual System*, relates to the doctrine of the Trinity, and was derived, like that just mentioned, from the Alexandrian Platonists. Cudworth has endeavoured to shew that very few of the ancient philosophers thought God to be corporeal; but that under the names of Jupiter, Venus, Osiris, &c., they adored the great invisible Creator. He likewise maintains, with equal ability and learning, that the Platonic, and other pagan trinities, are merely corruptions and mutilations of the primeval revelations handed down by patriarchal tradition. In particular, he contends, that the Platonists acknowledged the unity of God in their three divine hypostases—the good (τὸ ἓν, τάγαθὸν), the mind (νοῦς), and the soul (ψύχη), notwithstanding they owned these three hypostases to be numerically distinct, or each to have its own separate essence. To vindicate the Platonists, on this point, he alleges that the ancient orthodox fathers of the Christian church were generally of opinion, that that essence or substance of the Godhead, which all the three persons agree in, as each of

them is God, is not one singular or individual, but only one common or universal essence or substance. To us it seems difficult to imagine why an explanation so purely rational of this profound mystery, should have brought Cudworth's orthodoxy into suspicion. It led, however, we are assured, to a kind of tritheism among his followers; and Nelson, in his *Life of Bull*, declares, that Cudworth's notion of the Trinity was the same as Dr. Samuel Clarke's; viz. that he was what is termed a semi-Arian, ascribing absolute Godhead only to the Father. This, however, is a very different idea from that which Cudworth ascribes to the fathers, and apparently adopts as his own.

Such blemishes, after all, detract but little from the value of Cudworth's imperishable book; and the controversies which, after its publication, arose on these and some other points, were no more than the ferment and disturbance which followed, of course, the appearance, in the swelling waters, of a freight which his abbreviator (Wise) styles "the vastest magazine of reasoning and warning that ever singly appeared against atheism."

The life of this great scholar (surrounded as he was with admiring friends in the university, and famous in the world) seems to have proceeded in an uninterrupted flow of those satisfactions which he was best prepared to relish. On more than one occasion, when some scheme was in contemplation by the existing government, for the advancement of religion, or for the promotion of worthy men, he was consulted. In the meantime, he appears to have proceeded, though slowly, and upon a more contracted scale, in the great plan, the execution of which he had so nobly commenced in the *Intellectual System*. In 1659 he wrote to Secretary Thurlow an account of his design to publish some Latin discourses in defence of Christianity, against Judaism. Part of this design, a *Discourse concerning Daniel's Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks*, which was read in the public schools at Cambridge, is highly commended by Henry More, in the preface to his *Grand Mystery of Godliness*. "In this work," observes More, "Dr. Cudworth has undeceived the world, misled too long by the over-great opinion they had of Joseph Scaliger, and has demonstrated the manifestation of the Messiah to have fallen out at the end of the sixty-ninth week, and his passion in the midst of the last; which demonstration of his is, in my appre-

hension, of as much price and worth in theology, as either the circulation of the blood in physic, or the motion of the earth in natural philosophy." Again, writing to Dr. Worthington, in 1665, he mentions a design which he had long entertained, to compose a treatise *On Good and Evil, or Natural Ethics.* Nothing more, however, was sent by him to the press, with the exception of two single sermons, a short treatise on the Divine Goodness, and a copy of verses which was published in the volume of poetical congratulations[1], addressed by the University of Cambridge to Charles the Second, at the Restoration. Cudworth's lines are vigorous, and perhaps as poetical as any in the collection. Preferment in the Church had likewise fallen upon him: he was presented to the vicarage of Ashwell, in Hertfordshire, by Sheldon, in 1662; and in 1678 was installed a prebendary of Gloucester. Cudworth died at Cambridge, June 26, 1688, in the 71st year of his age, and was buried in the chapel of Christ's college; where a few words on his monument record his dignities and his decease.

Dr. Cudworth, says Mosheim, was a man of very extensive erudition, excellently skilled in the learned languages and antiquity, a good mathematician, a subtle philosopher, and a profound metaphysician. He embraced the mechanical or corpuscular philosophy; but with regard to the Deity, intelligences, ideas, and in short the principles of human knowledge, he followed Plato and the latter Platonists. Many contemporary writers commend his piety and modesty; and Burnet, in the *History of his own Times*, after describing the object of More's philosophy, "to consider religion as a seed of a Deiform nature"—and the efforts of that Divine to promote the philosophical study of religion among young students, adds, that "Dr. Cudworth carried this on with a great strength of genius, and a vast compass of learning;" and that "he was a man of great conduct and prudence."

Cudworth had several sons, who died young; but one daughter survived him, and, by her piety and literary accomplishments, proved herself worthy of such a father. To this lady, who was married to Sir Francis Masham, of Oates, in Essex, and in whose family Locke passed the last fourteen

---

[1] *Academiæ Cantabrigiensis* ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑ, *sive ad Carolum II. reducem, &c. gratulatio.*

years of his life, he left all his numerous manuscripts. At her decease they passed into the hands of her son, Francis Cudworth Masham, Esq., by whose permission one of them was edited and published in 1731, by Dr. Edward Chandler, bishop of Durham, with the title of *A Treatise concerning Eternal and Immutable Morality.* In his preface, already largely quoted, the bishop observes, that in this treatise the author "proves the falseness of the consequences with respect to natural justice and morality in God, which are deducible from the principles of those that maintain the second sort of fate, denominated by him theologic. And thus it may be reckoned to be a sequel, in part, of his first book against material fate. Had it come abroad as early as it was written, it had served for a proper antidote to the poison in some of Mr. Hobbes' and others' writings, who revived in that age the exploded opinions of Protagoras and other ancient Greeks, and took away the essential and eternal discrimination of moral good and evil, of just and unjust, and made them all arbitrary productions of divine or human will. Against the ancient and modern patrons of this doctrine no one hath writ better than Dr. Cudworth. His book is indeed a demonstration of the truth of the contrary opinion; and is drawn up with that beauty, clearness, and strength, as must delight as well as convince the reader. We are not certain that this treatise is quite so perfect as the author designed it; but it appears from the manuscript, that he transcribed the best part of it with his own hand, as if it was speedily to have been sent to the press."

The following are the titles of the remaining MSS. as they were found by Birch, when preparing his edition of the *Intellectual System*, a hundred years ago:—

1. *A Discourse of Moral Good and Evil*, already mentioned.
2. Another book of Morality, against Hobbes's Philosophy.
3. *A Discourse of Liberty and Necessity, in which the grounds of the Atheistical philosophy are confuted, and Morality vindicated and explained.*
4. Another work, *De libero arbitrio.*
5. *On Daniel's Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks.*
6. *Of the Verity of the Christian Religion, against the Jews.*

7. *A Discourse of the Creation of the World, and the Immortality of the Soul.*

8. *Hebrew Learning.*

9. *An Examination of Hobbes's Notion of God, and of the Extension of Spirits.*

For some time time longer these writings reposed quietly in the library at Oates; but about the year 1762 they were sold by Lord Masham, as lumber, to a bookseller; from whose hands, after suffering many perils and mutilations, they at length found their way to the British Museum. The only public use made of them was by Dr. Dodd, who ransacked them for notes to the Bible published with his name, and inserted some other passages in *The Christian Magazine.*

The first edition of the *Intellectual System,* we have seen was published in folio, in the year 1678.

In 1706 there was published, in two volumes 4to, an abridgement of that work, under the title of *A Confutation of the Reason and Philosophy of Atheism,* &c. By Thomas Wise, B.D.

Le Clerc, in his controversy with Bayle, on the subject of Cudworth's *plastic nature,* expressed a wish that some man of learning would translate the *Intellectual System* into Latin. But this design, though said to have been begun by several of the literati of Germany, was not completed till the year 1733, when Mosheim published a translation of it in two volumes folio. Of the pains bestowed by the learned translator on this edition, the references supplied by him to the numerous quotations, which Cudworth left very obscure and imperfect, remain a valuable evidence.

A second edition of the English work was brought out by Birch, in 1743, in two vols. 4to, in which the editor has availed himself of the labours of Mosheim. Mr. Birch has added to this edition the *Discourse concerning the True Notion of the Lord's Supper,* with the two sermons; and has prefixed the best account extant of the life and writings of the excellent author.

A Treatise of Freewill, selected from Cudworth's MSS. was published in 1838, "with notes," by the Rev. John Allen of King's College, London.

IN WHAT SENSE THE ESSENCES OF THINGS ARE ETERNAL AND IMMUTABLE.

1. WE have now abundantly confuted the Protagorean philosophy, which, that it might be sure to destroy the immutable natures of just and unjust, would destroy all science or knowledge, and make it relative and fantastical. Having shewed that this tenet is not only most absurd and contradictious in itself, but also manifestly repugnant to that very atomical physiology, on which Protagoras endeavoured to found it, and, than which nothing can more effectually confute and destroy it; and also largely demonstrated, that though sense be indeed a mere relative and fantastical perception, as Protagoras thus far rightly supposed; yet notwithstanding there is a superior power of intellection and knowledge of a different nature from sense, which is not terminated in mere seemingand appear ance only, (Ἐν τῷ φαινομένῳ) but in the truth and reality of things (Ἐν τῷ ὄντι), and reaches to the comprehension of that which really and absolutely is; whose objects are the eternal and immutable essences and natures of things, and their unchangeable relations to one another.

2. To prevent all mistake, I shall again remember what I have before intimated, that where it is affirmed that the essences of all things are eternal and immutable; which doctrine theological schools have constantly avouched, this is only to be understood of the intelligible essences and *rationes* of things, as they are the objects of the mind: and that there neither is nor can be any other meaning of it, than this, that there is an eternal knowledge and wisdom, or an eternal mind or intellect, which comprehends within itself the steady and immutable *rationes* of all things and their verities, from which all particular intellects are derived, and on which they do depend. But not that the constitutive essences of all individual created things were eternal and uncreated, as if God in creating of the world, did nothing else, but as some sarcastically express it, *Sartoris instar rerum essentias vestire existentia*, only clothed the eternal, increated, and antecedent essences of things with a new outside garment of existence, and not created the whole of them: and as if the constitutive essences of things could exist apart separately from the things themselves, which absurd conceit Aristotle frequently, and no less deservedly chastises.

3. Wherefore the result of all that we have hitherto said is this, that the intelligible natures and essences of things are neither arbitrary nor fantastical, that is, neither alterable by any will whatsoever, nor changeable by opinion; and therefore every thing is necessarily and immutably to science and knowledge what it is, whether absolutely,

or relatively to all minds and intellects in the world. So that if moral good and evil, just and unjust, signify any reality, either absolute or relative, in the things so denominated, as they must have some certain natures, which are the actions or souls of men, they are neither alterable by mere will nor opinion. Upon which ground that wise philosopher Plato, in his *Minos*, determines that Νόμος, a law, is not δόγμα πόλεως, any arbitrary decree of a city or supreme governors; because there may be unjust decrees, which therefore are no laws, but *the invention of that which is* (τοῦ ὄντος εξεύρεσις), or which is absolutely or immutably just, in its own nature. Though it be very true also, that the arbitrary constitutions of those that have lawful authority of commanding, when they are not materially unjust, are laws also in a secondary sense, by virtue of that natural and immutable justice or law that requires political order to be observed.

4. But I have not taken all this pains only to confute scepticism or fantasticism, or merely to defend and corroborate our argument for the immutable natures of just and unjust; but also for some other weighty purposes that are very much conducing to the business that we have in hand. And first of all, that the soul is a mere *rasa tabula*, a naked and passive thing, which has no innate furniture or activity of its own, nor any thing at all in it but what was impressed upon it without: for if it were so, then there could not be any such thing as moral good and evil, just and unjust; forasmuch as these differences do not arise merely from the outward objects, or from the impresses which they make upon us by sense, there being no such thing in them; in which sense it is truly affirmed by the author of the *Leviathan*, "That there is no common rule of good and evil to be taken from the nature of the objects themselves," that is, either considered absolutely in themselves, or relatively to external sense only, but according to some other interior analogy which things have to a certain inward determination in the soul itself, from whence the foundation of all this difference must needs arise, as I shall shew afterwards; not that the anticipations of morality spring merely from intellectual forms and notional ideas of the mind, or from certain rules or propositions, arbitrarily printed upon the soul as upon a book, but from some other more inward and vital principle in intellectual beings, as such, whereby they have a natural determination in them to do some things, and to avoid others, which could not be if they were mere naked passive things. Wherefore since the nature of morality cannot be understood, without some knowledge of the nature of the soul, I thought it seasonable and requisite here to take this occasion offered, and to prepare the way to our following discourse, by shewing in general, that the soul is not a mere passive and receptive thing,

which hath no innate active principle of its own; because upon this hypothesis there could be no such thing as morality.

5. Again, I have the rather insisted upon this argument also, because that which makes men so inclinable to think that justice, honesty, and morality are but thin, airy and fantastical things, that have little or no entity or reality in them besides sensuality, is a certain opinion in philosophy which doth usually accompany it, that matter and body are the first original and source of all things; that there is no incorporeal substance superior to matter, and independent upon it; and therefore that sensible things are the only real and substantial things in nature; but souls and minds springing secondarily out of body, that intellectuality and morality which belong unto them, are but thin and evanid shadows of sensible and corporeal things, and not natural, but artificial and factitious things, that do, as it were, border upon the confines of non-entity.

6. This is a thing excellently well observed by Plato, and therefore I shall set down his words at large concerning it. "These men making this distribution of things, that all things that are, are either by nature, or art, or chance, they imagine that the greatest and most excellent things that are in the world are to be attributed to nature and chance; which working upon those greater things which are made by nature, does form and fabricate certain smaller things afterwards, which we commonly call artificial things. To speak more plainly, fire, water, air, and earth, they attribute wholly to nature and chance, but not to any art or wisdom; in like manner those bodies of the earth—the sun, moon, and stars, they will have to be made out of them fortuitously agitated; and so by chance causing both divers systems and compages of things: thus they would have the whole heavens made, and all the earth and animals, and all the seasons of the year, not by any mind, intellect, or God, not by any art or wisdom, but all by blind nature and chance. But art and mind afterwards springing up out of these, to have begotten certain ludicrous things which have little truth and reality in them, but are like images in a glass, such as picture and music produces. Wherefore these men attribute all ethics, politics, morality, and laws, not to nature, but to art, whose productions are not real and substantial."

7. Now this philosopher, that he may evince that ethics, politics, and morality are as real and substantial things, and as truly natural as those things which belong to matter, he endeavours to shew that souls and minds do not spring secondarily out of matter and body, but that they are real things in nature, superior and antecedent to body and matter. His words are these: "These men are all ignorant concerning the nature of mind and soul, as in other regards so

especially in respect of its original, as it is in order of nature before matter and body, and does not result out of it; but does command it, govern it, and rule it."

And I have, in like manner, in this antecedent discourse, endeavoured to shew that wisdom, knowledge, mind, and intellect, are no thin shadows or images of corporeal and sensible things, nor do result secondarily out of matter and body, and from the activity and impressions thereof; but have an independent and self-subsistent being, which in order of nature is before body; all particular created minds being but derivative participations of one Infinite Eternal Mind, which is antecedent to all corporeal things.

8. Now, from hence it naturally follows, that those things which belong to mind and intellect, such as morality, ethics, politics, and laws are, which Plato calls, "The offspring and productions of mind, are no less to be accounted natural things, or real and substantial, than those things which belong to stupid and senseless matter." For, since mind and intellect are first in order of nature before matter and body, those things which belong to the mind must needs be in order of nature before those things which belong to the body. "Wherefore, mind and intellect, art and law, ethics and morality, are first in order of nature, before hard and soft, light and heavy, long and crooked, which belong to body;" and therefore more real and substantial things. For since mind and intellect, are a higher, more real, and substantial thing than senseless body and matter, and what hath far the more vigour, activity, and entity in it, modifications of mind and intellect, such as justice and morality, must of necessity be more real and substantial things than the modifications of mere senseless matter, such as hard and soft, thick and thin, hot and cold, and the like, are. And therefore that grave philosopher excellently well concludes, "that the greatest and first works and actions are of art or of mind, which were before body; but those things which are said to be by nature (in which they abuse the word nature, appropriating it only to senseless inanimate matter) are afterwards, being governed by mind and art."

9. Wherefore, I thought our former discourse seasonable to confute the dulness and grossness of those philophasters that make corporeal things existing without the soul to be the only solid and substantial things, and make their grossest and external senses the only judges of reality of things, "and so to conclude nothing is, or has any reality, but what they can grasp in their hands, or have some gross or palpable use of."

Whereas notwithstanding it is most true that those corporeal qualities, which they think to be such real things existing in bodies without them, are for the most part fantastic and imaginary things,

and have no more reality than the colours of the rainbow; and, as Plotinus expresseth it, "have no reality at all in the objects without us, but only a seeming kind of entity in our own fancies;" and therefore are not absolutely any thing in themselves, but only relative to animals. So that they do in a manner mock us, when we conceive of them as things really existing without us, being nothing but our own shadows, and the vital passive energies of our own souls.

Though it was not the intention of God or nature to abuse us herein, but a most wise contrivance thus to beautify and adorn the visible and material world, to add lustre or embellishment to it, that it might have charms, relishes, and allurements in it, to gratify our appetites; whereas otherwise, really, in itself, the whole corporeal world in its naked hue is nothing else but a heap of dust, or atoms, of several figures and magnitudes, variously agitated up and down; so that these things which we look upon as such real things without us, are not properly the modifications of bodies themselves, but several modifications, passions, and affections of our own souls.

10. Neither are these passive and sympathetical energies of the soul, when it acts confusedly with the body, and the pleasures resulting from them, such real and substantial things as those that arise from the pure noetical energies of the soul itself intellectually and morally; for since the mind and intellect is in itself a more real and substantial thing, and fuller of eternity than matter and body, those things which are "the pure offspring of the mind" (Νοῦ γεγεννήματα), and sprout from the soul itself, must needs be more real and substantial than those things which blossom from the body, or from the soul enfeebled by it, and slumbering in it.

11. Wherefore that philosopher professing and understanding to confute atheists, and to shew "that all atheists, though they pretend to wit never so much, are but bunglers at reason and sorry philosophers," he, not without cause, fetches his discourse from hence, that, "they that thus infect men's minds with impiety and atheism, make that which is the first cause of all generation and corruption, to be the last thing in the universe, and that which is the last, to be the first. From hence proceeds their error concerning the being of God;" that is, they make mind and soul to be the last thing, and body and matter to be the first.

This therefore is the only course and method which this philosopher proceeds in to confute the atheists; to shew, "that mind and soul, in the order of the universe, are before body, and not posterior to it; mind and soul being that which rules in the universe, and body that which is ruled and ordered by it." And there is no phenomenon in the world but may be solved from this hypothesis.

Now this he demonstrates, even from local motion, because body and matter has no self-moving power, and therefore it is moved and determined in its motion by a higher principle, a soul or mind; which argument is farther improved by the author of that excellent philosophical treatise, Book II. chap. 11.

12. Now, for the self-same cause, I have endeavoured to demonstrate in the foregoing discourse, that knowledge and intellection cannot possibly spring from sense, nor the radiation or impresses of matter and body upon that which knows, but from an active power of the mind, as a thing antecedent to matter, and independent upon it, whereby it is enabled from within itself to exert intelligible ideas of all things.

13. Lastly, I have insisted the rather so largely upon this argument for this further reason also; because it is not possible that there should be any such thing as morality, unless there be a God, that is, an infinite eternal mind that is the first original and source of all things, whose nature is the first exemplar of morality; for otherwise it is not conceivable whence any thing should be derived to particular intellectual beings. Now there can be no such thing as God, if stupid and senseless matter be the first original of all things, and if all being and perfection that is found in the world may spring up and arise out of the dark womb of unthinking matter; but if knowledge and understanding, if soul, mind, and wisdom, may result and emerge out of it, then doubtless every thing that appears in the world may; and so night, matter, and chaos, must be the first and only original of all things.

14. Wherefore Plato, as I have already intimated, taking notice of the opinion of divers pretenders to philosophy, "that fire, water, air, and earth, are the first beings of all, to which senseless and inanimate things they appropriate the title of nature; but that soul did spring up afterwards out of these, as a secondary thing," and as a mere shadow of them; he immediately adds concerning it, "We have here found and discovered the true fountain of all that atheistical madness that possesses most of those that deal in physiology or questions of natural philosophy," *viz.* that they are all possessed with this sottishness, that matter and body is the first original of all things; and therefore it is observed, by the same author, that the same persons that held all things were derived from body, blind nature, and chance, did both deny the existence of God, and, which is consentaneous thereunto, asserted that justice and morality have no nature or entity at all, saying, they were nothing but passion from corporeal things, without the sentient, or the renitence, or the reaction made upon local motion in a body duly mixed and tempered: that is, if soul and mind, knowledge and wisdom, may thus arise from the contem-

plation of mere senseless matter, and radiation or impression that is the mere local motion of corporeal objects without; then, as we said before, there cannot possibly be the least shadow of argument left to prove a deity by; since not only the souls of men, but also all that wisdom, counsel, and contrivance, that appears in the frame of the whole visible world, might first arise in like manner from the mere casual concourse and contemperation of the whole matter; either in those particular bodies of the sun and stars, or else in the whole system and compages of the material world itself.

On Eternal and Immutable Morality. Chap. vi.

BISHOP PEARSON.

A.D. 1640—1686.

Dr. John Pearson, one of the lights of this brilliant period, and a divine of the first rank in the Church of England, was the son of a Norfolk clergyman. He was born in 1612, and educated at Eton; whence, in 1630, he was elected to King's College, Cambridge, and became a fellow of that society.

In 1639 he was collated, by Bishop Davenant, to a stall in Salisbury cathedral. About the same time, he was made chaplain to the Lord Keeper Finch; but after the breaking out of the civil war, we find him attending Lord Goring in that capacity to Exeter, and other parts of the west. Subsequently, he obtained the living of St. Clement's, Eastcheap; and here it was that, amid the crash of falling institutions, civil and ecclesiastical, he preached that series of learned discourses which he afterwards digested into his immortal work, the *Exposition of the Creed*, and dedicated it to his parishioners. By what means he was enabled to remain unmolested in this situation does not appear; but the soundness of his Church principles excludes the supposition that his security was the consequence of any undue compliance with the times.

In 1657 he was associated with the learned Dr. Gunning, (who, in those times, was distinguished as a disputant with sectarians of every denomination,) in a public discussion with two popish divines: of this conference a garbled report was published at Paris.

When the Restoration opened the doors of promotion to the more eminent of the surviving clergy, Pearson's share comprised successively the following preferments:—the rectory of St. Christopher's, in the city of London; a prebend of Ely; the archdeaconry of Surrey; the Lady Margaret's Professorship of Divinity at Cambridge, with the living of Terrington annexed; the mastership of Jesus College, in that university, afterwards exchanged for that of Trinity. Several of these preferments he had already resigned, when, finally,

on the death of Wilkins, in 1673, he succeeded to the bishopric of Chester.

We may adopt the testimony of the modern editor of Neal to the merits of this excellent churchman. "He was," observes that writer "a great divine, a profound and various scholar, eminently read in ecclesiastical history and antiquity, and an exact chronologist. He united with his learning, clearness of judgment and strength of reason. As a preacher, he was rather instructive than pathetic. The character of the clergyman was adorned by an excellent temper, distinguished humility, primitive piety, and spotless manners. As a bishop, he was deemed too remiss and easy in his function. 'He was,' says Bishop Burnet, 'a striking instance of what a great man could fall to; for his memory went from him so entirely, that he became a child some years before he died.' His late preferment to the episcopacy, and the great decay of his faculties, which it is to be supposed came on gradually, may account for his remissness in that station."

Pearson took a leading part as a commissioner in the Savoy Conference. His calmness and sobriety in that famous dispute, coupled with the proofs he exhibited of his profound learning, have been much commended. He was one of those clergymen who joined the Royal Society, and interested themselves in promoting its laudable objects. He died in 1686.

Bishop Pearson's great work is characterised by solidity of argument, compression of style, and a strictness of method which is more frequently to be found in the age to which he now belonged (1659) than among the contemporaries of his youth.

In the treatment of his subject, he "prosecuted," as he himself writes, "this method, first, to settle the words of each article, according to their antiquity and generality of reception in the creed. Secondly, to explicate and unfold the terms, and to endeavour a right notion and conception of them as they are to be understood in the same. Thirdly, to show what are those truths which are naturally contained in those terms so explicated; and to make it appear that they are truths indeed, by such arguments and reasons as are respectively proper to evidence the verity of them. Fourthly, to declare what is the necessity of believing those truths, what efficacy and influence they have in the soul, and upon the life, of the believer. Lastly, by a recollection of all, briefly to deliver the sum of every particular truth, so that every one

when he pronounceth the creed may know what he ought to intend, and what he is understood to profess when he so pronounceth it."

It is manifest, that an exposition of the Creed conducted on this plan, with all that amplitude of learning which Pearson had at his command, would present a complete body of divinity; as, in fact, this masterly production unquestionably is. Another point, also noticed by him in his preface, in which he has improved on the plans of most of his learned predecessors, is, his having thrown the citations from his numerous but well-selected authorities into the marginal notes, instead of allowing them, after the old method, to encumber the text.

The other publications of Bishop Pearson's are,—

Excellency of the Forms of Prayer, especially the Lord's Prayer. 4to. 1644.

Prolegomena ad Hieroclem. 8vo. 1655.

No Necessity of Reformation of the Public Doctrine of the Church of England. 4to. 1660.

Vindiciæ Epistolarum S. Ignatii. 4to. 1672. This defence of the apostolic father was occasioned by the attack of Daillé.

Annales Cyprianici, published in 1682, with Fell's edition of Cyprian's Works.

Bishop Pearson published one or two single sermons. The preface to the *Golden Remains* of John Hales, containing an able character of that remarkable scholar, is likewise, as we have already seen, the composition of this prelate. He also appeared, in some other instances, as an editor; and the Cambridge Collections exhibit evidence of his ability as a writer of Latin verse.

In the year 1688 appeared, in 4to, his *Opera Posthuma Chronologica*, viz., *de Serie et Successione Romæ Episcoporum, Dissertationes duæ; quibus præfiguntur Annales Paulini, et Lectiones in Acta Apostolorum*; edited by Henry Dodwell. Besides the contents of this volume, he is said to have left, in MS., very large additions to Hesychius's *Greek Lexicon*.

An edition of Bishop Pearson's works, which is to comprise several productions not hitherto published, has been for some time in preparation by the Rev. W. B. Churton, M.A.; and is expected shortly to make its appearance.

THE ETERNAL EXISTENCE AND ESSENTIAL DIVINITY OF CHRIST.

THAT Jesus Christ had a real existence or being, by which he truly was, before he was conceived of the Virgin Mary, I thus demonstrate. He which was really in heaven, and truly descended from thence, and came into the world from the Father, before that which was begotten of the virgin ascended into heaven or went unto the Father, he had a real being or existence before he was conceived in the Virgin, and distinct from that being which was conceived in her. This is most clear and evident, upon these three suppositions not to be denied. First, that Christ did receive no other being or nature after his conception before his ascension, than what was begotten of the Virgin. Secondly, that what was begotten of the Virgin had its first being here on earth, and therefore could not really be in heaven till it ascended thither. Thirdly, that what was really in heaven, really was; because nothing can be present in any place, which is not. Upon these suppositions, certainly true, the first proposition cannot be denied. Wherefore I assume: Jesus Christ was really in heaven, and truly descended from thence, and came into the world from the Father, before that which was begotten of the Virgin ascended into heaven, or went unto the Father; as I shall particularly prove by the express words of the scripture. Therefore I conclude, that Jesus Christ had a real being or existence before he was conceived in the Virgin, and distinct from that being which was conceived in her. Now that he was really in heaven before he ascended thither, appeareth by his own words to his disciples; "What and if you shall see the Son of man ascend up where he was before!" For he speaketh of a real ascension, such as was to be seen or looked upon, such as they might view as spectators. The place to which that ascension tended was truly and really the heaven of heavens. The verb substantive, not otherwise used, sufficiently testifieth, not a figurative, but a real, being, especially considering the opposition in the word before. Whether we look upon the time of speaking, then present, or the time of his ascension, then to come, his being or existing in heaven was before. Nor is this now at last denied, that he was in heaven before the ascension mentioned in these words, but that he was there before he ascended at all. We shall therefore farther shew that this ascension was the first; that what was born of the Virgin was never in heaven before this time of which he speaks; and being in heaven before this ascension, he must be acknowledged to have been there before he ascended at all. If Christ had ascended into heaven before his death, and descended from thence, it had been the most remarkable action in all his life, and the proof thereof of the greatest efficacy toward

the disseminating of the gospel. And can we imagine so divine an action of so high concernment could have passed, and none of the Evangelists ever make mention of it? Those which are so diligent in the description of his nativity and circumcision, his oblation in the temple, his reception by Simeon, his adoration by the wise men; those which have described his descent into Egypt; would they have omitted his ascent into heaven? Do they tell us of the wisdom which he shewed when he disputed with the doctors? and were it not worthy our knowledge whether it were before he was in heaven or after? The diligent seeking of Joseph and Mary, and her words when they found him, "Son, why hast thou dealt so with us?" shew that he had not been missing from them till then, and consequently not ascended into heaven. After that he went down to Nazareth, and was subject to them: and I understand not how he should ascend into heaven, and at the same time be subject to them; or there receive his commission and instructions as the great Legate of God, or ambassador from heaven, and return again unto his old subjection; and afterwards to go to John to be baptized of him, and to expect the descent of the Spirit for his inauguration. Immediately from Jordan he is carried into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil: and it were strange if any time could then be found for his ascension: for he was forty days in the wilderness, and certainly heaven is no such kind of place; he was all that time with the beasts, who undoubtedly are none of the celestial hierarchy; and tempted of Satan, whose dominion reacheth no higher than the air. Wherefore in those forty days Christ ascended not into heaven, but rather heaven descended unto him; for "the angels ministered unto him." After this "he returned in the power of the Spirit into Galilee," and there exercised his prophetical office: after which there is not the least pretence of any reason for his ascension. Beside, the whole frame of this antecedent or preparatory ascension of Christ is not only raised without any written testimony of the word, or unwritten testimony of tradition, but is without any reason in itself, and contrary to the revealed way of our redemption. For what reason should Christ ascend into heaven to know the will of God, and not be known to ascend thither? Certainly the Father could reveal his will unto the Son as well on earth as in heaven. And if men must be ignorant of his ascension, to what purpose should they say he ascended, except they imagine either an impotency in the Father, or dissatisfaction in the Son? Nor is this only asserted without reason, but also against that rule to be observed by Christ as he was anointed to the sacerdotal office. For the Holy of holies made with hands was the figure of the true, (that is, heaven itself) into which the high-priest alone went once every year:

and Christ as our high-priest entered in once into the holy place. (Heb. ix.) If then they deny Christ was a priest before he preached the gospel, then did he not enter into heaven, because the high-priest alone went into the type thereof, the holy of holies. If they confess he was, then did he not ascend till after his death, because he was to enter in but once, and that not without blood. Wherefore being Christ ascended not into heaven till after his death, being he certainly was in heaven before that ascension, we have sufficiently made good that part of our argument, that Jesus Christ was in heaven before that which was begotten of the Virgin ascended thither. Now that which followeth will both illustrate and confirm it; for as he was there, so he descended from thence before he ascended thither. This he often testifieth and inculcateth of himself: "The bread of God is he which cometh down from heaven;" and, "I am the living bread which came down from heaven." He opposeth himself unto the manna in the wilderness, which never was really in heaven, or had its original from thence. "Moses gave you not that bread from heaven:" but the Father gave Christ really from thence. Wherefore he saith, "I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me" (John vi). Now never any person upon any occasion is said to descend from heaven, but such as were really there before they appeared on earth, as the Father, the Holy Ghost, and the angels: but no man, however born, however sanctified, sent, or dignified, is said thereby to descend from thence; but rather when any is opposed to Christ, the opposition is placed in this very origination. John the Baptist was "filled with the Holy Ghost even from his mother's womb;" born of an aged father and a barren mother, by the power of God: and yet he distinguisheth himself from Christ in this; "He that cometh from above is above all: he that is of the earth is earthy, and speaketh of the earth; he that cometh from heaven is above all" (John iii. 31). Adam was framed immediately by God, without the intervention of man or woman; and yet he is so far from being thereby from heaven, that even in that he is distinguished from the second Adam. For "the first man is of the earth, earthy; the second man is the Lord from heaven" (1 Cor. xv. 47). Wherefore the descent of Christ from heaven doth really presuppose his being there, and that antecedently to any ascent thither. For, "that he ascended, what is it but that he also descended first?" So St. Paul, asserting a descent as necessarily preceding his ascension, teacheth us never to imagine an ascent of Christ as his first motion between heaven and earth; and consequently, that the first being or existence which Christ had, was not what he received by his conception here on earth, but what he had before in heaven, in respect whereof he was

with the Father, from whom he came. His disciples believed that he "came out from God:" and he commended that faith, and confirmed the object of it by this assertion: "I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world: again, I leave the world and go to the Father" (John xvi. 27). Thus having, by undoubted testimonies, made good the latter part of the argument, I may safely conclude, that being Christ was really in heaven, and descended from thence, and came forth from the Father, before that which was conceived of the Holy Ghost ascended thither; it cannot with any shew of reason be denied, that Christ had a real being and existence antecedent unto his conception here on earth, and distinct from the being which he received here.

Secondly, we shall prove not only a bare priority of existence, but a pre-existence of some certain and acknowledged space of duration. For whosoever was before John the Baptist and before Abraham, was some space of time before Christ was man. This no man can deny, because all must confess the blessed Virgin was first saluted by the angel six months after Elizabeth conceived, and many hundred years after Abraham died. But Jesus Christ was really existent before John the Baptist, and before Abraham, as we shall make good by the testimony of the Scriptures. Therefore it cannot be denied but Christ had a real being and existence some space of time before he was made man. For the first, it is the express testimony of John himself: "This is he of whom I spake, He that cometh after me is preferred before me, for he was before me" (John i. 15). In which words, first, he taketh to himself a priority of time, speaking of Christ, "he that cometh after me:" for so he came after him into the womb, at his conception; into the world, at his nativity; unto his office, at his baptism; always after John, and at the same distance. Secondly, he attributeth unto Christ a priority of dignity, saying, "he is preferred before me;" as appeareth by the reiteration of these words: "He it is who, coming after me, is preferred before me, whose shoes' latchet I am not worthy to unloose" (John i. 27). The addition of which expression of his own unworthiness sheweth, that to be preferred before him is the same with being worthier than he, to which the same expression is constantly added by all the other three evangelists. Thirdly, he rendereth the reason or cause of that great dignity which belonged to Christ, saying, "for," or rather because "he was before me." And being the cause must be supposed different and distinct from the effect, therefore the priority last mentioned cannot be that of dignity. For to assign any thing as the cause or reason of itself, is a great absurdity, and the expression of it a vain tautology. Wherefore that priority must have relation to time or duration, (as the very tense, "he was before me," sufficiently signifieth) and so be placed in oppo-

sition to his coming after him. As if John the Baptist had thus spoke at large: This man Christ Jesus, who came into the world, and entereth on his prophetical office six months after me, is, notwithstanding, of far more worth and greater dignity than I am; even so much greater, that I must acknowledge myself unworthy to stoop down and unloose the latchet of his shoes: and the reason of this transcendent dignity is from the excellency of that nature which he had before I was; for though he cometh after me, yet he was before me.

Now as Christ was before John, which speaks a small, so was he also before Abraham, which speaks a larger, time. Jesus himself hath asserted this pre-existence to the Jews: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Before Abraham was, I am" (John viii. 58). Which words, plainly and literally expounded, must evidently contain this truth. For first, Abraham in all the scriptures never hath any other signification than such as denotes the person called by that name; and the question to which these words are directed by way of answer, without controversy spake of the same person. Beside, Abraham must be the subject of that proposition, "Abraham was;" because a proposition cannot be without a subject, and if Abraham be the predicate, there is none. Again, as we translate "Abraham was," in a tense signifying the time past; so it is most certainly to be understood, because that which he speaks unto is the pre-existence of Abraham, and that of long duration; so that whatsoever had concerned his present estate or future condition had been wholly impertinent to the precedent question. Lastly, the expression, "I am," seeming something unusual or improper to signify a priority in respect of any thing past, because no present instance is before that which precedeth, but that which followeth; yet the use of it sufficiently maintaineth, and the nature of the place absolutely requireth, that it should not here denote a present being, but a priority of existence, together with a continuation of it till the present time. And then the words will plainly signify thus much: Do you question how I could see Abraham, who am not yet fifty years old? Verily, verily, I say unto you, before ever Abraham, the person whom you speak of, was born, I had a real being and existence, (by which I was capable of the sight of him,) in which I have continued until now. In this sense, certainly, the Jews understood our Saviour's answer, as pertinent to their question, but in their opinion blasphemous; and therefore they took up stones to cast at him.

This literal and plain explication is yet farther necessary; because those which once recede from it, do not only wrest and pervert the place, but also invent and suggest an answer unworthy of and wholly misbecoming him that spake it. For (setting aside the addition, of the "light of the world[1]," which there can be no shew or reason to admit,)

[1] Inserted in this place by the Socinians, from ver. 12.

whether they interpret the former part ("before Abraham was") of something to come, as the calling of the Gentiles, or the latter ("I am") of a pre-existence in the Divine foreknowledge and appointment; they represent Christ with a great asseveration highly and strongly asserting that which is nothing to the purpose to which he speaks, nothing to any other purpose at all; and they propound the Jews senselessly offended and foolishly exasperated with those words, which any of them might have spoken as well as he. For the first interpretation makes our Saviour thus to speak: Do ye so much wonder how I should have seen Abraham, who am not yet fifty years old? Do ye imagine so great a contradiction in this? I tell you, and be ye most assured that what I speak unto you at this time is most certain and infallibly true, and most worthy of your observation, which moves me not to deliver it without this solemn asseveration, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Before Abraham shall perfectly become that which was signified in his name, "the father of many nations," before the Gentiles shall come in, "I am." Nor be ye troubled at this answer, or think in this I magnify myself; for what I speak is as true of you as it is of me: before Abraham be thus made Abraham, ye are. Doubt ye not, therefore, as he did, nor ever make that question again, whether I have seen Abraham. The second explication makes a sense of another nature, but with the same impertinency: Do ye continue still to question, and that with so much admiration? Do ye look upon my age, and ask, Hast thou seen Abraham? I confess it is more than eighteen hundred years since that patriarch died, and less than forty since I was born at Bethlehem: but look not on this computation, for before Abraham was born I was. But mistake me not, I mean in the foreknowledge and decree of God. Nor do I magnify myself in this, for ye were so. How either of these answers should give any reasonable satisfaction to the question, or the least occasion of the Jews exasperation, is not to be understood. And that our Saviour should speak any such impertinencies as these interpretations bring forth, is not by a Christian to be conceived. Wherefore being the plain and most obvious sense is a proper and full answer to the question, and most likely to exasperate the unbelieving Jews; being those strained explications render the words of Christ, not only impertinent to the occasion, but vain and useless to the hearers of them; being our Saviour gave this answer in words of another language, most probably incapable of any such interpretations: we must adhere unto that literal sense already delivered, by which it appeareth Christ had a being as before John, so also before Abraham, (not only before Abram became Abraham, but before Abraham was Abram,) and consequently that he did exist two thousand years before he was born, or conceived by the Virgin.

Thirdly, we shall extend this pre-existence to a far longer space of time, to the end of the first world, nay, to the beginning of it. For he which was before the flood, and at the creation of the world, had a being before he was conceived by the Virgin. But Christ was really before the flood; for he preached to them that lived before it, and at the creation of the world, for he created it. That he preached to those before the flood, is evident by the words of St. Peter, who saith, that Christ "was put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the spirit; by which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison, which sometime were disobedient, when once the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing" (1 Pet. iii. 18—20). From which words it appeareth that Christ preached by the same Spirit by the virtue of which he was raised from the dead: but that Spirit was not his soul, but something of a greater power. Secondly, that those to whom he preached were such as were disobedient. Thirdly, that the time when they were disobedient was the time before the flood, while the ark was preparing. It is certain then that Christ did preach unto those persons which in the days of Noah were disobedient all that time the long-suffering of God waited, and, consequently, so long as repentance was offered. And it is as certain that he never preached to them after they died; which I shall not need here to prove, because those against whom I bring this argument deny it not. It followeth, therefore, that he preached to them while they lived, and were disobedient; for in the refusing of that mercy which was offered to them by the preaching of Christ, did their disobedience principally consist. In vain then are we taught to understand St. Peter of the promulgation of the gospel to the Gentiles after the Holy Ghost descended upon the apostles, when the words themselves refuse all relation to any such times or persons. For all those of whom St. Peter speaks were disobedient in the days of Noah. But none of those to whom the apostles preached were ever disobedient in the days of Noah. Therefore none of those to which the apostles preached were any of those of which St. Peter speaks. It remaineth, therefore, that the plain interpretation be acknowledged for the true, that Christ did preach unto those men which lived before the flood, even while they lived, and consequently that he was before it. For though this was not done by an immediate act of the Son of God, as if he personally had appeared on earth, and actually preached to that old world; but by the ministry of a prophet, by the sending of Noah, "the eighth preacher of righteousness:" yet to do anything by another not able to perform it without him, as much demonstrates the existence of the principal cause, as if he did it of himself without any intervening instrument.

The second part of the argument, that Christ made this world, and

consequently had a real being at the beginning of it, the Scriptures manifestly and plentifully assure us. For the same Son, "by whom in these last days God spake unto us," is he "by whom also he made the worlds" (Heb. i. 2). So that, as "through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God," so must we also believe that they were made by the Son of God: which the apostle doth not only in the entrance of his epistle deliver, but in the sequel prove. For, shewing greater things have been spoken of him than ever were attributed to any of the angels, the most glorious of all the creatures of God, amongst the rest he saith, the Scripture spake "unto the Son, Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever." "And" not only so, but also, "Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the work of thine hands: they shall perish, but thou remainest: and they all shall wax old as doth a garment; and as a vesture thou shalt fold them up, and they shall be changed: but thou art the same, and thy years shall not fail" (Heb. i. 8—12). Now whatsoever the person be to whom these words were spoken, it cannot be denied but he was the Creator of the world; for he must be acknowledged the maker of the earth, who laid the foundation of it, and he may justly challenge to himself the making of the heavens, who can say they are the work of his hands. But these words were spoken to the Son of God, as the apostle himself acknowledgeth, and it appeareth out of the order and series of the chapter, the design of which is to declare the supereminent excellency of our Saviour Christ. Nay, the conjunction "and" refers this place of the Psalmist plainly to the former, of which he had said expressly, "but unto the Son he saith." As sure then as "thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever," was said unto the Son; so certain it is, "Thou, Lord, hast laid the foundation of the earth," was said unto the same. Nor is it possible to avoid the apostle's connexion by attributing the destruction of the heavens, out of the last words, to the Son, and denying the creation of them, out of the first, to the same. For it is most evident that there is but one person spoken to, and that the destruction and creation of the heavens are both attributed to the same. Whosoever, therefore, shall grant that the Apostle produced this scripture to shew that the Son of God shall destroy the heavens, must withal acknowledge that He created them: whosoever denieth him to be here spoken of as the Creator, must also deny him to be understood as the Destroyer. Wherefore being the words of the Psalmist were undoubtedly spoken of and to our Saviour, (or else the apostle hath attributed that unto him which never belonged to him, and consequently the spirit of St. Paul mistook the spirit of David,) being to whomsoever any part of them belongs, the whole is applicable, because they are delivered unto one; being the literal

exposition, is so clear that no man hath ever pretended to a metaphorical: it remaineth as an undeniable truth, grounded upon the profession of the Psalmist, and the interpretation of an apostle, that the Son of God created the world. Nor needed we so long to have insisted upon this testimony, because there are so many which testify as much, but only that this is of a peculiar nature, and different from the rest. For they which deny this truth of the creation of the world by the Son of God, notwithstanding all those scriptures produced to confirm it, have found two ways to avoid or decline the force of them. If they speak so plainly and literally of the work of creation, that they will not endure any figurative interpretation, then they endeavour to shew that they are not spoken of the Son of God. If they speak so expressly of our Saviour Christ, as that by no machination they can be applied to any other person, then their whole design is to make the creation attributed unto him appear to be merely metaphorical. The place before alleged is of the first kind, which speaketh so clearly of the creation or real production of the world, that they never denied it: and I have so manifestly shewed it spoken to the Son of God, that it is beyond all possibility of gainsaying.

Thus having asserted the creation acknowledged real unto Christ, we shall the easier persuade that likewise to be such which is pretended to be metaphorical. In the Epistle to the Colossians we read of the Son of God, "in whom we have redemption through his blood;" and we are sure those words can be spoken of none other than Jesus Christ. He therefore it must be who was thus described by the apostle: "Who is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature. For by him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible; whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by him, and for him. And he is before all things, and by him all things consist" (Col. i. 15—17). In which words our Saviour is expressly styled the "first-born of every creature," that is, begotten by God, as the Son of his love, antecedently to all other emanations, before any thing proceeded from him, or was framed and created by him. And that precedency is presently proved by this undeniable argument, that all other emanations or productions came from him, and whatsoever received its being by creation was by him created. Which assertion is delivered in the most proper, full, and pregnant expressions imaginable. First, in the vulgar phrase of Moses, as most consonant to his description: "for by him were all things created that are in heaven and that are in earth;" signifying thereby that he speaketh of the same creation. Secondly, by a division which Moses never

used, as describing the production only of corporeal substances: lest therefore those immaterial beings might seem exempted from the Son's creation, because omitted in Moses' description, he addeth, "visible and invisible;" and lest in that invisible world, among the many degrees of the celestial hierarchy, any order might seem exempted from an essential dependence upon him, he nameth those which are of greatest eminence, "whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers," and under them comprehendeth all the rest. Nor doth it yet suffice thus to extend the object of his power by asserting all things to be made by him, except it be so understood as to acknowledge the sovereignty of his person and the authority of his action. For lest we should conceive the Son of God framing the world as a mere instrumental cause which worketh by and for another, he sheweth him as well the final as the efficient cause; for "all things were created by him, and for him." Lastly, whereas all things first receive their being by creation, and when they have received it, continue in the same by virtue of God's conservation, "in whom we live, and move, and have our being;" lest in any thing we should be thought not to depend immediately upon the Son of God, he is described as the Conserver, as well as the Creator; for "he is before all things, and by him all things consist." If then we consider the two last-cited verses by themselves, we cannot deny but they are a most complete description of the Creator of the world; and if they were spoken of God the Father, could be no way injurious to his majesty, who is nowhere more plainly or fully set forth unto us as the maker of the world.

Now although this were sufficient to persuade us to interpret this place of the making of the world; yet it will not be unfit to make use of another reason, which will compel us so to understand it. For undoubtedly there are but two kinds of creation in the language of the scriptures, the one literal, the other metaphorical; one old, the other new; one by way of formation, the other by way of reformation. "If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature" (2 Cor. v. 17), saith St. Paul; and again, "In Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature" (Gal. vi. 15). Instead of which words he had before, "faith working by love." "For we are the workmanship of God, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them" (Eph. ii. 10). From whence it is evident that a new creature is such a person as truly believeth in Christ, and manifesteth that faith by the exercise of good works; and the new creation is the reforming or bringing man into this new condition, which by nature or his first creation he was not in. And therefore he which is so created is called a new man, in opposition

to "the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts:" from whence the apostle chargeth us to be "renewed in the spirit of our mind," and to "put on that new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness;" and "which is renewed in knowledge, after the image of him that created him" (Col. iii. 10). The new creation then is described to us as consisting wholly in renovation, or a translation from a worse unto a better condition by way of reformation; by which those which have lost the image of God, in which the first man was created, are restored to the image of the same God again, by a real change, though not substantial, wrought within them. Now this being the notion of the new creation in all those places which undoubtedly and confessedly speak of it, it will be necessary to apply it unto such scriptures as are pretended to require the same interpretation. Thus therefore I proceed. If the second or new creation cannot be meant by the apostle in the place produced out of the Epistle to the Colossians, then it must be interpreted of the first. For there are but two kinds of creation mentioned in the scriptures, and one of them is there expressly named. But the place of the apostle can no way admit an interpretation by the new creation, as will thus appear: The object of the creation mentioned in this place is of as great latitude and universality as the object of the first creation, not only expressed, but implied, by Moses. But the object of the new creation is not of the same latitude with that of the old. Therefore that which is mentioned here cannot be the new creation. For certainly if we reflect upon the true notion of the new creation, it necessarily and essentially includes an opposition to a former worse condition, as the new man is always opposed to the old; and if Adam had continued still in innocency, there could have been no such distinction between the old man and the new, or the old and new creation. Being then all men become not new, being there is no new creature but such whose faith worketh by love, being so many millions of men have neither faith nor love; it cannot be said that by Christ all things were created anew that are in heaven and that are in earth, when the greatest part of mankind have no share in the new creation. Again, we cannot imagine that the apostle should speak of the creation in a general word, intending thereby only the new, and while he doth so, express particularly and especially those parts of the old creation which are incapable of the new, or at least have no relation to it. The angels are all either good or bad: but whether they be bad, they can never be good again, nor did Christ come to redeem the devils; or whether they be good, they were always such, nor were they so by the virtue of Christ's incarnation, for "he took not on him the nature of angels." We acknowledge in mankind a new

creation, because an old man becomes a new; but there is no such notion in the celestial hierarchy, because no old and new angels: they which fell, are fallen for eternity; they which stand, always stood and shall stand for ever. Where then are the regenerated "thrones and dominions?" where are the recreated "principalities and powers?" All those angels, of whatsoever degrees, were created by the Son of God, as the Apostle expressly affirms. But they were never created by a new creation unto true holiness and righteousness, because they always were truly righteous and holy ever since their first creation. Therefore except we could yet invent another creation, which were neither the old nor the new, we must conclude, that all the angels were at first created by the Son of God; and as they, so all things else, especially man, whose creation all the first writers of the Church of God expressly attribute unto the Son, asserting that those words, "Let us make man," were spoken as by the Father unto him.

Nor need we doubt of this interpretation, or the doctrine arising from it, seeing it is so clearly delivered by St. John: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made" (John i. 1—3). Whereas we have proved Christ had a being before he was conceived by the Virgin Mary, because he was at the beginning of the world; and have also proved that he was at the beginning of the world, because he made it; this place of St. John gives a sufficient testimony to the truth of both the last together. "In the beginning was the Word;" and that Word made flesh is Christ: therefore Christ was in the beginning. "All things were made by him:" therefore he created the world. Indeed nothing can be more clearly penned, to give full satisfaction in this point, than these words of St. John, which seem with a strange brevity designed to take off all objections, and remove all prejudice, before they teach so strange a truth. Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, and his age was known to them for whom this gospel was penned. St. John would teach that this Christ did make the world, which was created at least four thousand years before his birth. The name of Jesus was given him since at his circumcision: the title of Christ belonged unto his office, which he exercised not till thirty years after. Neither of these with any shew of probability will reach to the creation of the world. Wherefore he produceth a name of his, as yet unknown to the world, or rather not taken notice of, though in frequent use among the Jews, which belonged unto him who was made man, but before he was so. Under this name he shews at first that he had a being in the beginning; when all things were to be created, and consequently were

not yet, then, in the beginning was the Word, and so not created. This is the first step, the Word was not created when the world was made. The next is, that the same Word which then was, and was not made, at the same time "was with God," when he made all things: and therefore well may we conceive it was he to whom "God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness;" and of whom those words may be understood, "Behold, the man is become as one of us." After this, lest any should conceive the creation of the world too great and divine a work to be attributed to the Word; lest any should object, that none can produce any thing out of nothing but God himself; he addeth, that the Word, as he was with God, so was he also God. Again, lest any should divide the Deity, or frame a false conception of different Gods, he returns unto the second assertion, and joins it with the first; "The same was in the beginning with God:" and then delivers that which at the first seemed strange, but now, after those three propositions, may easily be accepted; "All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made." For now this is no new doctrine, but only an interpretation of those scriptures which told us, God made all things by his word before. For "God said, Let there be light; and there was light." And so, "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth." From whence "we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God" (Heb. xi. 3). Neither was it a new interpretation, but that which was most familiar to the Jews, who in their synagogues, by the reading of the pharaphrase, or the interpretation of the Hebrew text in the Chaldee language, were constantly taught that the Word of God was the same with God, and that by that Word all things were made. Which undoubtedly was the cause why St. John delivered so great a mystery in so few words, as speaking unto them who at the first apprehension understood him. Only that which as yet they knew not was, that this Word was made flesh, and that this Word made flesh was Jesus Christ. Wherefore this exposition being so literally clear in itself, so consonant to the notion of the Word, and the apprehension of the Jews; it is infinitely to be preferred before any such interpretation as shall restrain the most universals to a few particulars, change the plainest expressions into figurative phrases, and make of a sublime truth a weak, useless, false discourse. For who will grant that "in the beginning" must be the same with that in St. John's Epistle, "from the beginning," especially when the very interpretation involves in itself a contradiction? For "the beginning" in St. John's Epistle is that in which the apostles saw, and heard, and touched the Word: "the beginning" in his Gospel was that in which the Word was with God, that is, not seen nor heard by

the apostles, but known as yet to God alone, as the new exposition will have it. Who will conceive it worthy of the apostle's assertion, to teach that the Word had a being in the beginning of the Gospel, at what time John the Baptist began to preach, when we know the Baptist taught as much, who therefore "came baptizing with water," that he might be "made manifest unto Israel"? (John i. 31), when we are sure that St. Matthew and St. Luke, who wrote before him, taught us more than this, that he had a being thirty years before? when we are assured it was as true of any other then living as of the Word, even of Judas who betrayed him, even of Pilate who condemned him? Again, who can imagine the apostle should assert that the Word was, that is, had an actual being, when as yet he was not actually the Word? For if "the beginning" be when John the Baptist began to preach, and the Word, as they say, be nothing else but he which speaketh, and so revealeth the will of God; Christ had not then revealed the will of God, and consequently was not then actually the Word, but only potentially or by designation. Secondly, it is a strange figurative speech, "the Word was with God," that is, was known to God, especially in this apostle's method. "In the beginning was the Word;" there, *was* must signify an actual existence: and if so, why in the next sentence ("the Word was with God") shall the same verb signify an objective being only? Certainly though to be in the beginning be one thing, and to be with God another; yet *to be* in either of them is the same. But if we should imagine this being understood of the knowledge of God, why we should grant that thereby is signified he was known to God alone, I cannot conceive. For the proposition of itself is plainly affirmative, and the exclusive particle *only* added to the exposition maketh it clearly negative. Nay more, the affirmative sense is certainly true, the negative as certainly false. For except Gabriel be God, who came to the Virgin; except every one of the heavenly host which appeared to the shepherds be God; except Zachary and Elizabeth, except Simeon and Anna, except Joseph and Mary, be God; it cannot be true that he was known to God only, for to all these he was certainly known. Thirdly, to pass by the third attribute, "and the Word was God," as having occasion suddenly after to handle it; seeing the apostle hath again repeated the circumstance of time as most material, "the same was in the beginning with God," and immediately subjoined those words, "all things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made;" how can we receive any exposition which referreth not the making of all these things to him in the beginning? But if we understand the latter part of the apostles, who after the ascension of our Saviour did nothing but what they were commanded and empowered to do by Christ, it will bear no relation to the beginning. If we interpret the former,

of all which Jesus said and did in the promulgation of the gospel, we cannot yet reach to the beginning assigned by the new expositors. For while John the Baptist only preached, while in their sense the Word was with God, they will not affirm that Jesus did any of these things that here are spoken of. And consequently, according to their grounds, it will be true to say, In the beginning was the Word, and that Word in the beginning was with God, insomuch as in the beginning nothing was done by him, but without him were all things done which were done in the beginning. Wherefore, in all reason we should stick to the known interpretation, in which every word receiveth its own proper signification, without any figurative distortion, and is preserved in its due latitude and extension without any curtailing restriction. And therefore I conclude from the undeniable testimony of St. John, that in the beginning, when the heavens and the earth and all the hosts of them were created, all things were made by the Word, who is Christ Jesus being made flesh; and consequently, by the method of argument, as the apostle antecedently by the method of nature, that in the beginning Christ was. He then who was in heaven and descended from thence before that which was begotten of the Virgin ascended thither, he who was before John the Baptist and before Abraham, he who was at the end of the first world, and at the beginning of the same; he had a real being and existence before Christ was conceived by the Virgin Mary. But all these we have already shewed belong unto the Son of God. Therefore we must acknowledge, that Jesus Christ had a real being and existence before he was begotten by the Holy Ghost.

The second assertion, next to be made good, is that the being which Christ had before he was conceived by the Virgin was not any created, but the Divine, essence, by which he always was truly, really, and properly God. This will evidently and necessarily follow from the last demonstration of the first assertion, the creating all things by the Son of God: from whence we inferred his pre-existence in the beginning assuring us as much that he was God, as that he was. For "he that built all things is God" (Heb. iii. 4). And the same apostle which assures us "all things were made by him," at the same time tells us, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." Where "in the beginning" must not be denied unto the third proposition, because it cannot be denied unto the second. Therefore, "in the beginning, or ever the earth was, the Word was God," the same God with whom he was. For we cannot, with any shew of reason, either imagine that he was with one God, and was another, because there can be no more supreme Gods than one; or conceive that the apostle should speak of one kind of God in the second, and of another in the third proposition; in the second, of a God eternal and independent; in the third,

of a made and depending God. Especially, first, considering that the eternal God was so constantly among the Jews called the Word, the only reason which we can conceive why the apostle should thus use this phrase: and then observing the manner of St. John's writing, who rises strangely by degrees, making the last word of the former sentence the first of that which followeth: as, "In him was life, and the life was the light of men; and the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not:" so, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word," which so was in the beginning, "was with God, and the Word was God" (John i. 4, 5); that is, the same God with whom the Word was in the beginning. But he could not be the same God with him any other way, than by having the same Divine essence. Therefore, the being which Christ had before he was conceived by the Virgin, was the Divine nature, by which he was properly and really God.

Secondly, He who was subsisting in the form of God, and thought himself to be equal with God, (in which thought he could not be deceived, nor be injurious to God) must of necessity be truly and essentially God: because there can be no equality between the Divine essence, which is infinite, and any other whatsoever, which must be finite. But this is true of Christ, and that antecedently to his conception in the Virgin's womb, and existence in his human nature. For "being" (or rather *subsisting*) "in the form of God, he thought it not robbery to be equal with God: but emptied himself, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men" (Phil. ii. 6, 7). Out of which words naturally result three propositions, fully demonstrating our assertion. First, That Christ was in the form of a servant as soon as he was made man. Secondly, That he was in the form of God before he was in the form of a servant. Thirdly, That he was in the form of God, that is, did as truly and really subsist in the Divine nature, as in the form of a servant, or in the nature of man. It is a vain imagination, that our Saviour then first appeared a servant when he was apprehended, bound, scourged, crucified. For they were not all slaves which ever suffered such indignities, or died that death; and when they did, their death did not make, but find them, or suppose them servants. Beside, our Saviour in all the degrees of his humiliation never lived as a servant unto any master on earth. It is true, at first he was subject, but as a son, to his reputed father and undoubted mother. When he appeared in public he lived after the manner of a prophet, and a doctor sent from God, accompanied with a family, as it were, of his apostles, whose master he professed himself, subject to the commands of no man in that office, and obedient only unto God. The "form" then "of a servant" which "he took upon him" must consist in something distinct from his sufferings, or submission unto men; as the

condition in which he was when he so submitted and so suffered. In that he was "made flesh," sent "in the likeness of sinful flesh" (Rom. viii. 3), subject unto all infirmities and miseries of this life attending on the sons of men fallen by the sin of Adam: in that he was "made of a woman, made under the law" (Gal. iv. 4), and so obliged to perform the same; which law did so handle the children of God, as that they differed nothing from servants: in that he was born, bred, and lived in a mean, low, and abject condition; "as a root out of a dry ground, he had no form, no comeliness," and "when they saw him, there was no beauty that they should desire him;" but "was despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief" (Is. lii. 2, 3). In that he was thus made man, he "took upon him the form of a servant." Which is not mine, but the apostle's explication; as adding it not by way of conjunction, in which there might be some diversity, but by way of apposition, which signifieth a clear identity. And therefore it is necessary to observe, that our translation of that verse is not only not exact, but very disadvantageous to that truth which is contained in it. For we read it thus: "He made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men." Where we have two copulative conjunctions, neither of which is in the original text, and three distinct propositions, without any dependence of one upon the other; whereas all the words together are but an expression of Christ's exinanition, with an explication shewing in what it consisteth: which will clearly appear by this literal translation, "But emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men." Where if any man doubt how Christ emptied himself, the text will satisfy him—by taking the form of a servant; if any still question how he took the form of a servant, he hath the apostle's resolution—by being made in the likeness of men. Indeed, after the expression of this exinanition, he goes on with a conjunction, to add another act of Christ's humiliation: "And being found in fashion as a man," being already by his exinanition in the form of a servant, or the likeness of men, "he humbled himself, and became," or rather *becoming*, "obedient unto death, even the death of the cross." As therefore his humiliation consisted in his obedience unto death, so his exinanition consisted in the assumption of the form of a servant, and that in the nature of a man. All which is very fitly expressed by a strange interpretation on the Epistle to the Hebrews. For whereas these words are clearly in the Psalmist, "Sacrifice and offering thou didst not desire, mine ears hast thou opened" (Ps. xl. 6): the apostle appropriateth the sentence to Christ; "When he cometh into the world, he saith, Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared me." Now being the boring of the

ear under the law was a note of perpetual servitude, being this was expressed in the words of the Psalmist, and changed by the apostle into the preparing of a body; it followeth, that when Christ's body first was framed, even then did he assume the form of a servant.

Again, it appeareth out of the same text, that Christ was in the form of God before he was in the form of a servant, and consequently before he was made man. For he which is pre-supposed to be, and to think of that being which he hath, and upon that thought to assume, must have that being before that assumption: but Christ is first expressly said to be in the form of God, and, being so, to think it no robbery to be equal with God; and, notwithstanding that equality, to take upon him the form of a servant: therefore it cannot be denied but he was before in the form of God. Beside, he was not in the form of a servant but by the emptying himself, and all exinanition necessarily pre-supposeth a precedent plenitude; it being as impossible to empty anything which hath no fulness, as to fill anything which hath no emptiness. But the fulness which Christ had, in respect whereof assuming the form of a servant he is said to empty himself, could be nothing else but in the form of God, in which he was before. Wherefore, if the assumption of the form of a servant be contemporary with his exinanition; if that exinanition necessarily pre-supposeth a plenitude as indispensably antecedent to it; if the form of God be also coeval with that precedent plenitude; then must we confess, Christ was in the form of God before he was in the form of a servant: which is the second proposition.

Again, it is as evident from the same Scripture, that Christ was as much in the form of God as the form of a servant, and did as really subsist in the Divine nature as in the nature of man. For he was so "in the form of God," as thereby "to be equal with God." But no other form beside the essential, which is the Divine nature itself, could infer an equality with God. "To whom will ye liken me, and make me equal? saith the Holy One" (Is. xlvi. 5). There can be but one infinite, eternal, and independent Being; and there can be no comparison between that and whatsoever is finite, temporal, and depending. He therefore who did truly think himself equal with God, as being in the form of God, must be conceived to subsist in that one infinite, eternal, and independent nature of God. Again, the phrase, "in the form of God," not elsewhere mentioned, is used by the apostle with a respect unto that other, of the "form of a servant," exegetically continued "in the likeness of man;" and the respect of one unto the other is so necessary, that if the form of God be not as real and essential as the form of a servant, or the likeness of man, there is no force in the apostle's words, nor will his argument be fit to work any degree of humiliation upon the con-

sideration of Christ's exinanition. But by the "form" is certainly understood the true condition of a servant, and by the "likeness" infallibly meant the real nature of man: nor doth the fashion in which he was found destroy, but rather assert, the truth of his humanity. And therefore, as sure as Christ was really and essentially man, of the same nature with us, in whose similitude he was made, so certainly was he also really and essentially God, of the same nature and being with him, in whose form he did subsist. Seeing then we have clearly evinced from the express words of St. Paul, that Christ was in the form of a servant as soon as he was made man, that he was in the form of God before he was in the form of a servant, that the form of God in which he subsisted doth as truly signify the Divine, as the likeness of man the human nature, it necessarily followeth, that Christ had a real existence before he was begotten of the Virgin, and that the being which he had was the Divine essence, by which he was truly, really, and properly God.

Thirdly. He which is expressly styled Alpha and Omega, the first and the last, without any restriction or limitation; as he is after, so was before any time assignable, truly and essentially God. For by this title God describeth his own being, and distinguisheth it from all other. "I the Lord, the first, and with the last, I am he. I am he, I am the first, I also am the last. I am the first, and I am the last, and beside me there is no God" (Is. xli. 4; xlviii. 12; xliv. 6). But Christ is expressly called Alpha and Omega, the first and the last. He so proclaimed himself "by a great voice, as of a trumpet, saying, I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last" (Rev. i. 11). Which answereth to that solemn call and proclamation in the prophet, "Hearken unto me, O Jacob, and Israel my called" (Is. xlviii. 12). He comforteth St. John with the majesty of this title, "Fear not, I am the first and the last." Which words were spoken by one "like unto the Son of man," by him "that liveth, and was dead, and is alive for evermore" (Rev. i. 17, 13, 18); that is, undoubtedly, by Christ. He upholdeth the church of Smyrna in her tribulation, by virtue of the same description: "These things saith the first and the last, which was dead, and is alive" (Ibid. ii. 8). He ascertaineth his coming unto judgment with the same assertion, "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last." And in all these places this title is attributed unto Christ absolutely and universally, without any kind of restriction or limitation, without any assignation of any particular in respect of which he is the first or last; in the same latitude and eminence of expression in which it is or can be attributed to the supreme God. There is yet another Scripture in which the same description may seem of a more dubious interpretation: "I am Alpha

and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty." For being it is "the Lord" who so calls himself, which title belongeth to the Father and the Son, it may be doubted whether it be spoken by the Father or the Son; but whether it be understood of the one or of the other, it will sufficiently make good what we intend to prove. For if they be understood of Christ, as the precedent and the following words imply, then is he certainly that Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty; that is, the supreme eternal God, of the same Divine essence with the Father, who was before described by "him which is, and which was, and which is to come," to whom the six-winged beasts continually cry, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come" (Rev. iv. 8); as the familiar explication of that name which God revealed to Moses (Exod. iii. 14). If they belong unto the supreme God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, then did he so describe himself unto St. John, and express his supreme Deity, that by those words, "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending," he might be known to be the one Almighty and eternal God: and consequently, whosoever should assume that title, must attribute as much unto himself. Wherefore being Christ hath so immediately, and with so great solemnity and frequency, taken the same style upon him by which the Father did express his Godhead, it followeth, that he hath declared himself to be the supreme, almighty, and eternal God. And being thus the Alpha and the first, he was before any time assignable, and consequently before he was conceived of the Virgin; and the being which then he had was the Divine essence, by which he was truly and properly the Almighty and Eternal God.

Fourthly. He whose glory Isaiah saw in the year that king Uzziah died, had a being before Christ was begotten of the Virgin, and that being was the Divine essence, by which he was naturally and essentially God. For he is expressly called the Lord; "Holy, holy, holy, the Lord of Hosts, whose glory filleth the whole earth" (Is. vi. 1, 3); which titles can belong to none beside the one and only God. But Christ was he whose glory Isaiah saw, as St. John doth testify, saying, "These things said Esaias, when he saw his glory, and spake of him" (John xii. 41): and he whose glory he saw, and of whom he spake, was certainly Christ; for of him the apostle treateth in that place, and of none but him. "These things spake Jesus, and departed. But though he" (that is, Jesus) "had done so many miracles before them, yet they believed not on him," that is, Christ, who wrought those miracles. The reason why they believed not on him was, "That the saying of Esaias the prophet might be fulfilled, which he spake, Lord, who hath believed our report?" And as they did not, so they could not

believe in Christ, because that Esaias said again, "He hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their hearts, that they should not see with their eyes, nor understand with their hearts, and be converted, and I should heal them" (John xii. 38, &c.). For those who God foresaw, and the prophet foretold should not believe, could not do it without contradicting the prescience of the one, and the predictions of the other. But the Jews refusing to assent unto the doctrine of our Saviour, were those of whom the prophet spake: "For these things said Esaias when he saw his glory, and spake of him." Now if the glory which Isaiah saw were the glory of Christ, and he of whom Isaiah in that chapter spake were Christ himself, then must those blinded eyes and hardened hearts belong unto these Jews, and then their infidelity was so long since foretold. Thus doth the fixing of that prophecy upon that people, which saw our Saviour's miracles, depend upon Isaiah's vision, and the appropriation of it unto Christ. Wherefore St. John infallibly hath taught us, that the prophet saw the glory of Christ; and the prophet hath as undoubtedly assured us, that he whose glory then he saw was the one omnipotent and eternal God; and consequently both together have sealed this truth, that Christ did then subsist in that glorious majesty of the eternal Godhead.

Lastly. He who, being man, is frequently in the Scriptures called God, and that in such manner, as by that name no other can be understood but the one only and eternal God, he had an existence before he was made man, and the being which then he had was no other than the Divine essence; because all novity is repugnant to the Deity, nor can any be that one God, who was not so from all eternity. But Jesus Christ, being in the nature of man, is frequently in the sacred Scriptures called God; and that name is attributed unto him in such a manner, as by it no other can be understood but the one Almighty and eternal God.

Which may be thus demonstrated. It hath been already proved, and we all agree in this, that there can be but one Divine essence, and so but one supreme God. Wherefore were it not said in the Scriptures, there are "many gods;" did not he himself, who is supreme, call others so; we durst not give that name to any other but to him alone, nor could we think any called God to be any other but that one. It had been then enough to have alleged that Christ is God, to prove his supreme and eternal Deity: whereas, now we are answered, that there are gods many, and therefore it followeth not from that name that he is the one eternal God. But if Christ be none of those many gods, and yet be God, then can he be no other but that one. And that he is not to be numbered with them, is certain, because he is clearly distinguished from them, and opposed to them. We read in the Psalmist, "I have said ye are gods, and all of you are children of the most High" (Ps.

lxxxii. 6). But we must not reckon Christ among those gods, we must not number the only-begotten Son among those children. For "they knew not, neither would they understand, they walked on in darkness:" and whosoever were gods only as they were, either did, or might do so. Whereas Christ, "in whom alone dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead, bodily" (Col. ii. 9), is not only distinguished from, but opposed to, such gods as those, by his disciple's saying, "Now we are sure that thou knowest all things" (John xvi. 30); by himself proclaiming, "I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness" (Ibid. viii. 12). St. Paul hath told us "there be gods many, and lords many:" but withal hath taught us, that "to us there is but one God, the Father, and one Lord, Jesus Christ" (1 Cor. viii. 6). In which words, as the Father is opposed as much unto the "many lords" as "many gods," so is the Son as much unto the "many gods" as "many lords;" the Father being as much Lord as God, and the Son as much God as Lord. Wherefore, being we find in Scripture frequent mention of one God, and, beside that one, an intimation of many gods, and whosoever is called God must either be that one, or one of those many; being we find our blessed Saviour to be wholly opposed to the many gods, and consequently to be none of them, and yet we read him often styled God: it followeth, that that name is attributed to him in such a manner, as by it no other can be understood but the one Almighty and eternal God.

Again, those who deny our Saviour to be the same God with the Father, have invented rules to be the touchstone of the eternal power and Godhead. First, where the name of God is taken absolutely, as the subject of any proposition, it always signifieth the supreme power and majesty, excluding all others from that Deity. Secondly, where the same name is any way used with an article by way of excellency, it likewise signifieth the same supreme Godhead, as admitting others to a communion of Deity, but excluding them from the Supremacy. Upon these two rules they have raised unto themselves this observation, that whensoever the name of God absolutely taken is placed as the subject of any proposition, it is not to be understood of Christ; and wheresoever the same name is spoken of our Saviour, by way of predicate, it never hath an article denoting excellency annexed to it; and consequently leaves him in the number of those gods who are excluded from the majesty of the eternal Deity.

Now though there can be no kind of certainty in any such observations of the articles, because the Greeks promiscuously often use them or omit them, without any reason of their usurpation or omission, (whereof examples are innumerable,) though, if those rules were granted, yet would not their conclusion follow, because the supreme

God is often named (as they confess) without an article, and therefore the same name [may signify the same God when spoken of Christ, as well as when of the Father, so far as can concern the omission of the article: yet, to complete my demonstration, I shall shew, first, that the name of God taken subjectively is to be understood of Christ; secondly, that the same name with the article affixed, is attributed unto him; thirdly, that if it were not so, yet where the article is wanting, there is that added to the predicate which hath as great a virtue to signify that excellency as the article could have.

St. Paul, unfolding the mystery of godliness, hath delivered six propositions together, and the subject of all and each of them is God. "Without controversy great is the mystery of godliness: God was manifested in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory" (1 Tim. iii. 16). And this God, which is the subject of all these propositions, must be understood of Christ, because of him each one is true, and all are so of none but him. He was the Word which was God, and was made flesh, and consequently "God manifested in the flesh." Upon him the Spirit descended at his baptism, and after his ascension was poured upon his apostles, ratifying his commission, and confirming the doctrine which they received from him: wherefore he was "God justified in the Spirit." His nativity the angels celebrated; in the discharge of his office they ministered unto him; at his resurrection and ascension they were present, always ready to confess and adore him: he was therefore "God seen of angels." The apostles preached unto all nations, and he whom they preached was Jesus Christ. The Father "separated St. Paul from his mother's womb, and called him by his grace, to reveal his Son unto him, that he might preach him among the heathen:" therefore he was "God preached unto the Gentiles." John the Baptist spake unto the people, that they should believe on him which should come after him, that is, on Christ Jesus. "We have believed in Jesus Christ," saith St. Paul, who so taught the gaoler trembling at his feet, "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved:" he therefore was "God believed on in the world." When he had been forty days on earth after his resurrection, he was taken visibly up into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of the Father: wherefore he was "God received up into glory." And thus all these six propositions, according to the plain and familiar language of the Scriptures, are infallibly true of Christ, and so of God, as he is taken by St. John, when he speaks those words, "the Word was God." But all these cannot be understood of any other, which either is, or is called, God. For though we grant the Divine perfections and attributes to be the same with the Divine

essence, yet are they never in the Scriptures called God; nor can any of them, with the least shew of probability, be pretended as the subject of these propositions, or afford any tolerable interpretation. When they tell us[1] that God, that is, the will of God, was manifested in the flesh, that is, was revealed by frail and mortal men, and received up in glory, that is, was received gloriously on earth, they teach us a language which the Scriptures know not, and the Holy Ghost never used. And as no attribute, so no person but the Son can be here understood under the name of God: not the Holy Ghost, for he is distinguished from him as being justified by the Spirit; not the Father, who was not manifested in the flesh, nor received up in glory. It remaineth therefore that, whereas the Son is the only person to whom all these clearly and undoubtedly belong, which are here jointly attributed unto God, as sure as the Name of God is expresssed universally in the copies of the original language, so thus absolutely and subjectively taken must it be understood of Christ.

Again, St. Paul speaketh thus to the elders of the Church of Ephesus: "Take heed unto yourselves, and to all the flock over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood" (Acts xx. 28). In these words this doctrinal proposition is clearly contained, God hath purchased the Church with his own blood. For there is no other word either in or near the text which can by any grammatical construction be joined with the verb, except the Holy Ghost, to whom the predicate is repugnant, both in respect of the act, or our redemption, and of the means, the blood. If then the Holy Ghost hath not purchased the Church; if he hath not blood to shed for our redemption, and "without bloodshed there is no remission;" if there be no other word to which, according to the literal construction, the act of purchasing can be applied; if the Name of God, most frequently joined to his Church, be immediately and properly applicable, by all rules of syntax, to the verb which followeth it; then is it of necessity to be received as the subject of this proposition, then is this to be embraced as infallible Scripture truth—God hath purchased the Church with his own blood. But this God may and must be understood of Christ: it may, because he hath; it must, because no other person which is called God hath so purchased the Church. "We were not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold, but with the precious blood of Christ" (1 Pet. i. 18). With this price were we bought; and therefore it may well be said, that Christ our God hath purchased us with his own blood. But no other person which is, or is called, God, can be said so to have purchased

[1] *Catech. Racov. ad quest.* 59.

us, because it is an act belonging properly to the mediatorship; and "there is but one mediator between God and men," and the Church is "sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all" (Heb. x. 10). Nor can the expression of this act, peculiar to the Son, be attributed to the Father, because this blood signifieth death; and though the Father be omnipotent, and can do all things, yet he cannot die. And though it might be said that he purchased us, because he gave his Son to be a ransom for us, yet it cannot be said that he did it "by his own blood;" for then it would follow that he gave not his Son, or that the Son and the Father were the same person. Besides, it is very observable, that this particular phrase of "his own blood" is in the Scripture put by way of opposition to the blood of another: and howsoever we may attribute the acts of the Son unto the Father, because sent by him, yet we cannot but acknowledge that the blood and death was of another than the Father. "Not by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood he entered in once into the holy place." And whereas "the high-priest entered every year with the blood of others, Christ appeared once to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself" (Heb. ix. 12, &c.) He then which purchased us wrought it by his own blood, as an high-priest opposed to the Aaronical, who made atonement by the blood of others. But the Father taketh no priestly office, neither could he be opposed to the legal priest, as not dying himself, but giving another. Wherefore, wheresoever the Father and the Son are described together, as working the salvation of man, the blood by which it is wrought is attributed to the Son, not to the Father: as when St. Paul speaketh of the "redemption that is in Jesus Christ, whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness" (Rom. iii. 25); "his," that is, "his own righteousness," hath reference to God the Father, but "his," that is, "his own blood," must be referred to Christ the Son. When he glorifieth the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, attributing unto him, that he hath blessed, elected, predestinated, adopted, accepted us, made known unto us the mystery of his will, and gathered us together in one; in the midst of this acknowledgment he brings in "the beloved, in whom we have redemption through his blood" (Eph. i. 6, 7), as that which cannot be attributed to the Father. Christ hath blessed us; and the apostle saith the Father hath blessed us: which is true, because "he sent his Son to bless us" (Acts iii. 26). Christ hath made known unto us the will of his Father; and the apostle saith, the Father "hath made known unto us the mystery of his will;" because he sent his Son to reveal it. Christ hath delivered us; and the Father is said to "deliver us from the power of darkness:" not that we are twice delivered, but because the Father delivereth us by his Son. And thus these general

acts are familiarly attributed to them both; but still a difference must be observed and acknowledged in the means or manner of the performance of these acts. For though it is true that the Father and the Son revealed to us the will of God, yet it is not true that the Father revealed it by himself to us; but that the Son did so, it is. They both deliver us from sin and death; but the Son "gave himself for our sins, that he might deliver us" (Gal. i. 4). The Father is not, cannot be, said to have given himself, but his Son: and therefore the apostle giveth thanks unto the Father, "who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son, in whom we have redemption through his blood" (Col. i. 13, 14). Now this blood is not only the blood of the new covenant, and consequently of the Mediator; but the nature of this covenant is such, that it is also a testament, and therefore the blood must be the blood of the Testator; "for where a testament is, there must also of necessity be the death of the testator" (Heb. ix. 16). But the Testator which died is not, cannot be, the Father, but the Son; and consequently, the blood is the blood of the Son, not of the Father. It remaineth therefore that God, who purchased the Church with his own blood, is not the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, or any other which is called God, but only Jesus Christ the Son of God, and God. And thus I have proved the first of the three assertions, that the Name of God absolutely taken and placed subjectively, is sometimes to be understood of Christ.

The second, That the name of God invested by way of excellency with an article is attributed in the Scriptures unto Christ, may be thus made good. He which is called Emmanuel is named God by way of excellency; for that name, saith St. Matthew, "being interpreted, is, God with us" (Matt. i. 23), and in that interpretation the Greek article is prefixed. But Christ is called Emmanuel, "that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel" (Ibid. 22, 23). Therefore he is that "God with us," which is expressed by way of excellency, and distinguished from all other who are any way honoured with that name. For it is a vain imagination to think that Christ is called Emmanuel, but that he is not what he is called; as "Moses built an altar, and called the name of it Jehovah Nissi," and Gideon another "called Jehovah Shalom;" and yet neither altar was Jehovah; as Jerusalem was called "The Lord our righteousness," and yet that city was not the Lord. Because these two notions, which are conjoined in the name Emmanuel, are severally true of Christ. First, he is *Emmanu*, that is, "with us," for he hath "dwelt among us;" and when he parted from the earth, he said to his disciples, "I am with you alway, even to the

end of the world" (Matt. xxviii. 20). Secondly, he is *El*, and that name was given him, as the same prophet testifieth: "For unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given; and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the mighty God." He then who is both properly called *El*, that is, "God," and is also really *Emmanu*, that is, "with us," he must infallibly be that Emmanuel who is "God with us." Indeed, if the name Emmanuel were to be interpreted by way of a proposition, "God is with us," as the "Lord our righteousness," and "the Lord is there," must be understood where they are the names of Jerusalem; then should it have been the name not of Christ, but of his Church; and if we under the Gospel had been called so, it could have received no other interpretation in reference to us. But being it is not ours, but our Saviour's name, it bears no kind of similitude with those objected appellations, and is as properly and directly to be attributed to the Messias as the name of Jesus. Wherefore it remaineth that Christ be acknowledged God with us, according to the evangelical interpretation, with an expression of that excellency which belongeth to the Supreme Deity.

Again, he to whom St. Thomas said, "My Lord and my God" (John xx. 28), or rather, "The Lord of me and the God of me," he is that God before whose name the Greek article is prefixed, which they require, by way of excellency. But St. Thomas spake these words to Christ. For "Jesus spake unto Thomas, and Thomas answered and said unto him, My Lord and my God." And in these words he made confession of his faith: for our Saviour replied, "Thomas, because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed." And let him be the Lord of me, and the God of me, who was the Lord and the God of an apostle.

Nor have we only their required testimony of Christ's supreme Divinity, but also an addition of verity asserting that supremacy. For he is not only termed "the God," but, for a farther certainty, "the true God;" and the same apostle who said the Word was God, lest any cavil should arise by any omission of an article, though so frequently neglected by all, even the most accurate authors, hath also assured us that he is the true God. For "we know," saith he, "that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding that we may know him that is true; and we are in him that is true, even in his Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God, and eternal life" (1 John v. 20). As, therefore, we read in the Acts of the "Word which God sent unto the children of Israel, preaching peace by Jesus Christ; he is Lord of all;" where it is acknowledged that the Lord of all is by the pronoun *he* joined unto Jesus Christ, the immediate, not unto God, the remote antecedent; so, likewise, here "the true God" is to be referred unto Christ, who stands next unto it, not unto the Father, spoken of indeed in the text, but at a distance. There is no reason alleged why these last words

should not be referred to the Son of God, but only this, that in grammatical construction they may be ascribed to the Father. As, when "another king arose which knew not Joseph, the same dealt subtilly with our kindred;" "the same" referreth us not to Joseph, but to the king of Egypt. Whereas, if nothing else can be objected but a possibility in respect of the grammatical construction, we may as well say that Joseph dealt subtilly with his kindred as the king of Egypt; for whatsoever the incongruity be in history, it makes no solecism in the syntax. Wherefore being Jesus Christ is the immediate antecedent to which the relative may properly be referred; being the Son of God is he of whom the apostle chiefly speaketh; being this is rendered as a reason why "we are in him that is true," by being "in his Son," to wit, because that Son "is the true God;" being, in the language of St. John, the constant title of our Saviour is "eternal life;" being all these reasons may be drawn out of the text itself, why the title of the true God should be attributed to the Son, and no one reason can be raised from thence why it should be referred to the Father: I can conclude no less, than that our Saviour is "the true God," so styled in the Scriptures by way of eminency, with an article prefixed, as the first Christian writers which immediately followed the apostles did both speak and write.

But, thirdly, were there no such particular place in which the article were expressed, yet shall we find such adjuncts fixed to the name of God when attributed unto Christ, as will prove equivalent to an article, or whatsoever may express the supreme majesty. As when St. Paul doth magnify the Jews, "out of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever, Amen" (Rom. ix. 5). First, it is evident that Christ is called God, even he who came of the Jews, though not as he came of them, that is, according to the flesh, which is here distinguished from his Godhead. Secondly, he is so called God, as not to be any of the many gods, but the one supreme, or most high God: for he "is God over all." Thirdly, he hath also added the title of "blessed," which of itself elsewhere signifieth the supreme God, and was always used by the Jews to express that one God of Israel. Wherefore it cannot be conceived St. Paul should write unto the Christians, most of which then were converted Jews or proselytes, and give unto our Saviour not only the name of God, but also add that title which they always gave unto the one God of Israel, and to none but him; except he did intend they should believe him to be the same God whom they always in that manner and under that notion had adored. As, therefore, the apostle speaketh of "the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is blessed for evermore" (2 Cor. xi. 31), of the Creator, "who is blessed for ever, Amen;" and thereby doth signify the supreme Deity,

which was so glorified by the Israelites; and doth also testify that we worship the same God under the gospel which they did under the law: so doth he speak of Christ in as sublime a style, "who is over all, God blessed for ever, Amen;" and thereby doth testify the equality, or rather identity, of his Deity. If we consider the scope of the apostle, which is to magnify the Israelites by the enumeration of such privileges as belonged peculiarly to that chosen nation (the most eminent of which was contained in the genealogy of our Saviour), we shall find their glory did not consist in this, that Christ at first was born of them a man, and afterwards made a God; for what great honour could accrue to them by the nativity of a man, whose Godhead is referred not to his birth, but to his death? whereas this is truly honourable, and the peculiar glory of that nation, that the most High God blessed for ever should "take on him the seed of Abraham," and come out of the "Israelites as concerning the flesh." Thus, every way it doth appear the apostle spake of Christ as of the one eternal God.

He, then, who was the Word which in the beginning was with God, and was God; he whose glory Isaiah saw as the glory of the God of Israel; he who is styled Alpha and Omega without any restriction or limitation; he who was truly subsisting in the form of God, and equal with him, before he was in the nature of man; he who being man is frequently called God, and that in all those ways by which the supreme Deity is expressed; he had a being before Christ was conceived by the Virgin Mary, and the being which he had was the one eternal and indivisible Divine essence, by which he always was truly, really, and properly God. But all these are certainly true of him in whom we believe, Jesus Christ, as hath been proved by clear testimonies of the sacred scriptures. Therefore the being which Christ had before he was conceived of the Virgin was not any created, but the Divine essence; nor was he any creature, but the true eternal God.

Exposition of the Creed. Article II.

HISTORICAL SKETCH.

PERIOD OF THE REVOLUTION.

A. D. 1686—1688.

Those dangers to the religion, as well as to the liberties, of the nation, which were apprehended during the latter part of the reign of Charles the Second, (himself, in secret, a member of the popish communion,) became manifest after the accession of his brother, James the Second, a bigotted, and now a declared, papist.

In this crisis, when the designs of the court became certain, the clergy were found fully equal to the duty devolved upon them, of defending, with the weapons of reason and eloquence, the great bulwarks of the nation,—its altars and its constitutional freedom. In spite of various applications from the sovereign to the bishops, to prohibit preaching on controverted points, the pulpits, especially in London, resounded with zealous and powerful vindications of the doctrines of the Reformation. The press, in the mean time, was no less effectually engaged by the more learned of the clerical body in the same cause. Little of what was absolutely new could be brought forward in this exhausted controversy, on which nearly every divine of note, from the time of Henry the Eighth, had employed his pen; but, at least, the old arguments were reproduced in a form adapted to the circumstances of the time, with admirable skill and consummate erudition. Multitudes of pamphlets, suited to a quick and extensive circulation, were rapidly thrown off, at every new movement of the court, or of its partizans, the popish priesthood, towards the introduction of a foreign spiritual domination and arbitrary power. Hardly a distinguished name in the annals of the Church of England in that age, is absent from the list of Protestant champions, or fails to derive from some admirable exertions in that cause a portion of its renown. All differences of opinion among conformists (for the dissenters held themselves aloof) were, for a time,

forgotten in the imminent peril of the common faith: the prudent high-churchman and the bold latitudinarian were animated with an equal ardour; and, in this great national quarrel, such men as Sancroft, afterwards the head of the nonjurors, and Johnson, chaplain to Lord William Russell, a violent man, of directly opposite views, fought cordially side by side[1].

An irreconcilable breach was now made between James and the clergy, the most loyal body of all his subjects. With a view to punish and coerce that body, the King, in April 1686, issued the celebrated commission of Ecclesiastical Enquiry. This commission, illegally constituted, and armed with power to enforce the royal wishes, began its operations by the suspension of Compton, bishop of London, a prelate of a dignified and courageous character, for refusing to become the instrument of vengeance against his own clergy. The attack was next directed against the universities, the nurseries of enlightened attachment to the true principles of the constitution in Church and State; and England owes the first steps towards "the Revolution" which settled those principles upon a broad, distinct, and recognised basis, to the spirited and patriotic conduct of the possessors of those noble seats of learning, in refusing to allow the sovereign, by the exercise of his assumed prerogative in a "dispensing power," to invade their ancient rights and violate their statutes. The contest between the commissioners and the society of Magdalen College, Oxford, is famous in the history of this king's

---

[1] A considerable, and probably the most valuable part of the treatises alluded to in the text, was collected and republished early in the last century, by Bishop Gibson, in three volumes in folio, with the appropriate title of *A Preservative against Popery*. To this collection (a monument of zeal and ability, and an inexhaustible mine of fact and argument,) the following appear as the chief contributors: Allix, Burnet, Clagett, Fowler, Lloyd, Patrick, Sherlock, Sharp, Stillingfleet, Tenison, Tillotson, Wake, Whitby. The first and second volumes relate chiefly to doctrines; the design of the third is, to prove from facts that the errors charged against the Papists are really held and maintained by them. The following is the order of the subjects:—

Vol. I. English Reformation—Papal Supremacy—Catholic Church—Rule of Faith.

Vol. II. Worship—Sacraments—Methods for pardon of sin.

Vol. III. Church of Rome in general truly represented by Protestants—Creed of Pius IV—General Councils—Worship of the Virgin Mary—Practices of Romish Missionaries.

To the second are appended four, and to the third volume two, general Discourses against Popery, by Lloyd, Sherlock, Stillingfleet, &c.

reign. The college was forced to submit to the expulsion of the majority of its fellows, and to have two heads successively placed over it, of whom one was a papist, and both creatures of the court. But the encroachments of arbitrary power, in a free and generous nation, are ultimately fatal to itself alone: at every advancing step in the contest, the people became more alienated and more offended.

The fixed resolve of the nation, however, stimulated by the patriotic clergy, to find a remedy for those evils which menaced the existence of their religion and liberties, dates from the reissue, in April 1688, of the celebrated *Declaration for Liberty of Conscience*. The objects of this insidious proclamation,—which at once swept away with a strong hand all the existing laws against the Roman Catholics and other sectaries, and abolished all oaths and tests required before admission to offices of trust,—were, in reality, to degrade the clergy, to give security and finally predominance to the popish faction, and to bind the Nonconformists to the views of the King. In order the more effectually to secure the first of these objects, the clergy were ordered to perform the suicidal office of publishing the Declaration in every parish-church throughout the country. Thus to be made parties in a step so contrary to their religious principles, as well as hostile to the existing laws of their country, they felt to be intolerable. The clergy of London, followed, with but few exceptions, by their brethren generally, resolved not to comply. The blame of this determination was readily taken upon themselves by such of the bishops as were then present in the metropolis; who, with Sancroft at their head, accordingly agreed in a petition to the King, signifying their reluctance to publish the Declaration, but professing, at the same time, a readiness to come to some agreement with the Nonconformists. The presentation of this document to his majesty, at Whitehall, the angry remonstrance of James, and the firm demeanour of the prelates,—the ill-advised prosecution, and committal to the Tower, of those venerated fathers,—their trial in Westminster Hall,—and their acquittal amid the tumultuous joy of the country, and the acclamations of the army, in presence of the alarmed monarch,—are among the most popular and cherished passages in our history. By such conduct on the part of their spiritual guides, the people's veneration for them was raised to an enthusiastic pitch; and even the re-

sentments and asperities of the dissenters, who had at first been deluded by the specious offer of liberty of conscience, were observed to be so far softened, that Sancroft, in some admonitory articles, addressed to his brethren, recommended the most friendly advances; and, in conjunction with Patrick and other popular and eminent divines, revived once more the abortive scheme of a comprehension.

As the impending crisis drew near, James, convinced at length from what quarter the most effective resistance to his violent measures would proceed, began, as the first and most essential step towards retrieving his errors, to endeavour once more to conciliate the Protestant clergy. He removed the suspension from the bishop of London,—published a declaration that it was his intention to preserve inviolate the Church of England,—dissolved the Ecclesiastical Commission,—restored the privileges of the corporations, particularly those of Magdalen College,—and condescended, in his distress, to ask the advice of those venerable individuals whom he had lately imprisoned. They were, however, no longer to be deceived: for when, on the Prince of Orange's intended invasion becoming evident, he sought for support from the same injured parties, requesting such of the prelates as could be assembled, to sign a public statement of their abhorrence of that design, they refused the expression of any sentiments contrary to those of their fellow peers and the majority of their countrymen. The crisis, nevertheless, one of great and painful difficulty for all loyal subjects, was peculiarly difficult for the members of that sacred profession which had suffered so much with and for the unfortunate family of Stuart. A considerable number of clergymen, led by the conscientious Sancroft, unable, or unwilling, to separate their fealty to the sovereign's person from the allegiance due to the supreme authority he represented, refused the oaths to William and Mary. Eight bishops, and about four hundred incumbents, in obedience to a sense of duty certainly derived from the teaching of the Church of England, as hitherto uniformly delivered, submitted to deprivation. The enforcement of the oaths upon the clergy has justly been condemned, as a measure no less impolitic than cruel; since it deprived the Church of the services of a highly conscientious portion of her ministers, while (the nonjuring bishops denying the authority of their successors) it likewise entailed a schism such as only the providential course of succeeding events prevented

from endangering her existence. From the pain of contemplating these accompaniments of a great and otherwise prosperous national effort, the mind finds some relief in the honourable spectacle presented by that numerous band of sufferers; the venerable Sancroft, in his peaceful and humble retirement at Fresingfield, exhibits a pleasing instance of the triumph of conscience imparting the essentials of greatness to a mind not naturally of remarkable elevation.

The successful issue of the Revolution was, of course, followed by a fresh revival of those endeavours, which had been so frequently made under less promising circumstances, to comprehend all protestant parties within the pale of the Church of England. That event, by its intrinsic principles, as well as by the personal inclinations of the King and Queen, and of those churchmen on whose advice they chiefly relied, had apparently provided every facility for the completion of this long-desired object. An attempt was, in the first instance, made to pass a bill of comprehension through parliament, without the concurrence of the convocation; this, however, was found impracticable. A committee, of ten bishops and twenty other divines, chiefly under the management of Tillotson and his friends, was then appointed, to revise the liturgy and articles, and to accommodate the discipline of the establishment, as far as should be found possible, to the wishes of those whom it was the design of the measure to conciliate. The commission was opened October 3rd, 1689. Several of the individuals named in it refused to countenance its proceedings by appearing at all; some others withdrew after the first meeting, on perceiving that the concessions proposed to be made were of even a more liberal extent than Baxter and his nonconforming brethren had asked, at the Restoration. Some notes (the production of Tillotson) which had been drawn up for that purpose, were now adopted without opposition, and expanded into a set of articles to be laid before the convocation.

At the meeting of that assembly, in the following month, the promoters of the design encountered a disappointment, of fatal omen, in failing to secure the election of Tillotson to the prolocutor's chair. The choice of the house fell on Dr. Jane, regius professor of divinity at Oxford, a divine well known for his high-church principles, and one of those members of the committee, who, after the first sitting, had withdrawn

The prolocutor, in the speech pronounced by him, according to custom, on his presentation to the president, the Bishop of London, "extolled the excellence of the Church of England, as established by law, above all Christian communities, intimating that it wanted no amendment; and concluded with the application to it of the famous sentence, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.*" And such were in reality the sentiments of the lower house, and of the great body whom they represented. They refused to join in the address to the King prepared by the bishops, on the reasonable ground of its not drawing a sufficient distinction between the Church of England and other protestant ecclesiastical communities. With difficulty the two houses agreed on an amended address; when the prelates, and other friends of comprehension, perceiving that nothing farther could be effected, agreed to a prorogation; and shortly afterwards the convocation was dissolved with the parliament. This dispute we may regard as the commencement of those violent differences, which led, a few years afterwards, to the suspension of the effective sittings of convocation.

Posterity has ratified by its approval this conclusive defeat of a scheme which, though apparently characterised by a commendable moderation and truly Christian objects, and though recommended by the distinguished piety, the pure intentions, and even the wisdom of some among its supporters, must, we are now enabled to perceive, have failed to produce those happy consequences which were expected. In this view, it is not improbable that some of those parties who, at the moment, appeared most anxious for the measure, in a short time concurred. The dissenters themselves had reason to be satisfied with the boon of toleration. They could scarcely pretend to be urged by filial affection to seek the bosom of the Church; they were now fully secure in the protection of the government and laws, and favoured by public sympathy; while their ministers (many of whom were in the enjoyment of a liberal maintenance derived from their congregations,) could scarcely expect their temporal condition to be materially improved by joining an establishment whose previous members would naturally regard every thing given to them as so much abstracted from "the children's bread." Again, the government itself may not have been, in reality, very anxious to merge so many of its zealous friends in a body, an essential change in the sentiments of which they could not

reasonably expect from such an infusion; but which might, on the other hand, be expected to leaven the coalescing minority with its own pervading spirit. Lastly, excellent and able men as were some among the nonconformists, the Church herself has no reason to regret their exclusion. Better for her are external separations than dissatisfactions and disunion within. The admission, at once, beneath her wings, of all that wayward, alien, and multifarious brood, would assuredly have disturbed her peace, both by introducing fresh subjects of discontent, and by affording a more serious and extensive plea for the schism of the nonjurors; which, for some considerable time, wore a threatening aspect. Modern events have proved the utility, in our country, of dissent, as the proper channel through which the mischiefs of irregular opinions and restless passions in religion are drawn aside from the vitals of the community. It was necessary that sectarianism should be allowed to exhibit all its phases; that its arguments and pretexts should all be placed in their genuine light; that its strongholds, in the self-will and perverseness of the human mind, should be reduced one by one; that the wandering sheep should be gathered into the fold, not in a mass, but by degrees, and when the sense of weariness and want should make them willing to seek its shelter.

Hitherto, it must be confessed, the triumph of liberal principles, at the Revolution, has had an effect less favourable on religion and philosophy than on the social and political condition of our country and mankind. The new government, in order to establish a barrier against the influence of Jacobite and nonjuring principles, raised to preferment men too decidedly the advocates of latitudinarianism; an ill-directed and self-applauding spirit of inquiry in religion carried others aside towards sceptical and Socinian tenets; and the kindred realms of philosophical science, no longer occupied by those great and religious minds only which first extorted possession of them from the adherents of the schools, were now exposed to a return, under other names and modified aspects, of those ancient systems of error which ultimately either exclude the Creator from, or identify him with, the universe, "the work of his hands."

ARCHBISHOP TILLOTSON.

A. D. 1650—1694.

Occupying a prominent place in the public regard, at the period which these sketches have now reached,—a period of security and repose, which terminated a long succession of national struggles,—and fitted for such a period equally by his excellencies and his defects; this distinguished clergyman was adopted, by the predominant party, as its idol. The age of original genius and profounder learning was passing away; the age of taste, however imperfect, as yet, in many respects, had succeeded: hence the negative character of Tillotson's writings recommended them to his contemporaries. The nation, after having been long wearied and disgusted with contention among Protestants, for trivial observances or speculative dogmas, had beheld vice on the one hand and popery on the other, come in upon it like a flood: hence it hailed the elevation of a teacher, who consulted reason and common sense, and, with a degree of tolerance towards protestant differences hitherto rare, united implacable hostility to popery, the common foe. In Tillotson the school of rational and moral divines, which had lately sprung up, found a patron and ally; the court, after the expulsion of the Stuarts, cherished a partizan; the people respected a laborious and valuable instructor.

John Tillotson was the son of a clothier of repute, at Sowerby, in Yorkshire, where he was born, in the year 1630. In 1647 he was sent to Cambridge, and admitted a pensioner of Clare Hall, of which society he was chosen fellow in 1650. His parents and first teachers were puritans, "of the better sort;" but an early acquaintance with the great work of Chillingworth effectually freed his own mind from the coarser prejudices of that party. The admirable phalanx of divines, headed by More and Cudworth, were then flourishing in the university, and young Tillotson had the good fortune to be admitted to their intimate acquaintance: in particular, he, at this time, contracted a lasting friendship with Wilkins.

On quitting Cambridge, Tillotson, still a nonconformist, became chaplain and private tutor in the family of Prideaux, Cromwell's attorney-general. The date of his admission to holy orders is not known; but before the Restoration he had assisted Wilkins in his duties at St. Lawrence Jewry; and in 1661 and 1662, was Dr. Hacket's curate at Cheshunt. His first preferment was the rectory of Kedington, in Suffolk, the appointment to which he received in June 1663. Guided in all things by moderation and practical good sense, and aware that he possessed abilities for the pulpit worth cultivating, he determined to form for himself a simpler style, more adapted, as he thought, to the wants of the time, than that to which congregations had long been accustomed. At Kedington, however, where he succeeded a violent nonconformist, his plain manner was not relished; he therefore willingly resigned that living for the preachership of Lincoln's Inn, to which he was elected in the following November; and being further chosen for the Tuesday lecture at St. Lawrence, where he had a large audience, including many of the clergy and persons of eminence, he now laid the foundation of his popularity and future high estimation.

Tillotson understood the public tendencies of his time. He saw that the most strenuous efforts of the clergy were required to resist the two seemingly opposite, but constantly connected, evils of popery and irreligion. The latter he first attacked through the press, in his discourse preached about this time at St. Paul's, and subsequently placed, in an enlarged form, at the head of his printed sermons, on *The Wisdom of being Religious:* against the other he wrote his *Rule of Faith*, (published in 1666,) an able production, in answer to *Sure Footing in Christianity*, by J. Serjeant. To the *Rule of Faith* a valuable Appendix was added by Stillingfleet. This year he allied himself more intimately with his friend Wilkins, lately raised to the bishopric of Chester, by marrying his daughter-in-law, Elizabeth French, a niece of Cromwell's. And now preferment flowed in upon him at an extravagant rate. In 1669 he was collated to the second prebendal stall at Canterbury; made dean, two years later; and not long afterwards he held, in addition, a prebend and residentiaryship at St. Paul's. From this abuse of the system of pluralities he subsequently withdrew the sanction of his example, by resigning the last of these offices; and he discouraged the practice in others.

In 1672 bishop Wilkins died suddenly, leaving, in a very imperfect state, among his papers which he bequeathed to the care of Tillotson, the MS. of his work on Natural Religion. The dean determined to complete it, from the materials prepared by the author; and, three years later, it was published, with a preface from his pen. At a subsequent period, he likewise laid before the public a volume of his deceased friend's sermons. The same confidence in Tillotson's friendship and judgment was shown by Barrow. In pursuance of the trust reposed in him as the literary executor of that great writer, he edited, and in 1680, published, his *Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy*, to which he added the discourse *On the Unity of the Church*. The laborious task of preparing the sermons of Barrow for publication occupied the leisure of three more years: they appeared in 1683. Tillotson was also one of the friends to whom Burnet referred the MS. of his *History of the Reformation*, before committing it to the press; and, in 1684 and 5, he again performed, with conscientious sedulity, the friendly office of an editor, in the publication of two volumes of *Discourses* by Dr. Hezekiah Burton.

Meantime he availed himself with alacrity of such public opportunities as offered, to enter the lists against the ancient, restless, powerful, and growing adversary of the national religion and liberties. On the 5th of November, 1678, he preached before parliament, upon the inconsistency of the cruel and revengeful spirit of popery with the profession of the gospel; and, in April 1680, delivered before the King at Whitehall the discourse which is printed with the title of *The Protestant Religion vindicated from the Charge of Singularity and Novelty*. In the interim, he made a convert of the Earl, afterwards Duke, of Shrewsbury; who had been bred in the Romish communion. Burnet, in his funeral sermon, asserts that Tillotson, by the strength of his reason and the clearness of his principles, brought over a greater number of serious persons from their scruples to the communion of the Church, and fixed more in it, than any other divine of his time.

The year 1683 is memorable for the fate of Lord William Russell. On the trial of that nobleman, Dean Tillotson appeared as a witness to his personal character; and, with Burnet, attended him during his imprisonment, to the time of his execution. The letter he wrote to his lordship, in which he asserts, that resistance to authority is forbidden by the

Christian faith, became famous, after the part taken by him at the Revolution had stamped that document, as a remarkable monument of inconsistency between opinion and conduct. Of the unbroken and affectionate friendship which subsisted between the dean and Lord Russell's long-surviving widow, the interesting memorials are extant in their well-known correspondence.

The great controversy with Rome, maintained throughout this period by the Church of England, in a style which reflects the highest honour upon the learning, zeal, and public spirit of the clergy, was opened by the *Discourse against Transubstantiation* of Tillotson. This treatise made its appearance shortly before the death of Charles; a second, by the same author, against purgatory, immediately followed the accession of his brother.

At length the time arrived, when, by the landing of the Prince of Orange, and the retirement of James, more than the anticipated fruit of their past exertions was enjoyed by the anxious friends of the constitution in Church and State. It was evident to all men, that among those members of the ecclesiastical profession upon whom the favour of the new government would first be showered, was Dean Tillotson. The personal regard entertained for him by the King and Queen, but especially by the Queen, appears to have risen originally from some service rendered them by the dean, on their passing through Canterbury, when returning into Holland, in the autumn of 1677, immediately after their marriage. Accordingly, King William had no sooner taken possession of St. James's, than (in January 1688–9) Tillotson was commanded to preach before him; and before the close of the month of April following, he was made clerk of the closet to their majesties. The next obvious step, his nomination to one of the vacant bishoprics, he appears to have sincerely and even earnestly deprecated. In a letter on this subject to the minister, he thus writes:

"I have had great afflictions to wean me from the world. I feel the infirmities of age growing upon me. For the sake of the Protestant religion, and their Majesties, for whom I have so true esteem, I would take any burden upon me which I am able to stand under; but I do not love either the ceremony or trouble of a great place. That little good which I have been able to do has been in the city of London, which I foresee will be stript of its ablest men; and if I can be

serviceable anywhere, it is there. I thank God, I have lived to have my last desire in this world, which was this happy revolution; and now I care for no more but to see it established. And I have declared my sense of this great deliverance so openly, and shall always do so, that I do not fear to be suspected of sullenness and discontent for my declining preferment, which is the only objection that I can foresee."

The deanery of St. Paul's, to which Tillotson here adverts as the only preferment he desired, was bestowed upon him in the autumn of the next year, when it became vacant by the promotion of Stillingfleet to the see of Worcester. The arduous duties of an exalted station in the Church were, nevertheless, devolved upon him: though, at present, without the full extent of its responsibilities. For on Sancroft's suspension, the chapter of Canterbury, to whom the archiepiscopal jurisdiction, in consequence, fell, gave up the exercise of it wholly to the dean.

The really moderate, or, to adopt the language of his time, "latitudinarian" opinions of Tillotson, no less than his sincere horror of the possible supremacy of Rome, had led him to take an earnest interest in the successive attempts made to enlarge the basis of Protestant union, beginning with the Savoy Conference, at which he was an anxious auditor. The considerable part performed by him, a quarter of a century later, in the last and greatest of these unavailing struggles, has already been mentioned. He submitted in patience to the rejection of his favourite *irenicum*, in the confident, but, as it has been proved, mistaken, hope that the effort would, ere long, be successfully revived, "when the times grew more disposed to peace."

The high reputation to which Tillotson had now attained, and the great influence he was known to possess, occasioned every production of his pen, however trivial, to be made the subject of general scrutiny and discussion. This was remarkably exemplified in the importance attached to his sermon preached before the Queen, March 7th, 1689—90; in which he was thought by many to have allowed too much force and plausibility to the objections against the doctrine of the eternity of future punishments. The mooting of this question, in a discourse by no means remarkable for profundity, excited a controversy, both in England and abroad, which engaged many learned pens, and which did not thoroughly subside for above fifty years.

From the time when, in consequence of Sancroft's unbending principles of allegiance, a vacancy began to be foreseen in the primacy, Tillotson had been destined by the sovereign to that high office. Sancroft's suspension took place in August, 1689, and he was deprived in the following February; but it was not till after the lapse of more than another year, viz., in April, 1691, that the Dean of St. Paul's, in submission to the repeated urgent persuasions of the King, allowed himself to be publicly nominated as that prelate's successor. At length, June 23rd, Sancroft reluctantly withdrew from Lambeth; whither his successor removed in November. If the nonjurors, and the high-church party in general, were before disposed to regard the new archbishop with little favour, it may readily be supposed that his acceptance of the mitre of the primacy, made void by the forcible ejectment of his venerable predecessor, exasperated them still more. From this time he was pursued with an unrelaxing, but not wholly unjust, dislike, which even his death did not appease. He was pronounced a schismatic; and his consecration, and that of the divines who succeeded the other bishops deprived with Sancroft, were pronounced null and void by the fundamental constitution of the Church. These attacks, which in some instances rose to a degree of scurrility that roused in his behalf the vengeance of the law, he bore with Christian mildness and good humour; and, indeed, sustained, in all respects, the burden of his important office with a surprising degree of cheerfulness for one who, more than two years earlier, had earnestly begged to be excused from the duties of a bishopric, on the score of old age and its infirmities.

In this eminent and admired person, natural sweetness of temper appears, indeed, to have seconded principles rather to be called lax than tolerant; and the agreeable qualities of the man laid a foundation for the defects of the ecclesiastical functionary. It was the same facile liberality by which he cultivated till his death an affectionate friendship with the accomplished Nelson, the adherent of the nonjurors; and by which he was led, at an early period in his career, to shock equally the Church and the dissenters with the astounding position, that nothing less than the possession of miraculous gifts can warrant a conscientious interference with the established religion of any nation, though false and superstitious. It was the same temper that interceded with the new dynasty in

favour of Mulgrave and Crane, the instruments of James's illegal proceedings against the Church; which, also, when Beveridge scrupled to read a brief on behalf of the persecuted French Protestants, as contrary to the rubric, dictated the well-known repartee, "Doctor, doctor, charity is above rubrics." It was the same kind nature, either well or inconsiderately exercised, which made him indefatigable in seeking promotion for worthy men, though of the highest principles; and which induced him to retain, almost ostentatiously, among his friends, after his elevation to the primacy, individuals tainted with Socinianism, and even, by the latitude of his expressions, to lay himself open to a plausible charge of favouring that heresy. In short, Archbishop Tillotson was precisely fitted to do all the good for the Church that could be done by harmonizing its administration with that of a civil government which, by the circumstances of its origin, was forced to countenance lax, if not revolutionary principles. We find it hard to think so respectfully as we desire either of the theology or the discretion of an archbishop of Canterbury who, in a letter to a brother prelate (Bishop Burnet) respecting his work on the Thirty-nine Articles, could thus express himself:—"In the Article of the Trinity, you have said all that I think can be said upon so obscure and difficult an argument: the Socinians have just now published an answer to us all." And again: "The account given of Athanasius's Creed seems to me no wise satisfactory—I wish we were well rid of it."

On the other hand, the moral character of the Archbishop was without blemish; nor have we any reason to doubt his personal piety. Such was his liberality, that, while in a private station, he always laid aside one-fifth of his income for charitable uses. His cheerfulness, candour, and moderation, secured the affection, his uprightness and ability commanded the esteem, of all who had an opportunity of knowing him intimately. His learning might have attracted more notice, if, in the frank simplicity of his nature, he had not been content to use, without needlessly displaying it. It is, perhaps, no convincing proof of the greatness of his intellectual powers, that his abilities never appeared to so much advantage elsewhere as in the pulpit[1]; and that his popularity as a preacher was unri-

[1] It was Tillotson, nevertheless, who, more than any other preacher of reputation, was the means of establishing in the Church of England the habit of delivering written discourses.

valled. In this, as in other respects, he suited the demands of his age; appearing original chiefly by negation of the excellencies, as well as the defects, of his illustrious predecessors. Emphatically of this negative character, his style, notwithstanding, won the admiration of the best "wits" of the age of Anne, and was regarded as a model during the greater part of the eighteenth century. In the view of continental students of our language, Tillotson ranks to this day among the greatest English classics.

Archbishop Tillotson was seized with his last illness while attending the service in the chapel at Whitehall, and expired five days afterwards, November 22nd, 1694. His death was followed by a regret which might truly be called national, and in which his royal patrons unfeignedly participated: "the Queen," in particular, "spoke of him in the tenderest manner, and not without tears."

Of this primate's numerous discourses, many were, in the first instance, published singly. A collection of *Fifty-four Sermons and Discourses, on several Occasions; together with the Rule of Faith*, were reprinted by himself, and corrected by his own hand, in one volume, folio. The remainder, consisting of two hundred discourses, were brought out, after his decease, at intervals, from 1695 to 1704, in fourteen vols. 8vo, under the care of his chaplain, Dr. Barker; and re-published, in a second and third volume, in folio, in 1712. Late in life he planned a system of natural and revealed religion, which he purposed to compose in Latin, but made in it no progress. Among his papers was likewise found the draught of a series of *Sermons on the Creed*.

The Archbishop's *Discourses against Popery* were attacked, after his death, by a Romanist named Colson. This writer was answered by Lewis Atterbury, the brother of the famous Bishop of Rochester.

The celebrity which the name of Tillotson attained on the continent of Europe was owing, in a great degree, to the praises bestowed on his writings by Le Clerc, in the *Bibliothèque Choisie*, and by Bernard, in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*. Translations of many of his sermons made their appearance within a few years of his death, in the French, German, and other languages.

SERMON: "ON THE USEFULNESS OF CONSIDERATION, IN ORDER TO REPENTANCE."

DEUT. xxxii. 29.—*"O that they were wise, that they understood this, that they would consider their latter end!"*

THIS chapter is called Moses' Song, in which he briefly recounts the various Providences of God towards the people of Israel, and the froward carriage of that people towards him.

First, he puts them in mind how God had chosen them for his peculiar people, and had by a signal care and providence conducted them all that tedious journey, for the space of forty years in the wilderness, till he had brought them to the promised land, which they had now begun to take possession of.

And then he foretels how they would behave themselves after all this mercy and kindness God had shewn to them, v. 15: "Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked, and forsook God which made him, and lightly esteemed the Rock of his salvation." Upon this he tells them, God would be extremely displeased with them, and would multiply his judgments upon them, v. 19, 20: "When the Lord saw it, he abhorred, because of the provoking of his sons and of his daughters: and he said, I will hide my face from them, I will see what their end shall be; for they are a very froward generation, children in whom is no faith." And v. 23: "I will heap mischief upon them, I will spend mine arrows upon them." And then he enumerates the particular judgments which he would send upon them: nay, he declares he would have utterly consumed them, but that he was loth to give occasion of so much triumph to his and their enemies, v. 26, 27: "I said, I would scatter them into corners, I would make the remembrance of them to cease from among men: were it not, that I feared the wrath of the enemy, lest their adversaries should behave themselves strangely, and lest they should say, Our hand is high, and the Lord hath not done all this." And he adds the reason of all this severity; because they were so very stupid and inconsiderate, v. 28: "For they are a nation void of counsel, neither is there any understanding in them."

And in the conclusion of all, he represents God as it were breaking out into this vehement and affectionate wish, "O, that they were wise, that they understood this, that they would consider their latter end!"

"O, that they were wise, that they understood this!" What is that? This may refer to all that went before. O, that they were wise to consider what God had done for them, and what they had done against him, and what he will do against them, if they continue or renew their former provocations! O that they were but duly apprehensive of this, and would lay it seriously to heart!

But from what follows, it seems more particularly to refer to those particular judgments which God had threatened them withal, and which would certainly befall them, if they still continued in their disobedience. "O, that they were wise, that they understood this, that they would consider their latter end! That is, the sad consequences of these their provocations, that by the consideration thereof, they might prevent all those evils and calamities, by turning from those sins which would unavoidably bring them upon them.

From the words thus explained I shall observe these four things:

I. That God doth really and heartily desire the happiness of men, and to prevent their misery and ruin. For the very design of these words is to express this to us, and it is done in a very vehement, and, as I may say, passionate manner.

II. That it is a great point of wisdom, to consider seriously the last issue and consequence of our actions, whither they tend, and what will follow upon them. And therefore wisdom is here described by "the consideration of our latter end."

III. That this is an excellent means to prevent that misery which will otherwise befall us. And this is necessarily implied in this wish, that if they would but consider these things they might be prevented.

IV. That the want of this consideration is the great cause of men's ruin. And this is likewise implied in the words, that one great reason of men's ruin is, because they are not so wise as to consider the fatal issue and consequence of a sinful course. I shall speak briefly to each of these.

I. That God doth really and heartily desire the happiness of men, and to prevent their misery and ruin. To express this to us, God doth put on the vehemency of a human passion: "O that they were wise," &c. The laws of God are a clear evidence of this; because the observance of them tends to our happiness. There is no good prince makes laws with any other design than to promote the public welfare and happiness of his people; and with much more reason may we imagine that the infinite good God does by all his laws design the happiness of his creatures. And the exhortations of Scripture, by which he enforceth his laws, are yet a greater evidence how earnestly he desires the happiness of his creatures. For it shews that he is concerned for us, when he useth so many arguments to persuade us to our duty, and when he expostulates so vehemently with us for our neglect of it, saying to sinners, "Turn ye, turn ye, why will you die, O house of Israel? Ye will not come unto me, that ye might have life," says our blessed Saviour, with great trouble to see men so obstinately set against their own happiness: and again, "How often would I have gathered

you, as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!" And to satisfy us yet further, that it is his real desire, by our obedience to his laws, to prevent our ruin, God doth frequently in Scripture put on the passions of men, and use all sorts of vehement expressions to this purpose, Deut. v. 29: "O that there were such a heart in them, that they would fear me, and keep all my commandments always, that it might be well with them and with their children for ever!" And Psalm lxxxi. 13: "O that my people had hearkened unto me, and Israel had walked in my ways! I should soon have subdued their enemies, and turned my hand against their adversaries." Jer. xiii. 29: "O Israel, wilt thou not be made clean? when shall it once be?" And to name but one text more, when our blessed Saviour wept over Jerusalem, how passionately does he wish that "She had known in that her day the things that belonged to her peace!"

And if after all this, we can doubt whether the faithful God means as he says, he hath for our further assurance, and to put the matter out of all doubt, confirmed his word by an oath. Ezek. xxxiii. 11: "As I live, saith the Lord, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that the wicked turn from his ways and live: turn ye, turn ye, from your evil ways; for why will ye die, O house of Israel?" So that if words can be any declaration of a hearty and sincere desire, we have no reason to doubt but that God does really desire the happiness of men, and would gladly prevent their ruin and destruction.

If any now ask, Why then are not all men happy? Why do they not escape ruin and destruction? And particularly why the people of Israel, for whom God here makes this wish, did not escape those judgments which were threatened, the prophet shall answer for me. Hos. xii. 19: "O Israel! thou hast destroyed thyself." And David, Psalm lxxxi. 11: "My people would not hearken to my voice; Israel would none of me." And our blessed Saviour, Matt. xxiii. 37: "How often would I have gathered thee, as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!" And John v. 40: "Ye will not come unto me, that ye might have life." You see what account the Scripture plainly gives of this matter; it rests upon the wills of men, and God hath not thought fit to force happiness upon men, and to make them wise and good, whether they will or no. He presents them with such motives, and offers such arguments to their consideration, as are fit to prevail with reasonable men, and is ready to afford them all necessary assistance, if they be not wanting to themselves; but if they will not be wise and consider; if they will stand out against all the arguments that God can offer; if they will "receive the grace of God in vain, and resist his blessed Spirit, and reject the counsel of God against themselves," God hath not in this case engaged himself to provide any remedy against

the obstinacy and perverseness of men, but "their destruction is of themselves," and "their blood shall be upon their own heads." And there is no nicety and intricacy in this matter; but if men will consider Scripture and reason impartially, they will find this to be the plain resolution of the case.

So that no man hath reason either to charge his faults, or his punishment upon God; he is "free from the blood of all men;" he sincerely desires our happiness; but we wilfully ruin ourselves; and when he tells us, that "He desires not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should turn from his wickedness and live;" that "He would have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth;" that he is not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance; he plainly means as he says, and doth not speak to us with any reserve, or dark distinction between his secret and revealed will; he does not decree one thing, and declare another.

And if this be so, no man hath reason to be discouraged from attempting and endeavouring his own happiness upon a jealousy and surmise that God hath by any fatal decree put a bar to it from all eternity: for if he had so absolutely resolved to make the greatest part of mankind miserable, without any respect to their actions in this world, he would never have said, that he desires that all should be saved; he would not have exhorted all men to work out their own salvation: had he taken up any such resolution, he would have declared it to all the world; for he hath power enough in his hands to do what he pleaseth, and none can resist his will; so that he did not need to have dissembled the matter, and to have pretended a desire to save men, when he was resolved to ruin them. This is the first, that God doth really and heartily desire the happiness of men, and to prevent their misery and ruin. I proceed to the

II. That it is a great part of wisdom to consider seriously the last issue and consequence of our actions, and whither the course of life which we lead does tend, and what will follow upon it. And, therefore, wisdom is here explained by consideration: "O that they were wise, that they would consider their latter end!" that is, what will befall them hereafter, what will be the issue and consequence of all the sins and provocations which they are guilty of.

And this is a principal point and property of wisdom, to look forward, and not only to consider the present pleasure and advantage of any action, but the future consequence of it: and there is no greater argument of an imprudent man, than to gratify himself for the present in the doing of a thing, which will turn to his greater prejudice afterwards; especially if the future inconvenience be great and intolerable, as it is in the case we are speaking of. For eternal happiness or

misery depends upon the actions of this present life; and according as we behave ourselves in this world, it will go well or ill with us for ever: so that this is a matter of vast importance, and deserves our most serious thoughts; and in matters of mighty consequence a wise man will take all things into consideration, and look before him as far as he can. And, indeed, this is the reason why things of great moment are said to be things of consequence, because great things depend, and are likely to follow, upon them: and then, surely, that is the greatest concernment upon which not only the happiness of this present life, but our happiness to all eternity does depend; and if the good and bad actions of this life be of that consequence to us, it is fit every man should consider what he does, and whither the course of life he is engaged, or about to engage in, will lead him at last. For this is true wisdom, to look to the end of things, and to think seriously beforehand, what is likely to be the event of such an action, of such a course of life? If we serve God faithfully, and do his will, what will be the consequence of that to us in this world and the other? And on the other hand, if we live wickedly, and allow ourselves in any unlawful and vicious practice, what will be the end of that course?

And to any man that consults the law of his own nature, or the will of God revealed in Scripture, nothing can be plainer than what will be the end of these several ways. God hath plainly told us, and our own consciences will tell us the same, that "if we do well, we shall be accepted" of God, and rewarded by him: but if we do ill, "the end of these things is death;" that indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish, will be upon every soul of man that doeth evil; but honour, and glory, and peace, to every man that doeth good, in the day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ, according to the gospel." So that God hath given us a plain prospect of the different issues of a virtuous and wicked life, and there wants nothing but consideration to make us to attend to these things, and to lay them seriously to heart. For while men are inconsiderate, they go on stupidly in an evil way, and are not sensible of the danger of their present course, because they do not attend to the consequence of it; but when their eyes are once opened by consideration, they cannot but be sadly apprehensive of the mischief they are running themselves upon. If men would take but a serious and impartial view of their lives and actions; if they would consider the tendency of a sinful course, and whither it will bring them at last; if the vicious and dissolute man would but look about him, and consider how many have been ruined in that very way that he is in, how many lie "slain and wounded in it;" that "it is the way to hell, and leads down to the chambers of death;" the serious thought of this could not but check

him in his course, and make him resolve upon a better life. If men were wise, they would consider the consequence of their actions, and upon consideration would resolve upon that which they are convinced is best. I proceed to the

III. Thing I propounded, which was, that consideration of the consequence of our actions, is an excellent means to prevent the mischiefs which otherwise we should run into. And this is necessarily implied in the wish here in the text, that if we would but consider these things, they might be prevented. For how can any man, who hath any love or regard for himself, any tenderness for his own interest and happiness, see hell and destruction before him, which, if he hold on his evil course, will certainly swallow him up, and yet venture to go on in his sins? Can any man that plainly beholds misery hastening towards him "like an armed man," and "destruction coming upon him as a whirlwind," think himself unconcerned to prevent it and fly from it? The most dull and stupid creatures will start back upon the sight of present danger. Balaam's ass, when she saw the angel of the Lord standing in the way, with his sword drawn ready to smite her, starts aside, and could not be urged on. Now, God hath given us not only sense to apprehend a present evil, but reason and consideration to look before us, and to discover dangers at a distance, to apprehend them as certainly and with as clear a conviction of the reality of them, as if they threatened us the next moment: and will any considerate man, who hath calculated the dangerous events of sin, and the dreadful effects of God's wrath upon sinners, go on to "provoke the Lord to jealousy, as if he were stronger than he?" It is not to be imagined, but that if men would seriously consider what sin is, and what shall be the sad portion of sinners hereafter, they would resolve upon a better course. Would any man live in the lusts of the flesh, and of intemperance, or out of covetousness defraud or oppress his neighbour, did he seriously consider, that "God is the avenger of such:" and that "because of these things the wrath of God comes upon the children of disobedience."

I should have great hopes of men's repentance and reformation, if they could but once be brought to consideration: for in most men it is not so much a positive disbelief of the truth, as inadvertency and want of consideration, that makes them to go on so securely in a sinful course. Would but men consider what sin is, and what will be the fearful consequence of it, probably in this world, but most certainly in the other, they could not choose but fly from it as the greatest evil in the world.

And to shew what power and influence consideration will probably have to bring men to repentance, and a change of their lives, I remem-

ber to have somewhere met with a very remarkable story, of one that had a son that took bad courses, and would not be reclaimed by all the good counsel his father could give him; at last coming to his father, who lay upon his death-bed, to beg his blessing, his father instead of upbraiding him with his bad life, and undutiful carriage toward him, spake kindly to him, and told him he had but one thing to desire of him, that every day he would retire and spend one quarter of an hour alone by himself; which he promised his father faithfully to do, and make it good. After a while it grew tedious to him to spend even so little time in such bad and uneasy company, and he began to bethink himself for what reason his father should so earnestly desire of him to do so odd a thing for his sake, and his mind presently suggested to him that it was to enforce him to consideration; wisely judging that if by any means he could but bring him to that, he would soon reform his life, and become a new man. And the thing had its desired effect; for after a little consideration, he took up a firm resolution to change the course of his life, and was true to it all his days. I cannot answer for the truth of the story, but for the moral of it I will; namely, that consideration is one of the best and most likely things in the world to bring a bad man to a better mind. I now come to the

IV. And last particular, namely, that the want of this consideration is one of the greatest causes of men's ruin. And this likewise is implied in the text; and the reason why God does so vehemently desire that men would be wise and consider, is, because so many are ruined and undone for want of it. This is the desperate folly of mankind, that they seldom think seriously of the consequences of their actions, and least of all such as are of greatest concernment to them, and have the chief influence upon their eternal condition. They do not consider what mischief and inconveniency a wicked life may plunge them into in this world; what trouble and disturbance it may give them when they come to die; what horror and confusion it may fill them withal, when they are leaving this world, and passing into eternity; and what intolerable misery and torment it may bring upon them to all eternity. Did men ponder and lay to heart death and judgment, heaven and hell, and would they but let their thoughts dwell upon these things, it is not credible that the generality of men could lead such profane and impious, such lewd and dissolute, such secure and careless lives, as they do.

Would but a man frequently entertain his mind with such thoughts as these: I must shortly die and leave this world, and then all the pleasures and enjoyments of it will be to me as if they had never been, only that the remembrance of them, and the ill use I have made of them, will be very bitter and grievous to me: after all, death will transmit me out of this world into a quite different state and scene of things, into the

presence of that great and terrible, that inflexible and impartial Judge, who will "render to every man according to his works," and then all the evils which I have done in this life will rise up in judgment against me, and fill me with everlasting confusion, in that great assembly of men and angels; will banish me from the presence of God, and all the happiness which flows from it, and procure a dreadful sentence of unspeakable misery and torment to be passed upon me, which I can never get reversed, nor yet never be able to stand under the weight of it. If men would but enter into the serious consideration of these things, and pursue these thoughts to some issue and conclusion, they would take up other resolutions; and I verily believe, that the want of this hath ruined more than even infidelity itself. And this I take to be the meaning of that question in the Psalmist, "Have all the workers of iniquity no knowledge?" that is, no consideration; intimating, that if they had, they would do better.

All that now remains, is to persuade men to apply their hearts to this piece of wisdom, to look before them, and to think seriously of the consequence of their actions, what will be the final issue of that course of life they are engaged in; and, if they continue it, what will become of them hereafter—what will become of them for ever.

And here I might apply this text, as God here does to the people of Israel, to the public condition of the nation, which is not so very unlike to that of the people of Israel; for God seems to have chosen this nation for his more peculiar people, and hath exercised a very particular providence towards us, in conducting us through that wilderness of confusion in which we have been wandering for the space of above forty years; and when things were come unto the last extremity, and we seemed to stand upon the very brink of ruin, "Then" (as it is said of the people of Israel, v. 36 of this chapter) "God repented himself for his servants, when he saw their power was gone:" that is, that they were utterly unable to help themselves, and to work their own deliverance. And it may be said of us, as Moses does of that people (chap. xxxiii. 29), "Happy art thou, O Israel, O people saved by the Lord, the shield of thy help, and who is the sword of thy excellency!" Never did any nation struggle with, and get through so many and so great difficulties, as we have several times done.

And I fear we have behaved ourselves towards God not much better than the people of Israel did; but like Jeshurun, after many deliverances and great mercies, "have waxed fat and kicked, have forsaken the God that made us, and little esteemed the Rock of our salvation;" by which we have "provoked the Lord to jealousy," and have, as it were, forced him to multiply his judgments, and to spend his arrows upon us, "and to hide his face from us, to see what our end

will be:" so that we have reason to fear that God would have brought utter ruin and destruction upon us, and "scattered us into corners, and made the remembrance of us to have ceased from among men, had he not feared the wrath of the enemy, and lest the adversaries should have behaved themselves strangely, and lest they should say, "Our hand is high, and the Lord hath not done all this;" that is, lest they should ascribe this just vengeance of God upon a sinful and unthankful nation, to the goodness and righteousness of their own cause, and to the favour and assistance of the idols and false gods whom they worshipped, to the patronage and aid of the Virgin Mary and the saints; to whom, contrary to the will and command of the true God, they had offered up so many prayers and vows, and paid the greatest part of their religious worship. But "the Lord hath shewn himself greater than all gods, and in the things wherein they dealt proudly, that he is above them: for our Rock is not as their rock, even our enemies themselves being judges."

And we have been too like the people of Israel in other respects also, so fickle and inconstant, that after great deliverances we are presently apt to murmur and be discontented, to grow sick of our own happiness, and to "turn back our hearts into Egypt;" so that God may complain of us, as he does of his people Israel, that nothing that he could do would bring them to consideration, and make them better, neither his mercies nor his judgments, (Isa. i. 2, 3). "Hear, O heaven! and give ear, O earth! For the Lord hath spoken. I have nourished and brought up children, but they have rebelled against me. The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib: but Israel doth not know; my people doth not consider." And so likewise he complains, that his judgments had no effect upon them (ver. 5): "Why should ye be smitten any more? Ye will revolt more and more." Well, therefore, may it be said of us, as it was of them in the verse before the text, "They are a nation void of knowledge, neither is their understanding in them." And the wish that follows in the text is as seasonable for us as it was for them, "O that they were wise, that they understood this, that they would consider their latter end!"

And by parity of reason, this may likewise be applied to particular persons, and to persuade every one of us to a serious consideration of the final issue and consequence of our actions. I will only offer these two arguments.

1. That consideration is the proper act of reasonable creatures, and that whereby we shew ourselves men. So the prophet intimates (Isa. xlvi. 8), "Remember this, and shew yourselves men; bring it again to mind, O ye transgressors!" That is, consider it well, think of it again

and again, ye that run on so furiously in a sinful course, what the end and issue of these things will be. If ye do not do this, you do not "shew yourselves men;" you do not act like reasonable creatures, to whom it is peculiar to propose to themselves some end and design of their actions; but rather like "brute creatures, which have no understanding," and act only by a natural instinct, without any consideration of the end of their actions, or of the means conducing to it.

2. Whether we consider it or not, our latter end will come; and all those dismal consequences of a sinful course, which God hath so plainly threatened, and our own consciences do so much dread, will certainly overtake us at last; and we cannot, by not thinking of these things, ever prevent or avoid them. Death will come, and after that the judgment; and an irreversible doom will pass upon us according to all the evil that we have done, and all the good that we have neglected to do in this life, under the heavy weight and pressure whereof we must lie groaning, and bewailing ourselves to everlasting ages.

God now exerciseth his mercy and patience and long-suffering towards us, in expectation of our amendment; he reprieves us on purpose that we may repent, and in hopes that we will at last consider and grow wiser; for "He is not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance." But if we will trifle away this day of God's grace and patience, if we will not consider and bethink ourselves, there is another day that will certainly come,—"That great and terrible day of the Lord, in which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat; the earth also, and the works that are therein, shall be burnt up."

"Seeing, then, all these things shall be," let us consider seriously "what manner of persons we ought to be in all holy conversation and godliness, waiting for, and hastening unto the coming of the day of God; to whom be glory now and for ever."

Tillotson's Works, Vol. III.

HENRY WHARTON.

A. D. 1680—1695.

If the precocious development of those scholarlike abilities, which, in the most favourable circumstances, seldom arrive at perfection till a mature period of life, together with an uncommon aptitude and facility in the use of them, suffice to challenge that distinction, Henry Wharton must undoubtedly be placed in the list of men of genius. He was the son of the vicar of Worstead in Norfolk; who conducted his education with so much assiduity and success, that on his admission, in the year 1680, in the 16th year of his age, at Caius College, Cambridge, he attracted attention as a youth of extraordinary attainments, particularly in classical learning. At Cambridge he pursued his studies with a degree of vigour and application which carried him far beyond others of his standing, and won for him the regard of his tutors, of whom one was the illustrious Newton. To the general respect of the members of his college, was shortly added the more substantial benefit of a scholarship on the foundation; the profits of which he was permitted to enjoy during seven years, notwithstanding he had, some time before the close of that period, ceased to be a resident.

Wharton continued in the University till the beginning of the year 1686; when, observing no immediate prospect of a vacancy among the fellowships, he determined to seek elsewhere that advancement which he already felt ought to lie within his reach. His first employment was in assisting the learned Cave in the compilation of his elaborate *Historia Literaria*. While residing with Dr. Cave he entered into holy orders. His reputation now attracted the notice of Tenison; who, wishing to publish a Latin manuscript in his possession, *On the Incurable Scepticism of the Church of Rome*, written by a German divine, availed himself of Wharton's aid to translate and adapt it to the press. Tenison also recommended him to the Lord Arundel of Trerice, as tutor

to that nobleman's son; by the same judicious discerner of merit he was likewise farther introduced to the patronage of archbishop Sancroft. The primate immediately confided to his care, in order to prepare for publication, Archbishop Ussher's *Dogmatical History of the Holy Scriptures.* Wharton acquitted himself admirably of the task; and was rewarded with a chaplaincy at Lambeth, and, before the close of the year 1689, with the rectory of Chartham in Kent.

The great controversial struggle between the Protestant clergy and the favoured Romanists, having been for some time at its height, abilities like Wharton's could hardly fail to be enlisted in that momentous cause. Several treatises relating to it were put forth by him; some of them original, others translations or merely new editions of works that had been published before. Belonging to the former class is his *Treatise of the Celibacy of the Clergy.* In this attack on one of the chief strongholds of popery, he proves, that celibacy was not instituted in the Church either by Christ or his apostles; that it has nothing excellent in itself; that the imposition of it is unjust and contrary to the law of God; and that it was never universally enjoined, or practised, in the primitive Church. "This," writes his biographer, "and his other ingenious and learned performances, extorted commendations of him even from the Romanists themselves, who took no small pains to bring him over to their side. To this end, Matthew, a priest who privately said mass in Windsor Castle, had a conference with him; and was, or at least might have been, convinced by his discourse that he was not likely to make him a proselyte. Others in like manner tried their skill, and the most excellent of the popish writings were sent him out of France, in hopes to prevail upon him; but he remained immoveable. "For," says he, *Quo magis pontificiorum scripta pervolvi, eo leviora ac futiliora illorum argumenta mihi semper visa sunt*—the more I have read their writings, the more weak and vain, the more light and trifling, did their arguments always appear to me."

In 1692, adventuring in a cause which, whatever may be its real merits, no advocate has been able to rescue from growing unpopularity, he published *A Defence of Pluralities, as now practised in the Church of England.* "The enemies of Pluralities," he writes "proceed upon these heads, either, that to hold more benefices than one with cure of souls, is, *jure divino*, unlawful; or that it is contrary to the first design of parochial

endowments; or that it is highly inconvenient to the Church." On all these points he undertakes to defend the negative; treating them, at moderate length, with great skill and erudition. The following are some of the concluding sentences of this ingenious treatise:

"I have now finished what I had to say in defence of pluralities, and submit the whole to the consideration of indifferent judges. Having done this, I hope I may be allowed to speak to the pluralist clergy (whose cause I have all this time defended) with all freedom. Them I conjure by the honour of God, and by the sense of their duty, to make such use of the favour of plurality granted to them, that religion and the Church may receive no inconvenience thereby, and no just occasion of scandal may be given. I have proved, indeed, that plurality doth not in its own nature beget any inconveniences or scandals. But, if it be not rightly used,—if they so behave themselves, as if they cared not for the souls of either parish, or if they live wholly at one, and seldom visit the other; if they think themselves wholly disburthened of the cure of souls by the delegation of it to a curate; if they put no bounds to their desire of pluralities, holding two by union, a third by sequestration, and perhaps a fourth under the name of another man, by simoniacal contract; if they neglect to give alms and to use hospitality, in both their benefices, according to their abilities; if they are frequently absent from their cures, either to hunt after better preferment, or to follow their pleasure and live more at ease in great cities and towns; if without any lawful excuse they absent themselves from the cure of souls committed to them;—in all these cases, plurality will, in them, be the occasion of great inconveniences to the Church and scandal to religion. It was never my design to defend such practices, nor can they be excused by any principles laid down in this treatise.

"But because all men will not be persuaded to do their duty, I beg leave, in the next place, to address myself with all reverence to the archbishops and bishops of our Church; and entreat them to force such pluralists to do their duty. This they are empowered to do by the canons and laws of our Church and nation, still in force; by the due execution of which they may regulate all such disorders, and all other corruptions which have crept into the Church. It is not the fault of her constitution which occasions any of these inconveniences, but the neglect of her orders, and non-execution of her established discipline. If these were vigorously revived,—if their lordships would please diligently to attend and inspect their dioceses, force their archdeacons to do their duty, the chapters of their cathedral churches to observe their

statutes, the pluralist clergy to fulfil the terms of their dispensations, and all their clergy to obey the canons, and to do their known duty,—all that benefit and reformation would follow, which some, not knowing the excellence of the present constitution, purpose to obtain by such new laws and projects, as would perhaps shake and endanger the whole fabric of the Church. What Lord Bacon observed concerning natural philosophy, that a superficial knowledge of it makes men atheists, but a perfect knowledge of it reduceth them to religion, is fully as true in ecclesiastical polity. An imperfect view and knowledge of the constitution and state of our Church makes men desirous of a change; but a thorough knowledge of it makes them not only be content but pleased with her present constitution, only desirous that her excellent laws and institutions may be put in practice. This case of pluralities was generally esteemed the most scandalous and inexcusable of all her supposed corruptions: yet upon a strict examination of it, it doth now (as I hope) appear to be neither scandalous nor inconvenient; but lawful, necessary, and advantageous to the Church. All the real inconveniences of it proceed wholly from the ill use of it, and from the faults of private persons, to which the best institutions are subject; and which it is to be hoped their lordships the bishops will in due time remedy, by the application of that authority which the laws of this Church and nation have already invested them."

Wharton was now employed on his greatest literary undertaking, the *Anglia Sacra*, of which two volumes in folio were published in 1691. This laborious work was designed to exhibit a complete ecclesiastical history of England, from the first planting of Christianity in this country to the Reformation. In some portions it is taken from the manuscripts of ancient authors; in others, it is his own composition. In the collection of such a mass of historical materials, the compiler had, of course, frequently to depend on the accuracy of copies supplied to him by other hands; nor, when it is considered that other labours were, in the mean time, claiming a share of his attention, does he appear to have devoted a reasonable length of time to the undertaking. Consequently, without supposing that the powers of the youthful historiographer were unequal to his ambitious attempt, we should be prepared to encounter some inaccuracies in its execution. On some such, Burnet (his party spirit exasperated by Wharton's having impugned the correctness of his *History of the Reformation* in *A specimen of some errors and defects* in that work) prepared a series of very angry reflections. The arrows of the Whig historian were

kept in reserve till long after Wharton had ceased to be able to defend his reputation, and were then sent forth winged with all the malice of party. They reached their mark, nevertheless; for it cannot be denied that Wharton was too greedy of learned fame, and its advantages; and had hurried his writings to the press, as if urged by a stimulating presentiment of the brevity of his bright career.

The same year in which the *Anglia Sacra* was given to the public witnessed the deprivation of Wharton's venerable patron, Sancroft. The conduct of Wharton and his fellow-chaplain, Needham, throughout this trying period, was equally honourable to themselves and to their inflexible master. Tillotson's appointment to the primacy had already been formally made: perceiving therefore that the final step would not be much longer delayed, Sancroft took occasion to intimate to his chaplains that a due regard to their own character and interests suggested the propriety of their withdrawing from his service. They replied, that "though they differed from his Grace in opinion concerning public matters in the state, yet, as to personal duties in attending his Grace, they feared no dangers that might happen to them at any time or place." The venerable primate, with lively satisfaction depicted in his looks, consented to their continuing in attendance. When, yielding at length to the legal process of ejectment, Sancroft retired privately from Lambeth, these faithful friends discovered the place of his temporary retreat in London, were received by him with great kindness, and resumed the daily celebration of Divine service before him. Again, he was joined by Wharton, two days after his arrival at Fresingfield, his birthplace, and the scene of his final retirement and death: but the deprived prelate refused to accept any longer his official services, resolving to live without the attendance of any chaplain or other clergyman. Once or twice, nevertheless, every year, while he survived, Wharton paid him a visit. On one of these occasions, in the spring of 1693, the archbishop delivered to him many papers, and promised to leave him all his manuscripts at his death.

The fulfilment of this promise presents a not uninteresting point in the history of the *Churchmen and Church Literature* of our country. The papers of archbishop Laud, which had been seized as part of the plunder taken from his house at the time of his imprisonment, were afterwards recovered by

Sheldon; who consigned them to Sancroft, then Dean of St. Paul's, with a view to the publication, in particular, of the archbishop's Diary, a copy of which was among them. The discovery, some time afterwards, of the original of that document, in St. John's College, Oxford, appeared to facilitate this design. Sancroft, however, presently succeeded to the cares and employments of the primacy; and nothing was done towards its execution, until, in August, 1693, it recurred to his mind in the seclusion of Fresingfield: "he opened his papers, began to compare the copy with the original, to divide the history into chapters, to examine the citations and references, &c.; and he was noting on a loose paper, some queries and directions," when he was seized with the illness which, in a short time, put a period to his life. The faithful chaplain soon heard of his patron's condition, and made his appearance at his bedside. Laud's literary remains presently became the subject of earnest and anxious conversation; when the dying prelate charged Wharton with the completion of the task which he had himself begun, and "caused to be placed in his hands the original and copy of the History and Diary, together with all the papers belonging to them, and all the observations and collections that he had made respecting them."

It was not without some difficulty that Wharton obtained, from the archbishop's executors, a confirmation of this bequest. He did so, however, at length; and, in 1695, brought out the celebrated volume containing *The History of the Troubles and Trials, &c.* of Laud. A second volume, selected from the same interesting collection of materials, which Wharton did not live to superintend, was published, in 1700, by his father, the Reverend Edmund Wharton. Laud's *Troubles and Trials* was, therefore, the latest work consigned to the press by this energetic and laborious young scholar. Some other literary labours which marked the closing years of his short life, will be found enumerated below.

Henry Wharton's constitution was naturally vigorous; but he had early undermined it by immoderate application to study. An injudicious use of medicine, to arrest this mischief, accelerated the ruin of his health. The summer previous to his death, he went to Bath, and found himself benefited by the waters; but having, on his return, resumed his habits of study, he shortly fell into a condition of extreme languor;

and, on the 5th of March, 1694—5, at the early age of thirty-one, "with an humble patience submitted to the stroke of death."

"As," observes his biographer, "he was admirably fitted to serve the cause of religion and learning by the excellency of his natural endowments, so were these raised to a great perfection by his industry. Nor were his moral accomplishments inferior to his natural and acquired perfections. He was modest, sober, and pious; in all things showing himself to be actuated by a truly Christian and religious spirit. He never undertook any matter of moment, without first imploring the Divine assistance and blessing thereon;" and, in all his enjoyments and occupations, he took care so to dispose his time, "as not once to omit being present at the monthly sacrament."

The loss, in the flower of his age, of a person respecting whom the learned world entertained such high and well-grounded expectations, produced a lively sensation. The clergy, in great numbers, expressed their sorrow and respect by attending his funeral. In paying this tribute, several prelates conspicuously joined; in particular, Archbishop Tenison, Lloyd, the very learned bishop of Worcester, and Sprat of Rochester: of whom the two first had visited Wharton in his sickness; the last officiated in the funeral service. The dean, prebendaries, and king's scholars of Westminster also joined the procession to the grave; "the choir likewise committing his body to rest with solemn and devout anthems." The music for the occasion was composed by the admirable Purcell.

The body of Henry Wharton was interred on the south side of the nave of Westminster Abbey; where a modest tablet is placed to his memory.

The following is a list of such of his printed works as have not been particularly mentioned in the preceding account:—

The Speculum Ecclesiasticum, by Thomas Ward, considered in its false Reasonings and Quotations. 4to. 1687.

A Treatise proving Scripture to be the Rule of Faith; writ by Reginald Pocock, Bishop of Chichester, about 1450. 4to. 1688.

History of the Inquisition at Goa. Translated from the French [of Dr. Dellon]. 4to. 1688.

The Enthusiasm of the Church of Rome demonstrated, in some Observations upon the Life of Ignatius Loyola. 4to. 1688.

Bedæ Venerabilis Opera quædam Theologica, nunc primum edita; necnon Historica antea semel edita. 4to. 1693.

A Specimen of some Errors and Defects in Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation. 8vo. 1693. This work was published under the fictitious name of Anthony Harmer.

Historia de Episcopis et Decanis Londinensibus et Assavensibus, ad annum 1540. 8vo. 1695.

Vita Reginaldi Poli Cardinalis ac Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi. 4to. 1696.

Fourteen Sermons, preached in Lambeth Chapel; with a short Account of the Author's Life. 8vo. 1697.

Among the MSS. left by Wharton at his death are the following historical pieces, which he had transcribed and collated with the originals for the press.

Benedictus Abbas de Gestis Henrici Secundi Regis Angliæ. A.D. 1170.

Chronicon Nicolai Tribetti (vulgo de Trebeth) Dominicani, ab ann. 1136 *ad ann.* 1307.

Chronicon Petri Ickham, compilatio de Gestis Britonum et Anglorum.

Stephani Birchington Monachi Cantuariensis Historia de Regibus Angliæ post Conquestum.

Liber Nonus de Miraculis Anglorum.

In some of these are contained large collections out of ancient and modern records, relating to ecclesiastical affairs.

He left a more remarkable monument still of his diligence, in *An Account of MSS. in Lambeth Library;* in which, besides giving a very exact catalogue of those manuscripts, he has, under every book, transcribed all such treatises contained in them as were not then published.

He had moreover bestowed great pains in preparing new and more correct editions of the following works:—

Archbishop Parker, *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ.*

Bishop Godwin, *De Præsulibus Angliæ.*

Florentius Wigorniensis, and *Matthew of Westminster.*

THE ENTHUSIASM OF THE CHURCH OF ROME.

No greater injury can be offered to the Deity, than to believe him the author of any religion which prescribes or encourageth foolish and superstitious practices, or opposeth sense and reason. All such revelations would imply repugnant attributes to be in God; which, if it did not destroy his existence, would at least oblige us to form dishonourable ideas of him. And, therefore, Seneca truly saith[1], "Superstition is a most senseless error, which affronts that object it pretends to worship. For what doth it matter, whether you deny or dishonour God?" Justly also doth Plutarch[2] wonder why atheism should be rather accused of impiety than superstition, since few men are moved by any defect in the order of government of the world to call in question the existence of God; but the tricks and cheats of superstitious persons, their enthusiastic motions, ridiculous actions, exorcisms, lustrations, and such like, give them occasion to believe it better, and more rational, there should be no God, than such a God as the author of such a superstitious religion must necessarily be.

If Christianity in the first and purer ages of it had laboured with these difficulties, or been obnoxious to these objections, it could never have convinced the world of its truth, or surmounted the resistance of heathen philosophy. It would have been highly irrational, and unworthy the learning of those ages, to have deserted one superstition to embrace another, so much more absurd than the former, by how much the one was repugnant to reason alone, the other both to sense and reason. It is the unhappiness of latter ages, to lie open to the force of this objection, which after so many superstitious practices and opinions introduced into a great part of the Christian Church, is thereby become unanswerable. For, whosoever considers the fictions of transubstantiation, purgatory, and infallibility, the impertinence of prayers in an unknown tongue, the trifling actions of their most illustrious saints, and fond superstitions practised in their several monastic orders, processions, worship of images, saints and relics, and indeed, in every individual office of the Church of Rome; cannot but conclude, without descending into the merits of the cause, that the complex religion of the Church of Rome is not of Divine institution, and deserves not either to have been revealed by God, or to be believed by men; and if he believeth these opinions and practices to be inseparable from Christianity, he may justly reject it, and rationally conclude it to be a cheat, and the author of it to have been an egregious impostor. That these reasons have really tended to the prejudice of Christianity, and made

[1] Epist. 123.

[2] De Superstitione.

innumerable apostates from it, the sad experience of Italy, and other Romish countries beyond the seas, demonstrates; where, if the relations of modern travellers do not deceive us, few real Christians can be found, out of the credulous multitude, whose ignorance disableth them from perceiving the follies and discovering the falseness of their religion.

It is, therefore, the peculiar glory of the Christian religion, that it was revealed and proposed to the world in the most learned of all the precedent ages; that it did not take shelter in the ignorance of mankind, nor confine its mysteries to the more remote and ignorant part of the world. The learning and philosophy of the heathens was then raised to the highest perfection, and the knowledge of all arts and sciences had gained equal extent with the Roman empire; so that we may truly affirm the world to have been more universally learned than in any age, either before or since. At this time, especially, God chose to publish his Revelations to the world, and made the more learned part of it the stage of his promulgation; that so in future ages, Christianity might not be subjected to any just suspicions of fraud and imposture, nor the precedent reception of it be ascribed to the foolish credulity of ignorant and illiterate proselytes. The doctrines of it were proposed, and miracles in testimony of it wrought, in all the more famous cities of the empire, in their public schools, and synagogues, in the theatres and universities, in Rome and Athens, the great centres of learning; and, which deserves to be observed, more especially in Greece and Asia Minor, the most learned part of that then learned empire. This secured the Christian religion from all possibility of error and illusion; since, if either the doctrines of it had been ridiculous and irrational, or the miracles fictitious and pretended, the learned auditors and spectators of those times, who were not in the least prepossessed in favour of it, would soon have discovered the cheat, and vehemently decried the error. This consideration also tendeth no less to the advantage and reputation of the Reformation, that it was advanced and undertaken in a most learned and knowing age; that all the authors and promoters of it were persons of extraordinary knowledge; and that purity of religion, and success of learning, as they decreased proportionably in all ages, so they returned into the world at the same time. Whereas popery oweth all its triumphs and success to the ignorance of mankind; began with the decrease of learning, and was well-nigh ruined with the restoration of it. All the peculiar articles of popery were founded in the dark and ignorant ages of the Church: their most illustrious and admired saints were rude and illiterate idiots[1], devoid of all learning, and ofttimes of common sense; their miracles

[1 Ἰδιῶται, persons of no distinction.]

are ever acted either in barbarous and credulous ages, or in remote corners of the world; (we, poor heretics, who have the greatest need of them, for their arguments being so often baffled, nothing but miracles can now convert us, can never be blessed with the sight of them); and at this day it flourisheth proportionably to the knowledge or ignorance of all countries. In France, the most learned of all the popish countries, it is forced to put on a new mask, and by many subtile and nice expositions, qualifications, and interpretations, is almost lost and refined into nothing. In Italy, if we may believe the reports of modern travellers, it hath few proselytes, besides the ignorant and unlearned multitude; the more intelligent sort being become either atheists, sceptics, or Molinists. In Spain alone, and the Indies, doth it flourish in its full vigour; where so gross an ignorance hath possessed the minds of papists, that they believe their inquisitors no less infallible than the apostles; and imagine that their images can both hear and see them. So necessary and useful is learning to mankind, which may fix rules to distinguish true from pretended revelations, discern real from feigned miracles, and discover the illusions of impostors, that the decay of it hath in all ages and countries been accompanied with a deluge of error and superstition.

But in nothing is the use and necessity of learning, and its subservience to the interest and purity of religion, more conspicuous and apparent than in preventing the dangers and follies of enthusiasm; to which, in the present constitution of mankind, all revealed religions cannot but be obnoxious. I do not hereby imply the necessity of any extraordinary learning, or accurate knowledge of all sciences, in all ranks and orders of Christians; but an ordinary prudence, and right understanding of the nature and genius of Christianity; which, if assisted by the direction of more learned guides and pastors, as God in the first institution of Christianity intended it should be, will abundantly secure all persons from the delusions of designing or ignorant enthusiasts. However, a great part of mankind will continue to want this prudence, and neglect this direction; especially, when the means of knowledge are studiously kept from them, and no instruction to be obtained, only from external ceremonies, or the dictates of a confessor, as it is in all popish countries. Such persons profess Christianity, not out of any conviction of the truth or divinity of it; but, induced by the prejudices of education and authority of example, understand not the true principles of their religion, and instead of a rational faith, possess only a blind credulity. This affords a fair opportunity of success to the frauds and artifices of impostors, who will never want proselytes in an ignorant and credulous auditory; and if upheld, and favoured by the public applause of the Church, may draw multitudes of admirers

after them. The great engines of these religious jugglers were ever enthusiasm and the pretence of miracles. The latter have long since ceased, and could never really be performed by impostors: it remains therefore that they betake themselves to enthusiasm, possess the people with a belief of extraordinary revelations communicated to them, of an inward familiarity with God, of continual Divine inspirations, of acting solely by the impulse of the Spirit, and following the infallible dictates of an inward light.

This opinion must be raised, and continued by bold pretences, extatic motions, severe austerities, and macerations of the body, a mortified look, extraordinary acts of apparent humility, ridiculous actions, which may imply a contempt of the world, perpetual canting about spiritual matters, and delivering them in such a manner, as may seem to proceed from the immediate revelation of God; and withal, in impenetrable nonsense. Such pretences and actions will excite the admiration of foolish persons, and by amusing their judgment with specious shews, create in them an extraordinary veneration for their enthusiastic prophet. All the whimsies of his disturbed fancy shall then pass for oracles, and his foolish austerities for so many certain indications of a real sanctity. When this opinion is once entertained, then the pretence of miracles may securely be set on foot, and the grossest cheat may pass undiscerned among credulous spectators, who will be deterred by a religious awe from examining the truth of the miracles of their admired impostor, whose own word shall without scruple be received for miracles pretended to be done by him in secret; or at least, the single testimony of one credulous woman or fanciful idiot shall be esteemed an undoubted certainty. Whosoever examines the miracles of the Romish saints, will find them all to have been at first believed upon such slender motives, and afterwards amplified and increased by the writers of their lives.

Thus the folly and credulity of mankind hath opened the way and facilitated success, even to designing impostors, who are conscious of the falsity of their own pretences, and are disquieted with a perpetual fear of discovery. But then the way is more open, and success more easy to such enthusiasts, who imagine they really enjoy and receive from God those illuminations and impulses which they vent to their deluded followers. Such persons are inspired with a false zeal; and, in proposing the frenzies of their disturbed brains, imagine themselves to act in obedience to heaven, and for the benefit of mankind; which renders all their actions vigorous, and themselves unwearied in the prosecution of them. That there have been, and are still, many such enthusiasts in the world, the history of all times, and our own experience, demonstrate beyond all doubt.

These enthusiasts, as they are commonly persons of weak understandings and narrow capacities, are easily led away with false appearances of religion, and grossly mistake the nature and genius of Christianity. They imagine religion to consist in a rigorous and severe exercise of those external actions, which, in the country they live in, are generally esteemed the indications of piety and Christian virtue; and fancy that the farther they carry these practices, the more nearly they approach to the uttermost degree of perfection. Thus in the Church of Rome, the profession of evangelical poverty, a beggarly habit, a severe mortification of the body, continual telling over of beads, going on pilgrimage, and other childish actions, are, at least by the common people, esteemed the best characters of a refined and exalted virtue. Hence, enthusiasts of that communion, corrupted with these prejudices, while they aim at an extraordinary perfection and purity, propose to themselves long pilgrimages, terrible austerities, continual prayer, and a thousand other ridiculous actions, which their deluded fancy suggests to be meritorious. They employ their thoughts in the perpetual meditation of these imaginary perfections; and in their extasies and raptures are amused with them, and form pleasing ideas of them, arising from the apprehension of some exceeding merit or veneration to be obtained by the practice of them. In this religious frenzy they imagine to have received the Divine approbation of them, mistaking a foolish satisfaction of a deluded judgment for the suffrage and voice of the Holy Spirit acting in them: and at last proceed so far as to fancy the reception of a Divine command for the commission of these extravagancies. No wonder then if, after such a false persuasion, they proceed to act all the whimsies and follies which a disturbed brain and violent imagination can suggest; if they put off all sense of shame and modesty, and, setting no bounds to their extravagance, deliver themselves up to the conduct and direction of an irrational fancy, which inciteth them to commit such follies and trifles as are beneath the dignity of a rational being, and contrary to the dictates of common sense; such ridiculous fopperies and elaborate extravagance, as may justly provoke the laughter of sober heathens, and indignation of wiser Christians.

Such ridiculous fanaticism is the utmost degeneracy of Christian religion, than which nothing can be more contrary to its genius, and destructive of its principles. Christianity was intended to exalt and perfect the reason of mankind, to create true notions of the nature of all moral and religious actions, and introduce the practice of a manly and rational piety. Whereas this enthusiasm debaseth the reason and understanding of mankind, and exposeth both to the scorn and derision of the more judicious and intelligent world: as if none but fools and

idiots could be perfect Christians, and the highest degree of madness were the most certain mark of piety. Such absurd opinions cannot but scandalize all considering persons; and cause them to conclude, that either these absurdities are gross corruptions and deviations from Christianity, or else Christianity itself is a grand imposture unworthy the belief and veneration, or even the attention, of mankind. The former is not easily discernible by those who have no other notions of Christianity than what they receive from the general practice and current opinions of their country, and are from their infancy prepossessed that there is no true Christian society besides their own; where if such fanaticism be publicly practised or countenanced, it cannot but create in them a detestation of all Christianity. But as for those who are convinced of the truth of Christianity in general, and enquire after the true doctrines of it among so many divided communions of the Christian world, they may rationally and infallibly conclude that particular Church which favours or promotes this superstitious enthusiasm, to be infinitely corrupted and degenerate from the true spirit and principles of Christianity.

If we view the several churches and communions of the Christian world, we shall find no society of Christians more free from fanaticism than the Church of England, or more guilty of it than the Church of Rome. It hath been the peculiar happiness of the Church of England to create a right sense of religion and piety in all her communicants, and to secure to them the practice of a rational devotion. She makes no pretensions to private inspirations, and extraordinary illuminations of the Holy Ghost; and all her children are more apt to deride than admire the follies and extasies of enthusiasts. If any of her members have at any time through ambition or ignorance embraced fanaticism, they have at the same time departed from the communion of the Church, and becoming schismatics proclaimed themselves her enemies. Yet so far hath the sober and judicious practice and example of the Church of England influenced even their conduct, that the most extravagant among them have been less fanatical than the most admired saints of the Church of Rome: and whensoever the sense of their duty, and providence of God shall induce them to return to the bosom of the Church, which we heartily wish, they can do it no otherwise than by deserting even all relics of fanaticism. Not so the Church of Rome, which in all her offices and public ceremonies promotes and foments it, hath on many occasions given public applause and approbation to it, and oweth the greatest part of her peculiar doctrines and present prosperity to the enthusiasm of her followers. If we consult the public offices of that Church, we shall find nothing intelligible directly proposed to the common

people, but the prayers performed in an unknown tongue, and the senses in the mean while amused with antic gestures, images, processions, and pompous representations. The first enforceth the minds of ignorant persons to betake themselves to the entertainment of their own thoughts, and direct their devotion according to their own crude and indigested ideas; and then the latter inspires them with childish and absurd notions of religion and Divine matters, and both together cause them to form wild and enthusiastic apprehensions of religious actions, and direct their conduct according to those apprehensions. If we examine the peculiar doctrines of the Church of Rome, we shall find many of them to derive their original from enthusiastic visions and revelations. I will instance only in purgatory and transubstantiation; whereof the former, however at this day defended, was at first set afoot upon the sole authority of these fanatic visions: which imaginary visions of this kind were so frequent among the enthusiastic monks of the sixth, seventh, eighth, and tenth ages, that large volumes might be compiled of them: as, indeed, I have seen several voluminous collections of them in manuscript, composed before the Reformation, in proof of purgatory. As for transubstantiation, as it was first forged in the cell of a visionary monk, so it chiefly gained credit and belief in the world from the pretended visions of supposed saints; for whose sake God divested the sacramental elements of their usual accidents, and offered them to their sight under the very species of an human body. Scarce a monkish saint of any eminence after the ninth age can be found in whose life such a vision is not related. Lastly, if we view the religious orders of the Church of Rome, where religion and piety is supposed to flourish in its utmost perfection, and which are esteemed the grand patterns of refined Christianity, we shall find them to be so many societies of fanatical enthusiasts, who, if we except vicious and irreligious persons among them, wholly busy themselves in wild imaginations and ridiculous ceremonies. If any religious persons among them escape this contagion and surmount this imperfection, it is owing to the excellency of their genius and advantage of their learning, not to the rules of their order, which naturally lead them to it.

But in nothing is the enthusiasm of the Church of Rome more apparent, than in her approbation and veneration of enthusiastic saints. The Church of Rome in her calendars, offices, legends, and bulls of canonization, hath placed such a rabble of saints in heaven, that if a Lucian or Julian should arise anew to write satires against the inhabitants of heaven, and criticise upon the vulgar conceptions of them, I fear they would find greater matter of laughter among the Christian saints than the heathen gods. Of these saints, no small part had never any existence; and many no such existence as is commonly ascribed to

them; I mean, acted no such things as their legendary lives relate. Of those which remain, many were vicious and wicked persons, traitors to their prince and country, or furious persecutors of the supposed heretics of latter ages; whom nothing but a blind zeal for the interest of the court of Rome caused to be canonized. As for the saints of latter ages who were canonized by solemn bulls and ceremonies, (for the ancient saints never enjoyed that honour), they were generally chosen out of the monastic orders; and were either downright enthusiasts, or chiefly admired for those actions which included somewhat of enthusiasm. In these canonizations it is required, not whether the candidate of that sacred character exercised all the offices of piety, temperance and charity in the highest perfection; not whether he procured some illustrious benefit to the Church, or was ever ready to suffer martyrdom for the profession of Christianity;—but, whether he ran about the world barefoot, and, professing evangelical poverty, begged his bread from door to door; whether he wore an iron chain, an hair shirt, or a knotted cord, and affected to appear ridiculous in all his actions; whether he macerated his body with prodigious austerities, and went in pilgrimage to the Holy Land and other famous shrines; whether he enjoyed extraordinary illuminations of the Holy Ghost, acted by the sole impulse of the Spirit, and had frequent extasies and raptures of mind: lastly, whether any of his credulous followers would adventure to testify any miracles done by him, either seen by themselves in secret, or received from others by tradition. What a miserable corruption of Christianity must this needs be, to give such solemn and public approbation to the extravagances of fanatics, to applaud their follies, admire their frenzies, and propose them as the great objects of imitation, not to say of worship, to the people; to solemnize festivals in their memory, and invoke them in the public liturgies; and give thanks to God for the great and glorious examples of those who were fitter for Bedlam than the blessed society of apostles, prophets and martyrs! Such fond credulity and irrational conduct might be somewhat excusable in the common people, whose ignorance and inexperience might plead their pardon. But when the representative Church of Rome commit such follies, and deliberately form such canonizations, which are afterwards approved and received by the whole Roman communion, we cannot but conclude that Church to have grossly perverted the design of Christianity, and widely deviated from the primitive purity of that most rational as well as holy religion.

Enthusiasm of the Church of Rome demonstrated.

BISHOP STILLINGFLEET.

A. D. 1653—1699.

In order to judge respecting the character of a period, we commonly endeavour to form some general estimate of its leading men, as a class. It sometimes happens, however, that an individual will serve to represent, yet more perfectly, in his single person, the qualities, the struggles, and tendencies of his age. Such a man was Stillingfleet. The Church was restored with the monarchy, only to be the more conspicuous and hated mark for the arrows of the infidel, the Romanist, and the sectary. Admirably supported by her own and a far greater strength, she endured, and turned back their repeated onsets upon her assailants; and among her children and her champions was not one who fought with more characteristic effect than this great scholar. He was emphatically the Anglican Churchman of the last two Stuart reigns.

The name of Stillingfleet is derived from that of a village so called near York, where, at an early period, the family of the Bishop was possessed of a good estate. He was himself a native of Cranbourne in Dorsetshire. His birth occurred in 1635. Having passed with applause through the routine of a private grammar-school, he was admitted a scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge, by which society he was so highly esteemed, that at the next election after he had commenced bachelor of arts, which took place in 1653, he was chosen a fellow. His ordination was given by the hands of Bishop Brownrigg, and his first preferment was to the rectory of Sutton in Bedfordshire.

The first, and not the least remarkable, of Stillingfleet's numerous publications, was his *Irenicum*, published in 1659, at the early age of twenty-four. This was one of the many fruitless attempts, to effect that proposed union, which, in the language of those times, has already been referred to under the term "comprehension;" the effusion of a young and gene-

rous mind, little acquainted with men, proposing to itself, by recommending liberal concessions, to remove those differences, the sight of which filled him with pain. With the view of facilitating the admittance of nonconformists into the Church, the claims of all religious communities to an imprescriptible right, derived from divine authority, were to be broken down; and no other conditions of communion imposed than such as Scripture expressly requires.

This treatise was admired by all for its learning and ingenuity, and by many for its liberal views; but it did not convince; and its author himself saw reason, afterwards, to repudiate the principles which it advances. He apologised for it, in more than one of his later publications, as designed indeed "to serve the Church of England," but as containing things which ought in justice to be ascribed to the writer's "youth, and want of consideration."

The leading character in which Stillingfleet presents himself before the mind, and in which he was the greatest of a great period, is that of a polemical divine. Infidelity, Romanism, and Dissent, the three grand enemies of the Church,—only not powerful enough to destroy it, because engaged likewise in bitter hostility with one another,—were, each in its turn, assailed by this champion of orthodoxy, with surprising vigour.

His first blow was the *Origines Sacræ*, one of the ablest defences of Christianity extant. It consists of three books. The first is directed against the alleged irreconcileableness of the chronology of scripture, with that of the learned pagan nations; and demonstrates that, as far as the heathen accounts of time differ from the scriptural, they are unworthy of credit. In the second, the author undertakes to refute the pretence that faith in scripture is inconsistent with reason; with which view he states, on rational grounds, the claims to credibility of Moses and the prophets, our Saviour and his apostles, who through successive ages were employed in revealing the mind of God to the world. The third regards the pretended sufficiency of that explanation of the origin of things which may be drawn from philosophy, independent of revelation; and here the truths themselves revealed in scripture are insisted on, and the fallacy of those opinions and principles demonstrated, which appear to be contradictory to any of them. Such is

the mature ability displayed in this work,—its various and profound learning, the perspicuity of its language, its solidity of judgment, the rigour of its argumentation,—that when, shortly after its publication, which took place soon after the author had entered his twenty-eighth year, he appeared before Sanderson, his diocesan, at a visitation, the venerable bishop could with difficulty be persuaded that he saw before him the author of a work so distinguished by extent of knowledge and ripeness of understanding. This book it was Stillingfleet's intention to rewrite on a more comprehensive plan; and at his death he had prepared a part of the enlarged work, which was printed afterwards, at the end of the folio editions of the *Origines*. It comprises two chapters; the first of which is an examination of the ancient, the second of the modern, atheistic hypothesis. The latter is chiefly occupied with a review of the Cartesian philosophy.

Another of his writings, composed during his short residence at Sutton, was a *Vindication of Archbishop Laud's Conference with the Jesuit Fisher*, in answer to a reply to that work, recently put forth with the title of *Dr. Laud's Labyrinth*. This able defence, rapidly thrown off, established his polemical reputation. The steps of his promotion were neither uncertain nor slow. Sir Harbottle Grimstone, master of the rolls, appointed him preacher of his chapel. His next advance placed him in the rectory of St. Andrew's, Holborn,—a living which he retained from this time, 1665, till his elevation to the episcopal dignity. These appointments, in each of which he was highly valued, brought him into close acquaintance with the eminent lawyers of his time, in particular with Judge Hale and Chief-justice Vaughan. He was now also appointed chaplain to the King. On commencing doctor of divinity, he kept the public act; and in this exercise won extraordinary applause by the fluency of his Latin, the readiness of his replies, and his powerful vindication of the positions he undertook to maintain. Two years later, in 1670, he was made a canon-residentiary of St. Paul's; and in 1677 raised to the deanery of that church.

The following year he published a volume of sermons, of which one, being on *The Reason of Christ's Suffering for us*, was attacked by the Socinians. Stillingfleet vindicated the orthodox doctrine, in a separate treatise, and followed this up by several other publications relating to the controversy with

that sect. His defence of Laud remained hitherto unnoticed by the Romanists; but, by their conduct with regard to other questions, they provoked him to more serious efforts against them. He began by his celebrated *Discourse concerning the Idolatry, Fanaticism, and Divisions, of the Church of Rome.* This he followed up by other tracts; as that against Mr. Cressy, author of the *Ecclesiastical History*, in which he exposes the unsoundness of the mystical divines of that communion; and one in reply to Dr. Geddon, who had undertaken to refute the charge of idolatry, brought against his church.

It may not be undesirable, at the present time, when this accusation is regarded by so many lukewarm Protestants as uncharitable and unfounded, to direct the less informed reader where to find this whole matter discussed with the learning and ability it demands. Geddon asserted, that in accusing the Romish Church of idolatry, Stillingfleet dissented from the opinions of his own. This assertion the Dean refutes, from the Homilies, from the Liturgy and Injunctions of Edward the Sixth, from Cranmer's Articles of Visitation, from the Injunctions and other monuments of Elizabeth, and from the writings of Whitgift, Bancroft, Bishop Montagu, and others. He then considers the nature and species of idolatry; and, comparing them with the worship used by the Roman Catholics, infers that in their worship of the Host, of saints, relics, images, and especially of the cross, they are certainly guilty of that sin. Other labours of his indefatigable pen followed, in the same strain; in one or other of which, every corrupt portion of the popish system was, in its turn, handled with such vigour and effect, that no other controversial books were so much read and valued as Stillingfleet's. In fact, controversy, and in particular the Romish controversy, was his peculiar province. The vastness and variety of his polemic labours, continued through the reigns of Charles the Second and James the Second, are truly astonishing. He was looked up to by the members of the Church of England in the light of her most powerful, and, as they believed, her invincible champion. The writer of his life informs us, that on account of his zeal against popery, and his convincing refutations of it, "he received several threats, and more than once had notice of barbarous designs against him." He proceeded undauntedly, notwithstanding, in the strenuous discharge of what he deemed

his duty; rather animated than discouraged by the favour which the Romish sect received at court. He contributed both encouragement and assistance to those admirable efforts of the London clergy at this critical season, to which reference has more than once been made. He engaged in a personal conference with some members of the Romish Church, on the asserted infallibility of that communion in following universal tradition, the fallacy of which claim he instanced in the Greek Church: for that church follows tradition, and yet is condemned for its errors by the Romanists themselves. He likewise wrote concerning the illegality of King James's famous Ecclesiastical Commission.

Concerning his temper as a polemic, we have the following testimony from the pen of Clarendon: "Though," writes the chancellor, "I am no stranger to the writings of Dr. Stillingfleet, but have read, I think, all that he hath published, at least all that I have seen of his, and as I always admired the strength and vigour of his ratiocination, and the clearness of his style and expressions (a faculty not natural to all very learned and pious men) by which he renders the most difficult points, which are usually by others wrapped up in obscure terms, plain and intelligible to vulgar understandings; so I have been exceedingly delighted with the softness, gentleness, and civility of his language, (which can never flow from an insolent or proud spirit) in which he represents things which in themselves are light, and such as might be neglected, in a pleasant, not reproachful manner—a dialect his adversaries are not acquainted with; and when he is compelled to answer arguments, or rather allegations, full of bitterness and reproachful words, which would tempt another to take the advantage they are liable to, with some sharpness, he passes by the provocation, and collects what can possibly be found like reason out of what is alleged, and refutes it with very much less severity than the matter would justify, and seems sometimes to require."

A third enemy remained, in the encounter with whom Stillingfleet might gather some farther laurels in the thorny, but not uninteresting fields of controvery. While the nation was in a ferment about the Popish Plot, he, in a sermon preached at Guildhall, appealed to the nonconformists to strengthen the hands of the Church, against the common adversary, by manfully laying aside trivial differences, and

rejoining her communion. This seasonable admonition, though couched in kind terms, and "delivered with all the gravity and seriousness, affection and earnestness, and all the persuasive eloquence, that so important a subject required, and was usual with him in his preaching," had the very contrary effect to that sincerely intended by its author. Owen, Baxter (not exhausted by age, nor softened by experience and reflection), Alsop, and others, immediately seized the occasion to write against him; and some of them with violence and indecency. This provoked him to publish a vindication of the Church from the objections of the Dissenters, with the title of *The Unreasonableness of Separation;* a work of great and conclusive power.

While pursuing this controversy, in a brilliant succession of tracts, he also wrote a learned dissertation on the right of the bishops to vote in capital cases. This was followed by his *Origines Britannicæ; the History of the British Churches*, —a book which the union of a vast knowledge of ecclesiastical history, with a degree of critical discernment hitherto rare, may rank with the efforts of the great intellect of Ussher. It determines the freedom of the early churches of the British Islands from those abuses which afterwards flowed in upon them from Rome. It also vindicates their independence, together with their purity; evinces the high state of learning among the ecclesiastics of Britain; and shows that our Church-services were derived, not through our intercourse, in the middle ages, with Rome, but from the apostolical communions, and in primitive times.

Meantime, honours and emoluments naturally rewarded these extensive labours of the Dean of St. Paul's. He now enjoyed, besides his other preferments, the twelfth prebend at Canterbury; and, for some time previous to the Revolution, sat as prolocutor in the lower house of Convocation. Higher rewards, of course, awaited him, on the occurrence of that great event. He was raised by King William to the see of Worcester; to which he was consecrated, in company with Patrick and others, in October, 1689.

Bishop Stillingfleet did not, however, allow himself that repose which, perhaps, he might have been not unreasonably expected to indulge, after so many efforts of industrious erudition. He assisted in the proceedings of the commission for revising the Liturgy, with a view to conciliating the dissenters.

Again he entered the lists, both in pulpit and press, with the disciples of the Socinian heresy. In one of his discourses, the *Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity*, he remarked upon some of the principles laid down in Mr. Locke's *Essay on the Human Understanding*, then just started in its career of popularity, which appeared to him to favour that system. This was the origin of a well-known public correspondence between these eminent persons; which was terminated in a voluminous letter from the philosopher, containing a defence of the principles objected against, viz. his doctrine of ideas, his opinions on personal identity, &c., but avoiding an explicit answer to the prelate's request, that he would make it clear by a plain declaration of his belief, that he had no intention to serve the cause of heterodoxy.

The Bishop's charges delivered at Worcester are described as "incomparably learned and useful." They manifest, not only a most affectionate regard for his clergy, with a lofty and conscientious estimate of the pastoral office, but also that extensive acquaintance with ecclesiastical law which he had previously given proof that he possessed. He, moreover, strove earnestly to correct abuses in his courts, presiding in them constantly in person. Nor was he, in the meantime, a silent or ineffective member of the House of Peers; but spoke in that assembly with the energy and gracefulness of an accomplished orator.

When, in 1694, the see of Canterbury became vacant by the death of Tillotson, a general opinion (indeed a common desire) prevailed, that Stillingfleet should succeed his deceased friend. The Queen's private wishes inclined the same way, but the Bishop of Worcester's principles were displeasing to the administration; while the state of his health admonished him that he ought not, if required, to burthen his declining years with a higher dignity and new responsibilities. He had been gifted by nature with a strong constitution; but its vigour was early impaired by severe study; and now he had maintained a struggle of many years with confirmed disease. He expired March 27th, 1699, in Park Street, Westminster, with pious serenity and resignation—the fruit of a pure faith, and a life of unwearied usefulness to the Church.

This prelate was tall in person, graceful, handsome, and of an aspect so dignified as to be thought by some rather

haughty and severe. His abilities were naturally of a strong and vigorous order, and he continued to improve them to the last by exercise. "He was always conversant in the most weighty and substantial parts of learning, such as became a most judicious scholar and a reverend father of the Church. Whatever he preached, upon difficult points of religion, was ever in a manner singularly instructive and affecting. His polemical discourses were quick, nervous, and convincing. His historical tracts were a most judicious critique upon our other historians—detecting their errors where they were not reconcileable, and giving a reconcilement of them where there were any grounds to found it on. What he wrote touching any points of law had not only that force of argument in it, but the multiplicity also of precedents to support what he affirmed, that the ablest lawyer might be justly surprised to see himself equalled in his own faculty. In short, view him in every part of learning he at any time engaged in, and you will find him as perfect a master of it as if that had been his only study."

Bishop Stillingfleet had, at a great expense, collected a noble library, which, after his death, was purchased by Marsh, archbishop of Armagh, and sent over to Dublin; where that primate erected a suitable building for its reception, as the public library of the university. A considerable number of his manuscripts, chiefly relating to the constitution and history of England, were bought by Lord Oxford, and now form part of the Harleian Collection.

His remains were interred in the choir of Worcester cathedral; where his monument is inscribed with an epitaph from the pen of Bentley, his chaplain, of which the following lines form a part:—

Et sanctitate morum, et oris staturæque dignitate,
Et consummatæ eruditionis laude,
Undique venerandus.
Cui in humanioribus literis critici, in divinis theologi,
In recondita historia antiquarii, in scientiis philosophi,
In legum peritia jurisconsulti, in civili prudentia politici,
In eloquentia universi,
Fasces ultro submiserunt.
Major unus in his omnibus quam alii in singulis,
Ut bibliothecam suam, cui parem orbis vix habuit,
Intra pectus omnis doctrinæ capax
Gestasse integram visus sit;

Quæ tamen nullos libros noverat meliores,
Quam quos ipse multos et immortales edidit;
Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ defensor semper invictus.

"He engaged respect not only by the sanctity of his life, but by his personal dignity, and his character of unbounded erudition. To his judgment in profane literature the learned critic readily yielded; the theologian, in divine; the antiquary, in the obscure researches of history; the philosopher, in science; the lawyer, in the erudition of courts; the statesman, in political science; in eloquence, all alike. Alone superior in the entire circle of accomplishments to others in their own peculiar departments, he appeared to carry in his capacious mind a library such as the world could hardly equal; which, however, possessed no books superior to those numerous and imperishable volumes that he, the invincible champion of the Anglican Church, himself produced."

Principal works of Stillingfleet:—

Irenicum: A Weapon-Salve for the Church's Wounds. 4to. 1659.

Origines Sacræ; or a rational Account of the Christian Faith, as to the Truth and Divine Authority of the Scriptures, &c. 4to. 1662.

A rational Account of the Grounds of the Protestant Religion; being a Vindication of the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury's Relation of a Conference between him and John Fisher, &c. fol. 1664.

Tracts in Reply to Strictures on the 'Vindication,' &c.

Six Sermons. fol. 1669.

A Discourse concerning the true Reason of the Sufferings of Christ. fol. 1669. A second part afterwards appeared.

A Discourse concerning the Idolatry practised in the Church of Rome, &c. 8vo. 1671.

Answer to several Treatises, occasioned by that work. 8vo. 1673.

Conference between a Romish Priest, a Fanatic Chaplain, and a Divine of the Church of England, concerning Idolatry, &c. 8vo. 1679.

Answer to some Papers lately printed, concerning the Authority of the Catholic Church in Matters of Faith, &c. 4to. 1686.

The papers referred to in this tract were said to have been written by Charles the Second. Dryden, recently a servile convert to popery, wrote a defence of them, to which Stillingfleet replied.

The Doctrine of the Trinity and Transubstantiation compared. 4to. 1686.

Numerous other treatises relating to this controversy, were published by him, about this time, in rapid succession.

The Council of Trent examined, and disproved by Catholic Tradition, &c. 4to. 1688.

The Unreasonableness of Separation, &c. 4to. 1681.

The grand Question concerning the Bishops' Right to vote in Parliament, in Cases capital, &c. 8vo. 1680.

Origines Britannicæ; or the Antiquities of the British Churches. fol. 1685.

A Discourse concerning the Illegality of the Ecclesiastical Commission, &c. 1689.

Discourse in Vindication of the Trinity, &c. 1696.

This was a defence of his *Discourse on the Sufferings of Christ*—the controversy occasioned by that publication having been revived by the appearance of a new edition. Several other tracts were also put forth by him against the Socinians.

Correspondence with Mr. Locke. 1697, 1698.

Ecclesiastical Cases. 1698.

Sermons on some of the principal Doctrines of the Christian Religion. 8vo. 1696.

Many other tracts (some of them sent forth, in the first instance, anonymously) were included in his works, published by his son, in six volumes, in folio, 1710.

The same editor likewise gave to the public, *Miscellaneous Discourses.* 1735.

THE OBLATION OF CHRIST'S DEATH TO GOD, AN EVIDENCE OF ITS EXPIATORY CHARACTER.

THE second thing to prove the death of Christ a sacrifice for sin, is the oblation of it to God for that end. Grotius, towards the conclusion of his book, makes a twofold oblation of Christ, parallel to that of the sacrifices under the law, the first of mactation, the second of representation; whereof the first was done in the temple, the second in the holy of holies: so the first of Christ was on earth, the second in heaven; the first is not a bare preparation to a sacrifice, but a sacrifice: the latter not so much a sacrifice, as the commemoration of one already past. Wherefore, since appearing and interceding are not properly sacerdotal acts, any further than they depend on the efficacy of a sacrifice already offered, he that takes away

that sacrifice, doth not leave to Christ any proper priesthood, against the plain authority of the Scripture, which assigns to Christ the office of a priest distinct from that of a prophet and a king. To which Crellius[1] replies: That the expiation of sin doth properly belong to what Christ doth in heaven; and may be applied to the death of Christ only, as the condition by which he was to enjoy that power in heaven, whereby he doth expiate sins; but the priest was never said to expiate sins when he killed the beast, but when the blood was sprinkled or carried into the holy of holies, to which the oblation of Christ in heaven doth answer: but mactation, saith he, was not proper to the priests; but did belong to the Levites also. And Christ was not truly a priest while he was on earth, but only prepared by his sufferings to be one in heaven, where by the perpetual care he takes of his people and exercising his power for them, he is said to offer up himself and intercede for them, and by that means he dischargeth the office of a high-priest for them. For his priestly office, he saith, is never in Scripture mentioned as distinct from his kingly, but is comprehended under it; and the great difference between them is, that one is of a larger extension than the other is, the kingly office extending to punishing, and the priestly only to expiation.—This is the substance of what Crellius more at large discourseth upon this subject. Wherein he asserts these things. 1. That the priestly office of Christ doth not in reference to the expiation of sins respect God, but us; his intercession and oblation, wherein he makes the sacerdotal function of Christ to consist, being the exercise of his power for the good of his people. 2. That Christ did offer up no sacrifice of expiation to God upon earth, because the mactation had no reference to expiation, any other than as a preparation for it; and Christ not yet being constituted a high-priest till after his resurrection from the dead. Against these two assertions I shall direct my following discourse, by proving; I. That the priestly office of Christ had a primary respect to God, and not to us. II. That Christ did exercise this priestly office in the oblation of himself to God upon the cross.

I. That the priestly office of Christ had a primary respect to God, and not to us; which appears from the first institution of a high-priest, mentioned by the Apostle (Heb. v. 1). "For every high-priest taken from among men, is ordained for men in things pertaining to God, that he may offer both gifts and sacrifices for sins." *Id est*, saith Crellius elsewhere, *ut procuret et peragat ea quæ ad colendum ac propitiandum numen pertinent;* i. e. That he may perform the things which appertain to the worshipping and propitiating God. We desire no more, but

[1] A famous writer among the Socinians: he flourished in the beginning of the 17th century.

that the propitiating God, may as immediately be said to respect him, as the worshipping of God doth; or let Crellius tell us, what sense the propitiating God will bear; if all that the high-priest had to do, did immediately respect the people: nay, he saith not long after, "That it was the chief office of a high-priest, to plead the cause of sinners with God, and to take care that they may find him kind and propitious, and not angry or displeased." In what sense God was said to be moved by the expiatory sacrifices, is not here our business to discuss; it is sufficient for our purpose, that they were instituted with a respect to God, so as to procure his favour and divert his wrath. In which sense, the priest is so often in the Levitical law said, by the offering up of sacrifices, to expiate the sins of the people. But Crellius saith, "This ought not so to be understood, as though God by expiatory sacrifices were diverted from his anger and inclined to pardon; which is a plain contradiction, not only to the words of the law, but to the instances that are recorded therein; as when Aaron was bid in the time of the plague to 'make an atonement for the people, for there is wrath gone out from the Lord (Num. xvi. 46); and he stood between the living and the dead, and the plague was stayed,'" (v. 48). Was not God's anger then diverted here, by the making this atonement? The like instance we read in David's time, that "by the offering burnt-offerings, &c. the Lord was intreated for the land, and the plague was stayed from Israel" (2 Sam. xxiv. 25): by which nothing can be more plain, than that the primary intention of such sacrifices, and consequently of the office of the priest who offered them, did immediately respect the atoning God. But yet Crellius urgeth, "This cannot be said of all, or of the most proper expiatory sacrifices:" but we see it said of more than the mere sacrifices for sin, as appointed by the law; viz. of burnt-offerings, and peace-offerings, and incense, in the examples mentioned. So that these Levitical sacrifices did all respect the atoning God; although in some particular cases, different sacrifices were to be offered; for it is said, "the burnt-offering was to make atonement for them, as well as the sin and trespass-offerings," (excepting those sacrifices which were instituted in acknowledgment of God's sovereignty over them, and presence among them, as the daily sacrifices, the meat and drink-offerings, or such as were merely occasional, &c). Thus it is said, that "Aaron and his sons were appointed to make an atonement for Israel" (1 Chron. vi. 49): so that, as Grotius observes out of Philo, "The high-priest was a mediator between God and man, by whom men might propitiate God, and God dispense his favours to men." But the means whereby he did procure favours to men, was by atoning God by the sacrifices, which he was by his office to offer to him.—We are now to consider how far this holds in reference to Christ, for whose sake

the apostle brings in these words; and surely would not have mentioned this as the primary office of a high-priest, in order to the proving Christ to be our high-priest, after a more excellent manner than the Aaronical was, unless he had agreed with him in the nature of his office, and exceeded him in the manner of performance.

For the apostle both proves, that he was a true and proper, and not a bare metaphorical high-priest, and that in such a capacity he very far exceeded the priests after the order of Aaron. But how could that possibly be, if he failed in the primary office of a high-priest; viz. in offering up gifts and sacrifices to God? if his office as high-priest did primarily respect men, when the office of the Aaronical priest did respect God? To avoid this, Crellius makes these words to be "only an allusion to the legal priesthood, and some kind of similitude between Christ and the Aaronical priests." But it is such a kind of allusion, that the apostle designs to prove Christ to be an high-priest by it; and, which is of the greatest force, he proves the necessity of Christ's having somewhat to offer from hence: "For every high priest is ordained to offer gifts and sacrifices; wherefore it is of necessity, that this man have somewhat also to offer" (Heb. viii. 2). This is that which he looks at as the peculiar and distinguishing character of a high-priest; for, interceding for others and having compassion upon them, might be done by others besides the high-priest; but this was that, without which he could not make good his name, what order soever he were of. If Christ then had no proper sacrifice to offer up to God, to what purpose doth the apostle so industriously set himself to prove that he is our high-priest, when he must needs fail in the main thing, according to his own assertion? How easy had it been for the Jews to have answered all the apostle's arguments concerning the priesthood of Christ, if he had been such a priest, and made no other oblation than Crellius allows him? When the apostle proves against the Jews, that there was no necessity that they should still retain the Mosaical dispensation, because now they had a more excellent high-priest than the Aaronical were; and makes use of that character of a high-priest, that he was one taken out from among men, in things pertaining to God to offer gifts and sacrifices for sins: "Well," say the Jews, "we accept of this character, but how do you prove concerning Christ, that he was such a one? did he offer up a sacrifice for sin to God upon earth, as our high-priests do?" "No," saith Crellius, "his sufferings were only a preparation for his priesthood in heaven:" "But did he then offer up such a sacrifice to God in heaven?" "Yes," saith Crellius, "He made an oblation there." "But is that obligation such a sacrifice to God for sin, as our high-priests offer?" "Yes," saith Crellius, "it may be called so by way of

allusion." "Well then," say they, "you grant that your Jesus is only a high-priest by way of allusion, which was against your first design to prove; viz. that he was a true high-priest, and more excellent than ours. But suppose it be by way of allusion, doth he make any oblation to God in heaven, or not?" "No," saith Crellius, "really and truly he doth not: for all his office doth respect us, but the benefits we enjoy coming originally from the kindness of God, you may call it an oblation to God if you please." "But how is it possible then," say the Jews, "you can ever convince us, that he is any high-priest, or priest at all, much less, that he should ever exceed the Aaronical high-priests in their office? for we are assured, that they do offer sacrifices for sin, and that God is atoned by them: but if your high-priest make no atonement for sin, he falls far short of ours, and therefore we will still hold to our Levitical priesthood, and not forsake that for one barely metaphorical, and having nothing really answering the name of a high-priest." Thus the force of all the apostle's arguments is plainly taken away, by what Crellius and his brethren assert concerning the priesthood of Christ. But Crellius thinks to make it good by saying, "That things that are improper and figurative, may be far more excellent than the things that are proper, to which they are opposed; so that Christ's priesthood may be far more excellent than the Aaronical, although his be only figurative and the other proper." But the question is not, Whether Christ's priesthood by any other adventitious considerations, as of greater power and authority than the Aaronical priests had, may be said to be far more excellent than theirs was; but, Whether in the notion of priesthood, it doth exceed theirs? Which it is impossible to make good, unless he had some proper oblation to make unto God, which in itself did far exceed all the sacrifices and offerings under the law.

But what that oblation of Christ in heaven was, which had any correspondency with the sacrifices under the law, our adversaries can never assign; nay, when they go about it, they speak of it in such a manner, as makes it very evident they could heartily have wished the Epistle to the Hebrews had said as little of the priesthood of Christ, as they say any other part of the New Testament doth. Thence Smalcius and Crellius insist so much upon the priesthood of Christ being distinctly mentioned by none but the author to the Hebrews; "which," say they, "had surely been done, if Christ had been a proper priest, or that office in him distinct from his kingly." Which sufficiently discovers what they would be at; viz. That the testimony of the author to the Hebrews is but a single testimony in this matter; and in truth, they do (as far as is consistent with not doing it in express words), wholly take away the priesthood of Christ: for what

is there which they say his priesthood implies, which he might not have had, supposing he had never been called a priest? His being in heaven doth not imply that he is a priest, unless it be impossible for any but priests ever to come there: his power and authority over the Church doth not imply it; for that power is by themselves confessed to be a regal power: his readiness to use that power cannot imply it, which is the thing Smalcius insists on; for his being a king of the Church doth necessarily imply his readiness to make use of his power for the good of his Church. His receiving his power from God doth not imply that he was a priest, although Crellius insists on that, unless all the kings of the earth are priests by that means too, and Christ could not have had a subordinate power as king as well as priest. "But his death is more implied," saith Crellius, "in the name of a priest, than of a king:" true, if his death be considered as a sacrifice, but not otherwise. For what is there of a priest in bare dying; do not others so too? But this represents greater tenderness and care in Christ, than the mere title of a king. What kind of king do they imagine Christ the meanwhile, if his being so did not give the greatest encouragement to all his subjects? nay, it is plain, the name of a king must yield greater comfort to his people, because that implies his power to defend them, which the bare name of a priest doth not. So that there could be no reason at all given, why the name of a high-priest should be at all given to Christ, if no more were implied in it, than the exercise of his power with respect to us, without any proper oblation to God; for here is no proper sacerdotal act at all attributed to him: so that upon their hypothesis, the name of high-priest is a mere insignificant title used by the author to the Hebrews, without any foundation at all for it. "By no means," saith Crellius, "for his expiation of sin is implied by it, which is not implied in the name of king:" True, if the expiation of sin were done by him in the way of a priest by an oblation to God, which they deny; but though they call it expiation, they mean no more than the exercise of his divine power in the delivering his people. But what parallel was there to this in the expiation of sins by the Levitical priesthood? That was certainly done by a sacrifice offered to God by the priest, who was thereby said to expiate the sins of the people: how comes it now to be taken quite in another sense, and yet still called by the same name?

But this being the main thing insisted on by them, I shall prove from their own principles, that no expiation of sin in their own sense can belong to Christ in heaven, by virtue of his oblation of himself there, and consequently that they must unavoidably overthrow the whole notion of the priesthood of Christ. For this we are to consider,

what their notion of the expiation of sins is, which is set down briefly by Crellius in the beginning of his discourse of sacrifices. "There is a twofold power," saith he, "of the sacrifice of Christ towards the expiation of sin; one taking away the guilt and the punishment of sin, and that partly by declaring that God will do it, and giving us a right to it, partly by actual deliverance from punishment; the other is by begetting faith in us, and so drawing us off from the practice of sin." Now the first and last Crellius and Socinus attribute to the death of Christ, as that was a confirmation of the covenant God made for the remission of sin; and as it was an argument to persuade us to believe the truth of his doctrine; and the other, viz. the actual deliverance from punishment, is by themselves attributed to the second coming of Christ; for then only, they say, the just shall be actually delivered from the punishment of sin, viz. eternal death; and what expiation is there now left to the oblation of Christ in heaven? Doth Christ in heaven declare the pardon of sin any other way than it was declared by him upon earth? What efficacy hath his oblation in heaven upon persuading men to believe? or is his second coming, when he shall sit as Judge, the main part of his priesthood; for then the expiation of sins in our adversaries' sense is most proper? And yet nothing can be more remote from the notion of Christ's priesthood, than that is: so that expiation of sins according to them can have no respect at all to the oblation of Christ in heaven; or, (which is all one in their sense), his continuance in heaven to his second coming. "Yes," saith Crellius, "his continuance there is a condition in order to the expiation by actual deliverance, and therefore it may be said that God is as it were moved by it to expiate sins." The utmost then, that is attributed to Christ's being in heaven, in order to the expiation of sins, is that he must continue there without doing anything in order to it; for if he does, it must either respect God or us: but they deny (though contrary to the importance of the words, and the design of the places where they are used), that the terms of Christ's interceding for us, or being an advocate with the Father for us (Heb. vii. 25. Rom. viii. 3. 1 John ii. 1), do note any respect to God, but only to us. If he does anything with respect to us in expiation of sin, it must be either declaring, persuading, or actual deliverance; but it is none of these by their own assertions; and therefore that which they call Christ's oblation, or his being in heaven, signifies nothing as to the expiation of sin: and it is unreasonable to suppose that a thing, which hath no influence at all upon it, should be looked on as a condition in order to it. From whence it appears, that while our adversaries do make the exercise of Christ's priesthood to respect *us* and not *God*, they destroy the very nature of it, and leave Christ only an empty name without

anything answering to it: but if Christ be truly a high-priest, as the apostle asserts that he is, from thence it follows that he must have a respect to God in offering up gifts and sacrifices for sin: which was the thing to be proved.

II. That Christ did exercise this priestly office in the oblation of himself to God upon the cross. Which I shall prove by two things, 1. Because the death of Christ is said in Scripture to be an offering and a sacrifice to God. 2. Because Christ is said to offer up himself antecedently to his entrance into heaven. 1. Because the death of Christ is said to be an offering and a sacrifice to God, which is plain from the words of St. Paul, "as Christ also hath loved us, and given himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God, for a sweet-smelling savour." Our adversaries do not deny that the death of Christ is here called an oblation, but they deny, "that it is meant of an expiatory sacrifice, but of a free-will offering;" and the reason Crellius gives is, "because that phrase of a sweet-smelling savour is generally and almost always used of sacrifices which are not expiatory; but if ever they be used of an expiatory sacrifice, they are not applied to that which was properly expiatory in it, viz. the offering up of the blood; for no smell," saith he, "went up from thence, but to the burning of the fat and the kidneys, which although required to perfect the expiation, yet not being done till the high-priest returned out of the holy of holies, hath nothing correspondent to the expiatory sacrifice of Christ, where all things are perfected before Christ the high-priest goes forth of his sanctuary." How inconsistent these last words are with what they assert concerning the expiation of sin by actual deliverance at the great day, the former discourse hath already discovered. For what can be more absurd, than to say, "that all things which pertain to the expiation of sin are perfected before Christ goes forth from his sanctuary, and yet to make the most proper expiation of sin to lie in that act of Christ which is consequent to his going forth of the sanctuary, viz. when he proceeds to judge the quick and the dead? But of that already. We now come to a punctual and direct answer, as to which two things must be enquired into. 1. What the importance of the phrase of a sweet-smelling savour is. 2. What the sacrifices are to which that phrase is applied.—1. For the importance of the phrase. The first time we read it used in Scripture, was upon the occasion of Noah's sacrifice after the flood, of which it is said, "that he offered burnt-offerings on the altar, and the Lord smelled a savour of rest, or a sweet savour" (Gen. viii. 20, 21). Which we are not to imagine in a gross corporeal manner, as Crellius seems to understand it, when he saith, the blood could not make such a savour as the fat and the kidneys; for surely none ever thought the smell of

flesh burnt was a sweet-smelling savour of itself; and we must least of all imagine that of God, which Porphyry saith, was the property only of the worst of demons, to be pleased, and as it were, to grow fat, *ταῖς ἐκ τῶν αἱματων καὶ σαρκῶν κνίσσαις*, "with the smell and vapours of blood and flesh," (by which testimony it withal appears, that the same steams in sacrifices were supposed to arise from the blood as the flesh): but we are to understand that phrase in a sense agreeable to the divine nature, which we may easily do, if we take it in the sense the Syriac version takes it in, when it calls it *odorem placabilitatis*, or the savour of rest, as the word properly signifies; for נוחח is the word formed from the verb נוח which is used for the resting of the ark (v. 4, of the same chapter), and so it imports a rest after some commotion, and in that sense is very proper to atonement, or that whereby God makes his anger to rest; so Aben Ezra upon that place expounds the savour of rest, to be such a one which makes God cease from his anger: thence in Hiphil הניח signifies to appease, or to make peace; in which sense it is used by R. Solom upon Isai. xxvii. 5. Munster tells us the sense is, *Deus nunc quievit ab irâ, et placatus fuit;* and to the same purpose Vatablus: which sense is most agreeable to the design of the following words, in which God expresseth his great kindness,—"and the Lord said in his heart, I will not again curse the ground any more for man's sake;" which are words highly expressing how much God was propitiated by the sacrifice which Noah offered. And therefore Josephus doth well interpret this to be a proper expiatory sacrifice; that God would now be atoned, and send no more such a deluge upon the world; which he saith, was the substance of Noah's prayer, when he offered this burnt-offering, and that God would receive his sacrifice, *καὶ μηδέμιαν ὀργὴν ἐπὶ τὴν γὴν ὁμοίαν λάβειν*, that he would no more receive such displeasure against the earth: so that the first time ever this expression was used, it is taken in the proper sense of an expiatory sacrifice.

And by that the second enquiry may be easily resolved, viz. What kind of sacrifices it doth belong to; which we see in the first place is, to expiatory, which Crellius denies, by a great mistake of the sense of the phrase, and of the nature of the offerings concerning which this expression is most used; viz. holocausts, as though those were not expiatory sacrifices: but if we can make it appear that the holocausts were expiatory sacrifices, then it will follow, that this phrase doth most properly agree to a sacrifice designed for expiation. But Crellius here speaks very confusedly concerning sacrifices, opposing holocausts and free-will offerings to expiatory sacrifices; whereas the free-will offerings might be expiatory as well as eucharistical; that denomination not respecting the end the sacrifices were designed for, but that the precise

time of offering them was not determined by the law, as in the stated and solemn sacrifices. For the general distribution of sacrifices seems most proper into propitiatory and eucharistical; which distinction is thought by some to hold from the first time we read of sacrifices in Scripture; because the sacrifice of Cain was "of the fruits of the ground," and of Abel, "of the firstlings of his flock" (Gen. iv. 3, 4). Although there seems to be nothing meant by this difference of sacrifices, but the diversity of their employments, either of them sacrificing according to them; and I cannot say what some do, that the reason of God's rejecting Cain's sacrifice, was because it was not designed for expiation. But the practice of after-ages, wherein we have a fuller account of the grounds of the several sacrifices, makes it appear that the expiatory sacrifices before the law were all burnt-offerings; and of all those who were not under the particular obligation of that law; as is plain in the expiatory sacrifices of Job for his sons and for his friends, which were burnt-offerings (Job i. 5; xlii. 8); and among the Jews, all the sacrifices that were offered up before the Levitical law, were, as the Jews themselves tell us, only burnt-offerings: and after the settling of their worship among themselves, they did receive burnt-offerings for expiation from strangers, as Mr. Selden at large proves from the Jewish writers. It seems then very strange, that since burnt-offerings before the law were expiatory, and under the law they continued so for strangers, they should be of another nature for the Jews themselves. But what reason is there for it in the text? not the least that I can find, but expressly the contrary. For in the beginning of Leviticus, where the law for burnt-offerings is delivered, the words are: "And he shall put his hand upon the head of the burnt-offering, and it shall be accepted for him, to make atonement for him" (Lev. i. 4); which is as much as is ever said of any expiatory sacrifices: and in the verse before, where we render לרצנו of his own voluntary will; it is by the vulgar Latin rendered, *ad placandum sibi Dominum;* by the Syriac version, *ad placationem sibi obtinendam à Domino;* and to the same purpose by the Chaldee paraphrast; but no one version considerable that so renders it, as to make burnt-offerings to be free-will offerings here, which are spoken of distinctly, and by themselves afterwards (Lev. vii. 16; xxii. 18, &c.; vi. 7): and the Chaldee paraphrast, Jonathan thus explains, "This is the law of the burnt-offering;" i. e. *Quod venit ad expiandum pro cogitationibus cordis;* but although the Jews be not fully agreed, what the burnt-offerings were designed to expiate, yet they consent that they were of an expiatory nature. Which might make us the more wonder, that Crellius and others should exclude them from it, but the only reason given by him is, because they are distinguished from sacrifices

for sin, as though no sacrifices were of an expiatory nature but they, and then the trespass-offerings must be excluded too, for they are distinguished from sin-offerings as well as the other. The ignorance of the Jews in the reason of their own customs, hath been an occasion of great mistakes among Christians concerning the nature of them; when they judge of them according to the blind or uncertain conjectures which they make concerning them: so that the text is oft-times far clearer than their commentaries are. Setting aside then the intricate and unsatisfactory niceties of the Jewish writers, about the several reasons of the burnt-offerings and sin and trespass-offerings, and the differences they make between them, which are so various and incoherent, I shall propose this conjecture concerning the different reasons of them, viz. That some sacrifices were assumed into the Jewish religion, which had been long in use in the world before and were common to them with the patriarchs, and all those who in that age of the world did fear and serve God; and such were the burnt-offerings for expiation of sin, and the fruits of the earth by way of gratitude to God. Other sacrifices were instituted among them, with a particular respect to themselves as a people governed by the laws of God: and these were of several sorts; 1. Symbolical, of God's presence among them, such was the daily sacrifice, instituted as a testimony of God's presence (Exod. xxix. from v. 38 to the end). 2. Occasional, for some great mercies vouchsafed to them, as the passover and the solemn festivals, &c. 3. Expiatory, for the sins committed against the law: and these were of three sorts; 1. Such as were wholly consumed to the honour of God, which were the burnt-offerings. 2. Such, of which some part was consumed upon the altar, and some part fell to the share of the priests; and these were either sins particularly enumerated by God himself, under the אשם, or else generally comprehended under the חטאת as being allowed to be expiated, because committed through inadvertency. 3. Such, whereof a less part was consumed, as in the peace-offerings of the congregation (mentioned Lev. xxiii. 19), whereof the blood was sprinkled, only the inwards burnt, and the flesh not eaten by the persons that offered them, as it was in the peace-offerings of particular persons (of which, as being private sacrifices, I have here no occasion to speak), but only by the priests in the court; and these had something of expiation in them: for thence, saith Vatablus, the peace-offering was called by the Greeks τελετικὸν, i. e. *expiatorium;* and the LXX. commonly render it, θυσία σωτηρίου, and several of the Jews think the reason of the name was, that it made peace between God and him that offered it: but the great reason I insist on, is, because all the things which were used in an expiatory sacrifice, were in this too; the slaying of the

beast, the sprinkling of the blood, and the consumption of some part of it upon the altar, as an oblation to God, which are the three ingredients of an expiatory sacrifice; for the shedding of the blood noted the bearing the punishment of our iniquity; and the sprinkling of it on the altar, and the consuming of the part of the sacrifice, or the whole there, that it was designed for the expiation of sin. From whence it follows, that the phrase of "a sweet-smelling savour," being applied under the law to expiatory sacrifices, is very properly used by St. Paul, concerning Christ's giving up himself for us: so that from this phrase, nothing can be inferred contrary to the expiatory nature of the death of Christ, but rather it is fully agreeable to it.

But Crellius hath yet a farther argument to prove that Christ's death cannot be here meant as the expiatory sacrifice; viz. That the notion of a sacrifice doth consist in the oblation whereby the thing is consecrated to the honour and service of God, to which the mactation is but a bare preparation; which he proves, Because the slaying the sacrifice might belong to others besides the priests (Ezek. xliv. 10, 11), but the oblation only to the priests. To this I answer: 1. The mactation may be considered two ways; either with a respect to the bare instrument of taking away the life, or to the design of the offerer of that which was to be sacrificed: as the mactation hath a respect only to the instruments, so it is no otherwise to be considered than as a punishment; but as it hath a respect to him that designs it for a sacrifice, so the shedding of the blood hath an immediate influence on the expiation of sin. And that by this clear argument, the blood is said to make an atonement for the soul (Lev. xvii. 11); and the reason given is, because the life of the flesh is in the blood: so that which was the life is the great thing which makes the atonement; and when the blood was shed, the life was then given; from whence it follows, that the great efficacy of the sacrifice for atonement lay in the shedding of the blood for that end. Thence the apostle attributes remission of sins to the αἱματεκχυσία, the shedding of the blood (Heb. ix. 22); and not to the bare oblation of it on the altar, or the carrying it into the holy of holies, both which seem to be nothing else but a more solemn representation of that blood before God, which was already shed for the expiation of sins, which was therefore necessary to be performed, that the concurrence of the priest might be seen with the sacrifice in order to expiation. For if no more had been necessary but the bare slaying of the beasts, which was the meanest part of the service, the people would never have thought the institution of the priesthood necessary, and least of all that of the high-priest, unless some solemn action of his had been

performed, such as the entering into the holy of holies, on the day of expiation, and carrying it, and sprinkling the blood of the sin-offering in order to the expiation of the sins of the people. And it is observable, that although the Levitical law be silent in the common sacrifices, who were to kill them, whether the priests or the Levites; yet on that day whereon the high-priest was to appear himself for the expiation of sin, it is expressly said, that he should not only kill the bullock of the sin-offering which is for himself, but the goat of the sin-offering which is for the people (Lev. xvi. 11, 15). And although the Talmudists dispute from their traditions on both sides, whether any one else might on the day of expiation, slay the sin-offerings besides the high-priest; yet it is no news for them to dispute against the text, and the Talmud itself is clear, that the high priest did it. From whence it appears, there was something peculiar on that day as to the slaying of the sin-offerings; and if our adversaries' opinion hold good, that the sacrifices on the day of expiation did, if not alone, yet chiefly represent the sacrifice of Christ, no greater argument can be brought against themselves than this is, for the office of the high-priest did not begin at his carrying the blood into the holy of holies, but the slaying the sacrifice did belong to him too: from whence it will unavoidably follow, that Christ did not enter upon his office of high-priest when he entered into heaven, but when the sacrifice was to be slain which was designed for the expiation of sins. It is then to no purpose at all, if Crellius could prove that sometimes in ordinary sacrifices (which he will not say, the sacrifice of Christ was represented by) the Levites might kill the beasts for sacrifice; for it appears, that in these sacrifices, wherein themselves contend that Christ's was represented, the office of the high-priest did not begin with entering into the sanctuary, but with the mactation of that sacrifice whose blood was to be carried in thither. Therefore if we speak of the bare instruments of mactation in the death of Christ, those were the Jews, and we make them not priests in it, for they aimed at no more than taking away his life (as the Popæ among the Romans, and those whose bare office it was to kill the beasts for sacrifice among the Jews did): but if we consider it with a respect to him that offered up his life to God, then we say that Christ was the high-priest in doing it, it being designed for the expiation of sin; and by virtue of this blood shed for that end, he enters into heaven as the Holy of Holies, there "ever living to make intercession for us." But the virtue of the consequent acts depends upon the efficacy of the blood shed for expiation; otherwise the high-priest might have entered with the same effect into the holy of holies with any other blood besides that which was shed on purpose as a sin-offering, for expiation of the sins of the people;

which it was unlawful for him to do. And from hence it is that the apostle to the Hebrews insists so much on the comparison between the blood of Christ and the blood of the legal sacrifices, and the efficacy of the one far above the other, in its power of expiation (Heb. ix. 13, 14; x. 4, 10); which he needed not to have done, if the shedding of his blood had been only a preparation for his entrance on his priesthood in heaven. So that the proper notion of a sacrifice for sin, as it notes the giving the life of one for the expiation of the sins of another, doth properly lie in the mactation, though other sacrificial acts may be consequent upon it. So it was in the *animales hostiæ* among the Romans, in which, saith Macrobius, *Sola anima Deo sacratur:* of which he tells us Virgil properly speaks in those words,

Hanc tibi Eryx meliorem animam pro morte Daretis.

And that we may the better understand what he means by the *anima* here, he saith elsewhere (as Macrobius and Servius observe out of his excellent skill and accuracy in the pontifical rites):

Sanguine placâstis ventos et virgine cæsa,
Cum primum Iliacas Danai venistis ad oras:
Sanguine quærendi reditus, animaque litandum
Argolica.

Which shews that the expiation was supposed to lie in the blood which they called the soul, as the scripture doth. And the Persians, as Strabo tells us, looked upon the bare mactation as the sacrifice, for they did not *porricere* as the Romans called it; they laid none of the parts of the sacrifice upon the altar to be consumed there, τῆς γὰρ ψυχῆς φασὶ τοῦ ἱερείου δεῖσθαι τὸν Θεὸν ἄλλου δὲ οὐδένος, "for God regarded nothing but the soul in the sacrifice:" which words Eustathius likewise useth upon Homer, of the sacrifices of the Magi. And Strabo affirms of the ancient Lusitani, that they cut off nothing of the sacrifice, but consumed the entrails whole; but though such sacrifices which were for divination were not thought expiatory, and therefore different from the *animales hostiæ*, yet among the Persians, every sacrifice had a respect to expiation of the whole people. For Herodotus tells us, that every one that offers sacrifice among them, πᾶσι τοῖσι Πέρσησι κατεύχεται ἓν γίνεσθαι καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ, "prays for good to all Persians and the king." But thus much may serve to prove, against Crellius, that the mactation in an expiatory sacrifice was not a mere preparation to a sacrifice, but that it was a proper sacrificial act, and consequently that Christ acted as high-priest, when he gave himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God for "a sweet-smelling savour."

But this will further appear from those places wherein Christ is said "to offer up himself once to God:" the places to this purpose are: (Heb. vii. 27), "Who needeth not daily as those high-priests to offer

up sacrifice, first for his own sins, and then for the people's; for this he did once, when he offered up himself." (Heb. ix. 14), "How much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works, to serve the living God?" (Ver. 25, 26, 27, 28), "Nor yet that he should offer himself often, as the high-priest entereth into the holy place every year with the blood of others; for then must he often have suffered since the foundation of the world: but now once in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself. And as it is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment: so Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many, and unto them that look for him shall he appear the second time without sin unto salvation." (Heb. x. 10, 11, 12), "By the which will we are sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all. And every high-priest standeth daily ministering and offering oftentimes the same sacrifices, which can never take away sins: but this Man, after he had offered one sacrifice for sins for ever, sate down on the right hand of God." To these places Crellius gives this answer, "That the name of oblation as applied to Christ, primarily signifies Christ's first entrance into heaven, and appearance before the face of God there, but consequently the continuance of that appearance; so that when a thing is once actually exhibited and presented, it is said to be once offered, although being offered, it always remains in the same place, and so may be said to be a continual oblation. But this first appearance," saith he, "hath a peculiar agreement with the legal oblation; and therefore the name of oblation doth most properly belong to that, because Christ by this means obtained that power on which the perfect remission of our sins depends: but although the continuance of that appearance seems only consequentially to have the name of oblation belonging to it, yet, in its own nature, it hath a nearer conjunction with the effect of the oblation, viz. the remission of sins, or deliverance from punishment, and doth of itself confer more to it than the other doth. And therefore in regard of that, Christ is said most perfectly to exercise his priesthood, and to offer and intercede for us, from the time he is said to sit down at the right hand of God." Against this answer, I shall prove these two things: 1. That it is incoherent, and repugnant to itself; 2. That it by no means agrees to the places before mentioned. 1. That it is incoherent and repugnant to itself in two things: (1.) In making that to be the proper oblation in correspondency to the oblations of the law, which hath no immediate respect to the expiation of sins; (2.) In making that to have the most immediate respect to the expiation of sins, which can in no tolerable sense be called an oblation. For the first, since Crellius saith, that the proper

notion of oblation is to be taken from the oblations in the Levitical law, we must consider what it was there, and whether Christ's first entrance into heaven can have any correspondency with it. An oblation under the law was in general anything which was "immediately dedicated to God," but in a more limited sense it was proper to what was dedicated to him by way of sacrifice according to the appointments of the Levitical law. We are not now inquiring what was properly called an oblation in other sacrifices, but in those which then were for expiation of sin; and in the oblation was, first of the persons for whom the sacrifice was offered. So in the burnt-offering, the person who brought it "was to offer it at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation" (Lev. i. 3); *i. e.* as the Jews expound it, at the entrance of the court of the priests; and there he was "to lay his hands upon the head of it, and it shall be accepted for him to make atonement for him" (ver. 4). This offering was made before the beast was slain; after the killing the beast, then "the priests were to make an offering of the blood, by sprinkling it round about the altar of burnt-offerings;" the rest of the blood, say the Jews, was poured out by the priests at the south side of the altar upon the foundations where the two holes were for the passage into the channel, which conveyed the blood into the valley of Kidron; thus the blood being offered, the parts of the beast were by the priests to be laid upon the altar, and there they were all to be consumed by fire; and then it was called "an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the Lord." The same rites were used in the peace-offerings and trespass-offerings, as to the laying on of hands, and the sprinkling the blood, and consuming some part by fire: and in the sin-offerings, there was to be the same imposition of hands: but concerning the sprinkling of the blood, and the way of consuming the remainders of the sacrifice, there was this considerable difference, that in the common sin-offerings for particular persons, the blood was sprinkled upon "the horns of the altar of burnt-offerings," but in the sin-offerings for the high-priest and the congregation, or all the people, he was to carry the blood within the sanctuary, and to sprinkle of it seven times before the veil of the sanctuary; and some of the blood was to be put upon the horns of the altar of incense; but the remainder of the blood, and the same things (which were offered by fire in peace-offerings), were to be disposed of accordingly on the altar of burnt-offerings (Lev. iv. 25, 30). And withal, there was this great difference, that in other sin-offerings the priests were to eat the remainder of the sacrifice "in the holy place" (Lev. vi. 26); but in these there was nothing to be eaten by them; for the "whole bullock was to be carried forth without the camp, and there he was to be burned till all were consumed" (Lev. iv. 11, 12). For it was an

express law "that no sin-offering, whereof any of the blood is brought into the tabernacle of the congregation to reconcile withal in the holy place, shall be eaten: it shall be burnt in the fire" (Lev. vi. 30). All the difference that was on the great day of atonement was this, that the high-priest himself was to slay the sin-offerings, and then to carry the blood of them into the holy of holies, and there was to sprinkle the blood with his finger towards the mercy-seat seven times: after which, and the sending away the scape-goat, the ceremonies were the same for the atonement of the people, which were at other solemn sin-offerings for the priest or the people (Lev. xvi. 14, 15).

From all which being thus laid together, we shall observe several things, which are very material to our purpose. 1. That in the oblations which were made for expiation of sins, the difference between the mactation and the oblation did arise from the difference between the priest and the sacrifice. For the priest's office was to atone, but he was to atone by the sacrifice; on which account, although the priest were to offer the sacrifice for himself, yet the oblation did not lie in the bare presenting himself before God, but in the presenting the blood of that sacrifice which was shed in order to expiation. If we could have supposed that the high-priest under the law, instead of offering a goat for a sin-offering for the people on the day of atonement, should have made an oblation of himself to God, by dying for the expiation of their sins; in this case, his death being the sacrifice, and himself the priest, the mactation, as it relates to his own act, and his oblation, had been one and the same thing. For his death had been nothing else but the offering up himself to God, in order to the expiation of the sins of the people; and there can be no reason why the oblation must be of necessity something consequent to his death, since all things necessary to a perfect oblation do concur in it. For where there is something solemnly devoted to God, and in order to the expiation of sins, and by the hand of a priest, there are all things concurring to a legal oblation; but in this case, all these things do concur, and therefore there can be no imaginable necessity of making the oblation of Christ only consequent to his ascension, since in his death all things concur to a proper oblation. In the law, we grant that the oblation made by the priest was consequent to the death of the beast for sacrifice; but the reason of that was, because the beast could not offer up itself to God, and God had made it necessary that the priest should expiate sins, not by himself, but by those sacrifices; and therefore the oblation of the blood was after the sacrifice was slain: neither could this have been solved barely by the priest's slaying of the sacrifices; for this being an act of violence towards the beasts that were thus killed, could not be a proper oblation, which must suppose a consent antece-

dent to it. All which showed the great imperfection of the Levitical law, in which so many several things were to concur, to make up a sacrifice for sin, viz. the first offering made by the party concerned of what was under his dominion, viz. the beast to be sacrificed "at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation;" but the beast not being able to offer up itself, it was necessary for the offering up its blood, that it must be slain by others; and for the better understanding, not only of the efficacy of the blood, but the concurrence of the priest for expiation, he was to take the blood and sprinkle some of it on the altar, and pour out the rest at the foundation of it. But since we assert a far more noble and excellent sacrifice, by the Son of God freely offering up himself to be made a sacrifice for the sins of the world, why may not this be as proper an oblation made unto God as any was under the law, and far more excellent, both in regard of the priest and the sacrifice? Why should his oblation of himself then be made only consequent to his death and resurrection? Which latter, being by our adversaries made not his own act, but God's upon him, and his entrance into heaven being given him (as they assert) as a reward of his sufferings, in what tolerable sense can that be called an oblation of himself, which was conferred upon him as a reward of his former sufferings? From whence it follows, that, upon our adversaries' own grounds, the death of Christ may far more properly be called the oblation of himself, than his entrance into heaven; and that there is no necessity of making the oblation of Christ consequent to his death, there being so great a difference between the sacrifice of Christ and that of the sacrifices for sin under the Levitical law.

2. We observe that the oblation as performed by the priest did not depend upon his presenting himself before God, but upon the presenting the blood of a sacrifice which had been already slain for the expiation of sins. If the priest had gone into the holy of holies, and there only presented himself before the mercy-seat, and that had been all required in order to the expiation of sins, there had been some pretence for our adversaries' making Christ's presenting himself in heaven to be the oblation of himself to God; but under the law, the efficacy of the high-priest's entrance into the holy of holies did depend upon the blood which he carried in thither, which was the blood of the sin-offering, which was already slain for the expiation of sins: and in correspondency to this, Christ's efficacy in his entrance into heaven, as it respects our expiation, must have a respect to that sacrifice which was offered up to God antecedent to it. And I wonder our adversaries do so much insist on the "high-priest's entering into the most holy place once a year," as though all the expiation had depended upon that; whereas all the promise of expiation was not upon his bare entrance into it, but upon the blood which he carried along with him, and sprinkled there: in

correspondency to which our Saviour is not barely said to enter into heaven, and present himself to God, but that he did this "by his own blood, having obtained eternal redemption for us" (Heb. ix. 12).

3. We observe, that there was something correspondent in the death of Christ to somewhat consequent to the oblation under the law, and therefore there can be no reason to suppose that the oblation of Christ must be consequent to his death; for that destroys the correspondency between them. Now this appears in this particular, that in the solemn sacrifices for sin, after the sprinkling of blood which was carried into the holy place to reconcile withal, all the remainder of the sacrifice was to be burnt without the camp; and this held on the day of atonement, as well as in other sin-offerings for the congregation. Now the author to the Hebrews tells us, that in correspondency to this, "Jesus, that he might sanctify the people with his own blood, suffered without the gate" (Heb. xiii. 12). What force is there in this, unless the blood of Christ did answer to the sin-offerings for the people, and his oblation was supposed to be made before? and therefore that he might have all things agreeable to those sin-offerings, the last part was to be completed too; viz. that he was to "suffer without the gate;" which after the people's settlement in Jerusalem answered to the "being burnt without the camp" in the wilderness.

4. We observe, that the oblation in expiatory sacrifices under the law by the priest, had always relation to the consumption of what was offered; thus the offering of the blood, in token of the destruction of the life of the beast whose blood was offered; for no blood was to be offered of a living creature, nor of one killed upon any other account, but for that end to be a sacrifice for sin; and after the sprinkling and pouring out of the blood, the inwards of some, and all of the other, were to be consumed by fire. And it is observable, that the greater the sacrifice for sin was, always the more was consumed of it; as appears plainly by the fore-mentioned difference of the sin-offerings for private persons and for the people: of the former, the priests were allowed to eat, but not at all of the latter. And so it was observed among the Egyptians, in the most solemn sacrifices for expiation, nothing was allowed to be eaten of that part which was designed for that end. For Herodotus gives us an account why the Egyptians never eat the head of any living creature; which is, "that when they offer up a sacrifice, they make a solemn execration upon it, that if any evil were to fall upon the persons who sacrificed, or upon all Egypt, it might be turned upon the head of that beast[1]." And Plutarch adds, "that after this solemn execration they cut off the head, and of old threw it into the river, but then gave it to strangers[2]." From which custom we observe, that in a

[1] Herodot. l. ii. c. 39.

[2] Plut. de Iside.

solemn sacrifice for expiation, the guilt of the offenders was, by this rite of execration, supposed to be transferred upon the head of the sacrifice, as it was in the sacrifices among the Jews by the laying on of hands; and that nothing was to be eaten of what was supposed to have that guilt transferred upon it. From hence all expiatory sacrifices were at first whole burnt-offerings, as appears by the patriarchal sacrifices and the customs of other nations, and among the Jews themselves, as we have already proved in all solemn offerings for the people. And although in the sacrifices of private persons, some parts were allowed to be eaten by the priests, yet those which were designed for expiation were consumed. So that the greater the offering was to God, the more it implied the consumption of the thing which was so offered: how strangely improbable then is it, that the oblation of Christ should not (as under the law) have respect to his death and his sufferings; but to his entrance into heaven, wherein nothing is supposed to be consumed, but all things given him with far greater power (as our adversaries suppose) than ever he had before. But we see the apostle parallels Christ's suffering with the burning of the sacrifices, and his blood with the blood of them; and consequently his offering up himself must relate not to his entrance into heaven, but to that act of his whereby he suffered for sins, and offered up his blood as a sacrifice for the sins of the world.

From all which it appears, how far more agreeably to the oblations under the law Christ is said to offer up himself for the expiation of sins by his death and sufferings, than by his entrance into heaven; for it is apparent that the oblations in expiatory sacrifices under the law, were such upon which the expiation of sin did chiefly depend; but by our adversaries' own confession, Christ's oblation of himself by his entrance into heaven hath no immediate respect at all to the expiation of sin, only "as the way whereby he was to enjoy that power by which he did expiate sins," as Crellius saith. Now let us consider what more propriety there is in making this presenting of Christ in heaven to have a correspondency with the legal oblations, than the offering up himself upon the cross. For, 1. On the very same reason that his entrance into heaven is made an oblation, his death is so too, viz. because it was the way whereby he obtained the power of expiation; and far more properly so than the other, since they make Christ's entrance and power the reward of his sufferings; but they never make his sitting at the right hand of God the reward of his entrance into heaven. 2. His offering up himself to God upon the cross was his own act, but his entrance into heaven was God's, as themselves acknowledge, and therefore could not in any propriety of speech be called "Christ's offering up himself." 3. If it were his own act, it could not have that respect to the expiation of sins which his death had; for our adversaries say,

"that his death was by reason of our sins, and that he suffered to purge us from sin; but his entrance into heaven was upon his own account, to enjoy that power and authority which he was to have at the right hand of God." 4. How could Christ's entrance into heaven be the way for his enjoying that power which was necessary for the expiation of sin, when Christ before his entrance into heaven saith, that "all power was given to him in heaven and earth" (Matt. xxviii. 18). And the reason assigned in scripture of that power and authority which God gave him is, "because he humbled himself, and became obedient to death, even the death of the cross?" (Phil. ii. 8, 9) so that the entrance of Christ into heaven could not be the means of obtaining that power which was conferred before; but the death of Christ is mentioned on that account in scripture. 5. If the death of Christ were no expiatory sacrifice, the entrance of Christ into heaven could be no oblation proper to a high-priest; for his entrance into the holy of holies was on the account of the blood of the sin-offering which he carried in with him. If there were then no expiatory sacrifice before, that was slain for the sins of men, Christ could not be said to make any oblation in heaven, for the oblation had respect to a sacrifice already slain; so that if men deny that Christ's death was a proper sacrifice for sin, he could make no oblation at all in heaven, and Christ could not be said to enter thither, as the high-priest entered into the holy of holies with the blood of the sacrifice; which is the thing which the author to the Hebrews asserts concerning Christ.

2. There is as great an inconsistency in making the exercise of Christ's power in heaven an oblation in any sense, as in making Christ's entrance into heaven to be the oblation which had correspondency with the oblations of the law. For what is there which hath the least resemblance with an oblation in it? Hath it any respect to God, as all the legal oblations had? No; "for his intercession and power," Crellius saith "respects us, and not God." Was there any sacrifice at all in it for expiation? How is it possible that the mere exercise of power should be called a sacrifice? What analogy is there at all between them? And how could he be then said most perfectly to exercise his priesthood, when there was no consideration at all of any sacrifice offered up to God? So that upon these suppositions the author to the Hebrews must argue upon strange similitudes, and fancy resemblances to himself, which it was impossible for the Jews to understand him in, who were to judge of the nature of priesthood and oblations in a way agreeable to the institutions among themselves. But was it possible for them to understand such oblations and a priesthood which had no respect at all to God, but wholly to the people; and such an entrance into the holy of holies without the blood of an expiatory sacrifice for the sins of

the people? But such absurdities do men betray themselves into, when they are forced to strain express places of scripture to serve an hypothesis which they think themselves obliged to maintain.

We now come to show, that this interpretation of Crellius doth not agree with the circumstances of the places before mentioned; which will easily appear by these brief considerations. 1. That the apostle always speaks of the offering of Christ as a thing past and once done, so as not to be done again (Heb. vii. 27; ix. 26; x. 10); which had been very improper, if by the oblation of Christ he had meant the continual appearance of Christ in heaven for us, which yet is, and will never cease to be, till all his enemies be made his footstool. 2. That he still speaks in allusion to the sacrifices which were in use among the Jews, and therefore the oblation of Christ must be in such a way as was agreeable to what was used in the Levitical sacrifices (Heb. ix. 12, 13; x. 4, 5); which we have already at large proved he could not do in our adversaries' sense. 3. That the apostle speaks of such a sacrifice for sins to which the sitting at the right hand of God was consequent; so that the oblation antecedent to it must be properly that sacrifice for sins which he offered to God; and therefore the exercise of his power for expiation of sins, which they say is meant by "sitting at the right hand of God" (Heb. x. 12), cannot be that sacrifice for sins. Neither can his entrance into heaven be it, which in what sense it can be called a "sacrifice for sins," since themselves acknowledge it had no immediate relation to the expiation of them, I cannot understand. 4. The apostle speaks of such an offering of Christ once, which if it had been repeated, doth imply that Christ's sufferings must have been repeated too: "For then must he often have suffered since the foundation of the world" (Heb. ix. 26): but the repeated exercise of Christ's power in heaven doth imply no necessity at all of Christ's frequent suffering, nor his frequent entrance into heaven, which might have been done without suffering; therefore it must be meant of such an offering up himself as was implied in his death and sufferings. He speaks of the offering up of that body which God gave him when he came into the world; but our adversaries deny that he carried the same body into heaven, and therefore he must speak not of an offering of Christ in heaven, but what was performed here on earth. But here our adversaries have shown us a trial of their skill, when they tell us with much confidence that the world into which Christ is here said to come, is not to be understood of this world, but of that to come; which is not only contrary to the general acceptation of the word when taken absolutely as it is here, but to the whole scope and design of the place. For he speaks of that world wherein sacrifices and burnt-offerings were used, and the Levitical law was observed, although not sufficient for perfect expiation, and so

rejected for that end; and withal he speaks of that world wherein the cheerful obedience of Christ to the will of his Father was seen; for he saith, "Lo, I come to do thy will, O God" (Heb. x. 7, 9); which is repeated afterwards; but will they say that this world was not the place into which Christ came to obey the will of his Father? And how could it be so properly said of the future world, "Lo, I come to do thy will;" when they make the design of his ascension to be the receiving the reward of his doing and suffering the will of God upon earth?

But yet they attempt to prove from the same author to the Hebrews, that Christ's entrance into heaven was necessary to his being a perfect high-priest, for he was to be made "higher than the heavens" (Heb. vii. 26; viii. 4); and if he were on earth he should not be a priest; but he was a priest "after the power of an endless life" (Heb. vii. 16). Neither could he, say they, be a perfect high-priest till those words were spoken to him, "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee" (Heb. v. 5); which, as appears by other places, was after the resurrection. But all the sufferings he underwent in the world were only to qualify him for his office in heaven; therefore, it is said, "That in all things it behoved him to be made like unto his brethren, that he might be a merciful and faithful high-priest, &c." (Heb. ii. 17). This is the substance of what is produced by Crellius and his brethren to prove that Christ did not become a perfect high-priest till he entered into heaven; but it were worth the knowing what they mean by a perfect high-priest: is it that Christ did then begin the office of a high-priest, and that he made no offering at all before? No, that they dare not assert at last; but that there was no perfect sacrifice offered for sin; otherwise Socinus contends, "that Christ did offer upon earth, and that for himself too." So that all kind of offering is not excluded by themselves, before Christ's entrance into heaven. But if they mean by "perfect high-priest" in heaven, that his office of high-priest was not consummated by what he did on earth, but that a very considerable part of the priesthood of Christ was still remaining to be performed in heaven; it is no more than we do freely acknowledge; and this is all we say is meant by those places: for the apostle's design is to prove the excellency of the priesthood of Christ above the Aaronical, which he doth, not only from the excellency of the sacrifice which he offered above the blood of bulls and goats, but from the excellency of the priest, who did excel the Aaronical priests, both in regard of "his calling from God," which is all the apostle designs (Heb. v. 5), not at all intending to determine the time when he was made, but by whom he was made high-priest, even by him that had said, "Thou art my Son, &c.;" and in regard of the excellency of the sanctuary which he entered into, which was not an earthly, but a heavenly sanctuary, and in regard of the perpetuity of

his function there, "not going in once a year, as the high-priests under the law did, but there "ever living to make intercession for us." Now this being the apostle's design, we may easily understand why he saith, that "he was to be a heavenly high-priest," and "if he had been on earth he could not have been a priest." The meaning of which is only this: that if Christ's office had ended in what he did on earth, he would not have had such an excellency as he was speaking of; for then he had ceased to be at all such a high-priest, having no holy of holies to go into, which should as much transcend the earthly sanctuary as his sacrifice did the blood of bulls and goats. Therefore, in correspondency to that priesthood which he did so far excel in all the parts of it, he was not to end his priesthood merely with the blood which was shed for a sacrifice, but he was to carry it into heaven, and present it before God, and to be a perpetual intercessor in the behalf of his people; and so was in regard of the perpetuity of his office "a priest after the law of an endless life." But lest the people should imagine that so great and excellent a high-priest, being so far exalted above them, should have no sense or compassion upon the infirmities of his people; therefore to encourage them to adhere to him, he tells them that "he was made like to his brethren," and therefore they need not doubt, but by the sense which he had of the infirmities of human nature, he will have pity on the weaknesses of his people; which is all the apostle means by those expressions. So that none of these places do destroy the priesthood of Christ on earth, but only assert the excellency and the continuance of it in heaven. Which latter we are as far from denying, as our adversaries are from granting the former. And thus much may suffice for the second thing, to prove the death of Christ a proper sacrifice for sin, viz. "the oblation which Christ made of himself to God by it.'

Discourse concerning the Sufferings of Christ.

CLEMENT ELLIS.

A. D. 1660—1700.

Among the means, by the use of which the Church of England has, in recent times, at once discharged her duty to the people, and revived, to a considerable extent, in return, those sentiments of affectionate reverence with which she was formerly regarded by them, not the least effectual has been the publication, by sound and able clergymen, of tracts adapted to the humbler classes. It is unnecessary here to name those numerous benefactors of their countrymen and mankind, who, in our own age, have devoted great powers and much valuable leisure to this generous, though self-rewarding task. Nor can it be regarded as any disparagement to our contemporaries who labour in this field of usefulness, to record, that the way to it had already been trodden; and that, though the good work was not previously carried forward upon so large a scale, it has long since found individuals among the clergy able and willing to execute it with admirable effect. Conspicuous among such was Clement Ellis, a divine gifted with the happiest talent for setting great truths in a simple and perspicuous light, and at the same time recommending them by the unaffected earnestness of his own piety. "He plainly lets us see," observes the writer of his life, "not only his skill and judgment, but his thorough feeling and experience of those many excellent truths which he has handled; so that we may truly say of him, that he was blessed with this peculiar privilege, of letting his reader into the secrets of his heart, as well as into the strength of his arguments."

Clement Ellis was born in 1633, at Rose Castle, in Cumberland; where his father, to whom Potter, then bishop of Carlisle, had been tutor at Queen's College, Oxford, filled the office of steward to the bishop's estate. Bishop Potter was one of Clement's godfathers, and had him educated in his family; a circumstance which most probably laid the foundation of that piety which was so eminently conspicuous in his character. In the beginning of the civil wars Potter

died; when Mr. Ellis, the father, held the castle for the king, and for some time successfully defended it against the opposite party; but he was at last forced to surrender at discretion, and, beside the ruin of his estate, was long detained a prisoner, for his firm adherence to the royal cause. Some of his friends at Queen's College—in particular Barlow (after the restoration made bishop of Lincoln)—pitying his inability, in consequence, to send his son to the university, procured the youth's admission into their own society, and, with the aid of occasional contributions from the fund raised and distributed for such purposes, by Jeremy Taylor and Hammond, maintained him there at their own expence.

Young Ellis's conduct, and proficiency in learning, fully answering the hopes of his patrons, a fellowship was early bestowed on him. He was ordained in 1656 by Skinner, deprived bishop of Oxford, and after preaching some years in Oxford and the vicinity, was, on the recommendation of Barlow and Morley, made domestic chaplain to the Marquis, afterwards Duke, of Newcastle. In this capacity he was wont to check the licentious discourse which he had occasion sometimes to hear at the marquis's table, with a freedom and gravity not sufficiently common in these times. An anecdote is related respecting a reproof administered by him, on such an occasion, to a person of high rank, who was so sensible of the justice of it, as no otherwise to resent the chaplain's freedom, than by sending him on the following morning an offer of a living in his gift, at that time vacant. By the advice of the marquis, however, he declined this preferment; and was shortly afterwards presented by his patron to the rectory of Kirkby, in the county of Nottingham.

He found his parish in miserable disorder, from the effects of the civil war. Several individuals who had served in the parliamentary armies were settled in the town, and had diffused around them the principles of dissent. At first these persons caused great vexation to the exemplary pastor; "but by a prudent management of affairs, seasonable applications, and a mild and gentle behaviour towards them, he, in a few years, wrought a very great reformation. Many of those who had professed the greatest aversion to the establishment became hearty friends to it, and were thoroughly reconciled to its constitutions and orders; insomuch that in the last thirty years of his life at Kirkby, he did not believe that he had three dissenters in it."

Notwithstanding these proofs of usefulness, his intercourse with nonconformists was too free, and his methods of dealing with them too gentle, to satisfy all parties. Reports respecting the laxity of his church-principles were spread abroad, and barred his advancement; until, in 1693, the archbishop of York collated him to a prebend in that cathedral. This slight acknowledgment of his earnest and successful labours was more, however, than he desired; and he sought to resign his preferment, on finding, soon afterwards, that his infirm health would not permit him to discharge its duties in person. His constitution, always weakly, had been farther undermined by study, and was now in a great degree broken by sorrow for the loss of his wife. From this event to the period of his own decease, which occurred in June 1700, his life appears to have been one lingering illness. "His death was attended," we are told, "with all the tokens of an humble and devout soul, and a spirit entirely resigned up to God; and during the whole course of his sickness, as well as at his departure, such a power and presence of God's good Spirit seemed to be afforded him, that it was the greatest ease and pleasure to him to die; and all doubtfulness and uncertainty concerning his everlasting state was, with true reason, and upon good grounds, removed from him."

Clement Ellis may be cited as among the noblest examples of that respectable character, the parish priest of the Church of England. "His piety and devotion towards God, his friendship and charity to men, his humility and sobriety towards himself, were eminent. His labours in preaching, catechising, and visiting the sick, were extraordinary, and beyond most examples; and such a godlike temper and disposition appeared in everything he said or did, that it commanded respect and veneration from all." His chief delight and employment was the study of the Holy Scriptures, but he was well versed in general learning. In the early part of his life, he displayed a talent by no means contemptible for poetical composition[1]. He was courteous, cheerful, and very communicative of the rich stores of scholarship which he had amassed;

---

[1] The following lines, from his verses on the Restoration, are nervously expressed:—

> Since England sent away in blood her head,
> To wear that crown for which the Great King bled,
> We have been all one carcass, and the prey
> Of hellish vultures, till this happy day....

in particular to young students, with whom he delighted to converse. "In a word, he was a most useful person, and a very great blessing to his neighbourhood, especially to his brethren the clergy; and his whole conversation was sincere and honest, discreet and prudent, grave and profitable."

The first considerable publication by this divine was, *The Gentile Sinner*[1], *or England's Brave Gentleman characterized.* 12mo, 1660. This little book was well received by the public, four editions having been published in the course of twice as many years. Its object is two-fold: first, to lash the vices of the higher orders in that degenerate and licentious period, by a description of "the gallant" in his general character and several species; secondly, to describe and recommend the excellencies of "the true gentleman," in his demeanour, principles, and habits. This work can scarcely have been unproductive of real good; but it would probably have effected more, in reforming that particular class for whose benefit it was chiefly designed, had its pictures of depravity contained less of the satire and exaggeration natural to an earnest young moralist reviewing the vices of his age, and been farther recommended by the charm of a more polished style.

The Vanity of Scoffing, 4to, 1674; *Scripture Catechism*, 12mo, 1674; *The Sum of Christianity*, 12mo, 1682; *The Right Foundation of Seriousness, Quietness, and Concord*, 8vo, 1684; and *The Necessity of Consideration and Repentance*, 8vo, 1691; were likewise published by himself, as were some smaller tracts and single sermons. About three years after his death, proposals were issued by his son to publish by subscription a variety of treatises and discourses left by him in MS. ready for the press; of which, however, only one volume seems to have ever made its appearance. It contained three Discourses; 1st, *On the Parable of Dives and Lazarus;* 2d, *On that of the Unjust Steward;* 3d, *On the Ten Virgins;* with the *Life of the Author.* 8vo, 1704.

May we grow wise, and thankful! shew again,
Good subjects may be made of Englishmen!—
May France perceive we have a King, and Rome
Consider Charles the Second is come home.
Let all that rabble tremble, when 'tis said,
Our land hath found her King, our Church her head.

[1] i.e. as we should now say, the *genteel* sinner.

CHARACTER OF THE TRUE GENTLEMAN.

The true gentleman is one that is as much more, as the false one is less, than what to most he seems to be. One who is always so far from being an hypocrite, that he had rather appear in the eyes of others just nothing, than not be everything which is, indeed, truly virtuous and noble. He is a man whom that most wise king, he best resembles, has fitted with a character—a man "of an excellent spirit." This is he whose brave and noble soul soars so high above the ordinary reach of mankind, that he seems to be a distinct species of himself. He scorns so much the vices of the world, that he will hardly stoop to a virtue which is not heroic; or if he do, it is by his good improvement of it, to make it so. He is one to whom all honour seems cheap, which is not the reward of virtue; and he had much rather want a name than not deserve it.

This gentleman is, indeed, a person truly great, because truly good; his honour is of too excellent a nature to be supposed the creature of anything besides his own virtues; and those virtues too eminent to be esteemed less than the most refined actions of so great a soul. He is no less the glory of the whole sublunary creation; one that would every way deservedly be accounted more than what is human, were not one part of him mortal. However, it is his first care and endeavour to make this mortal part of him such, as may make it apparent to the world how great an excellency may be the companion of so much frailty.

Till he may be so happy as to enjoy the heaven he hopes for, he does what he can to be a heaven to himself; and by his extraordinary pains so beautifies his soul with all celestial accomplishments, that he needs only die to be in heaven; and seems to want nothing of those glorious spirits which dwell there, but only to be without a body and as high as they.

He looks upon himself, whilst in this world, as no more than a probationer in the school of honour; and makes it his business so to behave himself at present, that he may be sure of an admission into that true honour (when the day comes), which will be as certain and durable, as true and great; well knowing that the only way to be the lord of many things, is to be faithful in these few wherewith he is now intrusted.

His soul is so truly great and capacious, that nothing but an heaven and eternity can fill it; so nobly high are all his thoughts, that he is ever aiming at the crown; so active and mounting his holy ambition, that it disdains to perch, longer than a breathing space, upon the most exalted spire of all sublunary glories. He is so thoroughly sensible of the celestial nature of his soul, that did he not think it one great part

of his happiness, to suffer any kind of misery in submission to his God, he could not think his life less than one continued torment; and so long a detention here upon the earth, a mere restraint and confinement from all comfort and bliss.

As for the blessings of this world, he looks upon them, as the child should do upon his farthings or his counters, as small things indulged him for the recreation, not the business of his soul. Yet (such a good housewife is virtue) he reaps no small advantage to himself from these subordinate enjoyments, which by their frequent cozenages persuade him the more to be in love with what is both more precious and more useful; knowing that his mansion is prepared in heaven, he can esteem the world no better than the handsome frontispiece of that most glorious building where he beholds a great many fine flattering objects, and pretty curiosities both of art and nature; but all is no more than an earnest and kind invitation to him to enter in and possess those unspeakably excellent mansions, which these things so dimly shadow out unto his eye, these well-dressed dainties which he enjoys here, he dares but taste at most, to prepare him an appetite: he intends to feast himself in heaven.

To give you the sum of what I think of him in the general. He is one whose rare excellencies are such as would make us believe his breeding had been amongst the angels in another world, rather than amongst gentlemen in this; and that he were only lent us awhile, an universal pattern for mankind to imitate; and to let us see how much of heaven (if we will receive it) may dwell upon earth. If ever he were proud of anything, it was of being the conqueror of that, and all other vices. He scorns and is ashamed of nothing but sin. He lives in the world as one that intends to shame the world out of love with itself; and he is, therefore, singular in all his actions, not because he affects to be so, but because he cannot meet with company like himself to make him otherwise. In a word, he is such, that (could we want him) it were pity but that he were in heaven; and yet I pity not much his continuance here, because he is already so much in heaven to himself.

His first honour in this world, is, to be born the most noble of God's creatures here below; his next is, to live one of his most obedient and laborious servants, like those above; his greatest, to die his beloved son, that so he may reign with him for ever. It was the honour of his infancy only to have noble parents; it is the honour of his riper years that he can imitate their virtues; and it will be the crown of his old age to be as good a father as his own. Blood and birth, then, stood him instead, when his tender years had not yet rendered him capable of virtue and worth. When he comes to age, he enters upon his honour,

not as upon his estate, by the will or title of his ancestors, but by the claim of his merits, looking upon it not as his lot or inheritance, but as his choice and purchase. He has an especial care that his honour and his person may both live and grow up, but never die together. He accounts it much below a person of his quality, to owe all that respect which is given him when he is a man, to his full coffers; or all the reverence which is paid him when an old man, to his gray hairs; but he so provides for his honour, that whatever respect is offered him, may be esteemed a debt and not a present, and that his future goodness may not be thought the product of the old, but rather an obligation to new respect. Such he civilly accepts when paid him, but seldom challenges when delayed or withheld; so far I mean, as they concern his person, not his office. For though it be one honour to deserve, yet is it another contentedly to want them. He needs never go abroad to seek himself, and therefore he hearkens with more safety to his own conscience than the people's acclamations; and he had much rather know himself honourable, than be told that he is so.

His highest ambition is to be a favourite in the court of heaven; and to this end his policy is to become not a great but a new man, and to dress up himself in all those spiritual ornaments, which may make his soul truly amiable in the eyes of the great King. He considers how that he owes himself unto God, as he is his creature; and he endeavours to discharge that old debt, by a most earnest and importunate suit for new favours, ever praying that God would make him fit to serve him, by making him first a new creature. He could never yet think the old man fit to make a courtier of heaven, and, therefore, he uses to walk in his white robe, and his wedding-garments, that so he may be admitted into the king's presence. He furnisheth himself betimes with such apparel as this; and he sits and settles it to his soul beforehand, knowing that the longer it is worn, the more splendid it grows, and the more it is used, the longer it will last; the only way to wear it out is not to wear it at all: but having once attired himself in this habit, now every day is with him an holyday, and he is henceforward everywhere at court.

But that which he esteems his great honour indeed, is this, that he can with confidence, and truly, call God his Father; his Saviour, his Friend and his Brother; the Church his mother, and the angels his fellow-servants. Such parents, such kindred, and such company, he may safely boast of; but this he does no other way, than by his obedience and gratitude. He behaves himself as a king's son ought to do, that is, he does nothing misbecoming his birth and dignity.

If we may spare so much time from the contemplation of those richer excellencies of his inner man, as to take notice of his outside, we may there behold the ingenuous emblem of his better self; so much

good care he takes that there be nothing found about him but what may speak him indeed a gentleman, and present you, (so far as the matter will bear it), with the fair picture of a noble mind. He would gladly so polish and adorn his body, as becomes the lodging of so great a soul. He looks upon it as a thing only so far deserving his care and pains, as it is a necessary instrument of her operations; and yet he rather could wish himself (might it so be) freed from the cumbersome company of his flesh, because it proves often so great a clog and hinderance to the more active and vigorous inclinations of his better part. So long as he is confined to his tabernacle of clay, he makes the best that can be made of a necessary evil; so feeding his body, that it may have strength enough to serve his soul, and so clothing it, that the other part may be kept from freezing, and fit for more sprightly actings. Indeed, he never makes much of his earthly part, but in subserviency to his spiritual, that so he may the better, as he is commanded, glorify God both with body and soul, which are his.

Hence is it, that you may always observe in his habit such a gravity as beseems a Christian; and yet such a decency as becomes a gentleman. He chooses rather to have his distinction from other men founded in his virtues than in his clothes. Herein he shows that he looks more after what is serviceable and useful, than what is pleasing and fashionable. So much curiosity he has, as not to be slovenly; and so little, as it cannot show that he is vain or wanton. He had rather have his apparel rich than gaudy, and yet rather warm than rich. It is neatness not bravery, a decent not a gorgeous attire, which, next unto what is useful, he aims at.

In every suit he buys, he hath as great a regard to the poor man's necessities, as to his own humour, and makes choice of that cloth or stuff which may please God hereafter upon the beggar's back, more than what he knows may now flatter the wanton eye of the world upon his own. He has much better thoughts of virtue, than to hope his fine clothes may gain him a respect where that could not; nay, on the other side, he knows that goodness is enough of itself to advance the rag above the robe, and a leathern cap above the golden diadem. He pities the unskilful wantonness of the world, which always (as children and fools use to do) sets an higher value upon the varnish and the gilded frame, than on the lively features and excellent art in the rich piece they adorn; and he calls it a blindness, at least a weak sight, which cannot behold a virtue, but (as we do a dull picture) through the glistering glass of vanity. He esteems his penny in the poor man's purse a much greater ornament than a fair plume in his own hat. Neither knows he how he may with a good conscience wear that, which might be made many a

poor man's livelihood, (as too many now love to do), in a band and a pair of cuffs. He is more pleased to see his own clothes cover another's nakedness, than displaying his lusts, and thinks it more honourable to wear the charity than the bravery.

If his place or office challenge a habit above his desires, by what he is forced to do he shows what he would choose to do, and most lively expresses his singular humility in his necessitated gallantry; showing how he can condescend even to any thing, so it be innocent; though by a conformity contrary to his natural inclinations.

That the world may know that he has a fixed and resolved soul, he has one constant garb and attire; and he will never yield that to be out of fashion which is both serviceable and frugal. Alas! the poor body (he knows) desires nothing but what may preserve it alive and in health: it is the lascivious soul which calls for all those other superfluities; and the gentlemen accounts it below him to gratify his lust, and to be at so vast an expence to clothe his humour. He could never, since he was a child, play with a feather, or think himself happy in the glistering of a lace or riband. He leaves these toys to those silly creatures who are resolved to continue for ever in their childhood or infancy, and dare be so foolish as to think a broad band and a flaunting cuff as necessary as heaven. He can think himself a man without such a vanity, and know himself a gentleman without any such mark or bravery; always wearing such clothes, as his body may in old age have good reason to bless the moderation of his soul, and the needy may have no less cause to pray for the health of his body.

When you hear him speak, you will think that he intends no less than to give you a taste of his soul at every word; nor, indeed, is it possible you should in any thing plainer discover the nobleness of his spirit than in his sweet breath, so divinely moulded into most excellent discourse. Every word he speaks, speaks him, and gives you a fair character at once both of his abilities and his breeding.

If you respect the quality of his discourse, it is grave and noble, serious and weighty; and yet always rather what is fit to be spoken, than what he is able to speak. His words are most proper and genuine, but not affected; his phrase high and lofty, but not bombastic; his sentences close and full, but not obscure or confused. His discourse is neither flashy nor flat, neither boyish nor effeminate, neither rude nor pedantic. It is always sober, yet ingenious; virile, strong, and masculine, yet sweet and winning; he loves a smooth expression, but not a soft one; a smart or witty saying, but without a clinch or jingle. His words are those which his matter will best bear, not such as his fancy would readily suggest. No poor half-starved jests, no dry insipid

quibbles, can get any room in his rhetoric; hardly a word in all but what hath his emphasis, nor any sentence without his full weight.

If you would eye the quality of his speech, it is not long, but full; not much, but great: he speaks not always, but when he speak he says all; he as often shows how well he can be silent, as how well he can speak; and others always love more to hear him talk, than he himself. He makes no less use of his ear in all companies, than of his tongue; and by his serious hearkening to the more impertinent discourse of his companions, plainly proves he has no less patience than rhetoric. He makes it evident, that he has his tongue (that unruly beast in most men's mouths) as much at his command as his wit, and that he is able to make both rest, as well as both move, at his pleasure.

His sayings are never long or tedious, but they always reach home; and he will very seldom take any thing less than a necessity for an opportunity of speaking. But, then, usually he delivers all with that facility and perspicuity, as if his words were not the elect and voluntary, but the ready and natural emanations of his soul. No passion shall at any time more disturb the order of his words, than it can cloud the serenity of his forehead. He cannot make himself merry, much less proud, with his own inventions; nor does he ever catch at the applause, but aims at the edification, of his auditors.

If you will look upon the matter and substance of his discourse, you shall see it is always what he finds, not what he makes: not what he supposes may afford the fairest field for his fancy and invention to rove in, but the best garden of such choice fruits as the stomachs (not the palate only) of his company shall be best able to bear; or such as may prove most medicinal, when seasonably applied, to the several diseases of those that hear him. These he always studies rather to heal than discover, and yet rather to discover than flatter. Hence, he often distributes amongst them the bitter as well as the sweet, and rather that which may nourish than what may please. And yet here it is, if ever, that he acts the part of the tempter: for he makes even the sourest apple (which he knows to be wholesome) so pleasant to the eye, that he forces such as need it, by a pious fraud, into a real love of what naturally they most hate. Indeed, the only way which for the most part in such company is left him to prevent the loss of his own time, is, to make others with whom he converses gainers by his society; and he does his utmost endeavour, that every one that hears him may by what they hear, either gain a virtue, or lose a vice.

Obloquy and scurrility are too deformed and wry-faced to gain any place in his affections. He that is able, when he will, to create to

himself a reputation not inferior to the highest, scorns as much, as he needs little, to rob any other man of his. He is as much afraid to discover a blemish in another man's eye, as he is to suffer a greater in his own. Other men's infirmities, especially if natural or accidental, are much more the objects of his charity and pity than of his merriment and derision. He judges it a cruelty proper to weakness alone to murder the sick; no true ingenuity can be so barbarous as to sport itself in the misfortunes of the miserable. He esteems that (as well he may) a mere dwarfish wit which cannot tell how to show itself to the world but by trampling (and so advancing itself) upon the reputation of others; it is a barren fancy, or at least has always a very hard labour, which can be mother to nothing but to what misfortune must be the midwife. The true gentleman has both more wit, more honesty, and more charity, than to permit his tongue to be so foolishly, so unworthily, so tyrannically busied.

Nor does he less abhor to come near that filthy puddle of obscenity. All his discourses are as chaste as fair, and the sweet loves in recital whereof he so much pleaseth himself, and all those good men which hear him, are no other than those betwixt God and his own soul. He is too just to himself and his own unusurped majesty, to suffer his talk to flag into an idle, much less a wanton, strain of drollery: that is too plebeian and vulgar for a gentleman, and this no less too foul and beastly even for a man; and he must be more than both these—in every expression a Christian. He cannot, but with as much wonder and astonishment as pity and compassion, hear those puny souls, which can invent no other method of gracing their discourse, and make it taking, but by a complacent rehearsal of their own and other men's uncleanness: or, at best, by dressing up some empty piece of folly in fine words.

His soul presently boils up in a pious agony within him, when soever he hears a vain oath, or any thing that sounds like profaneness. He never mentions the dreadful name of Almighty God, but with that due reverence both of soul and body, which suits with its greatness. He is too much the friend of God, and is every way too nearly related unto Him, to hear Him dishonoured with patience, or to suffer his name to be made so vile and cheap, as to be used (as too commonly it is) only as an expletive particle to prevent a chasm, or make up a gap, in the sentence, or to make all run more smoothly.

He has the like holy respect for God's word as his name. He is too much in love with scripture to see her prostituted to every licentious fancy, and by an impudent wrestling made the subject of every atheistical wit. The gentleman looks with a more reverent eye upon this sacred fountain; not as set open to be troubled and made muddy by

the wanton goats, but to water and wash the tender lambs. He useth it further as a wholesome bath for his white soul, which will preserve her both clean and whole.

I should injure the gentleman, to dwell any longer upon his negative virtue. Only, this is an indulgence given to our ignorance, that we are allowed to speak in the negative of all great perfections, and say what they are not, when we cannot, as we should, express what indeed they are. If you will hear what I have to say more of his discourse in short, then know, that all his words are not only the pretty, pleasing, yet empty bubblings of a restless fancy, a raging lust, or a wanton and frolic humour; but all of them the grave, weighty, and well-proportioned breathings of his great and holy soul.

His whole behaviour and carriage is masculine and noble; such as becomes his heroic spirit; and yet always accompanied with a wonderful humility and courtesy. His body is only made straight, and the more itself, not (as most men's are) new moulded, by art. He has just so much of the dancing-school as will teach him how to laugh at those that have too much. He has made more use of the vaulter and fencer than the dancer; for his desire was more to be a man than a puppet, and to be a servant to his country rather than his lady.

If, in things of this nature, he sometimes studies another's satisfaction more than his own, he will show how much he can be more than a man, not how much less, and how active he can be, not how apish. He so behaves himself, that by what he does, you may rather conclude he can do more if he will, than that he hath done all he can do. In these, as in all things else of the like indifferency, he manifests his greatest power there where most men have the least, in refusing to do what he is sure would gain him the empty applause of the multitude: though, so far as he can judge the sport or recreation innocent and lawful, he had rather manifest a slighting and a disregard, than an hatred, towards them.

His compliments are not (as in others) the wild extravagance of a luxuriant language, but the natural breathings of a sincere kindness and respect. His civility is always one with his duty, his friendship, or his charity. A court-dress cannot bring him in love with a lie; nor can he look upon a fashionable hypocrisy with a more favourable eye than upon a glorious cheat. He judges of all dissimulation, as in itself it is; for though in compliment the practice of it may seem princely, yet in its own nature he knows it is devilish, and in the issue will prove damnable. He scorns to be Satan's scholar, though for so profitable a lesson; for it was he indeed was the first master of this ceremony, when he complimented our first parents out of their innocence

and paradise at once, tickling their ambition with this strain: "Ye shall be like gods."

It is his care, that all the obedience and honour his inferiors are obliged to render unto him, may seem no more than an imitation of that he pays unto his superiors, and that the courtesy and civility of his equals may be thought nothing else but the reflection of his towards them. But if another's kindness chance to get the start in showing itself, he makes it appear that his backwardness proceeded, not from any want of good will, but opportunity; and he endeavours to requite the earliness of his friend's courtesy, by the measure of his own.

His inferiors may behold in him how well humility may consist with greatness, and how great an affability authority will admit of: by his practice our licentious world might easily be convinced, that freedom and subjection may dwell together like friends. All his words and all his actions are so many calls to virtue and goodness, and by what he himself is, he shews others what they ought to be. If heaven were such a thing as stood in need of an assistant temptation, (which a man would almost believe when he sees how little men love it for itself,) certainly it would make choice of the gentleman as the loveliest bait to draw others thither, were not the generality of mankind grown so stupid in their sins, as to fall in love with hell; were they not infatuated, even to a confidence, in those vanities which are worse than nothing, and besotted into a sensuality below what is brutish.

It is now time to take a short view of him within; and it must indeed be a very short and imperfect one, for you cannot but imagine what would be the unfortunate event, if such weak eyes as mine are should gaze too long and intently upon the sun. An understanding here we meet withal, so clear and unclouded; a will so regular and uncorrupted; affections so well refined, so orderly, and uninterested, that it is wholly evident, that as nature found materials, and education built the house and set all in order, so do religion and morality govern within, and betwixt them keep all clean and handsome.

His virtues seem to be so much the necessary and natural emanation of the most active and boundless soul, that he is in danger by being altogether good, to lose the praise and honour due to so eminent a goodness; if he could leave off to be virtuous, the world might then seem to have some excuse for being vicious. But his goodness is too absolute to grow out of love with itself, and too knowing to lie obnoxious unto such a cheat, as to part with her own face, in exchange for the fairest of vices. I wish the world would forbear to love vice, till he begin to forsake virtues; and that all our gentry would endeavour to be like him, till he become like them;

or esteem any thing truly noble, which he cannot prove to be really good.

As for his intellectual excellencies, so far as he owes them purely and immediately to God and nature, I think it not fit so much as to touch any further upon them; lest I should not bear up even in that great variety, wherein they are distributed among the many individuals; God having proportioned them out unto the severals, in so different a measure, as nothing but his own infinite wisdom can give a particular reason of it. Only this I may safely say, that whatever his talent is, the gentleman digs not in the earth to hide it, but so trafficks with it, till art and industry have brought in an increase some way proportionable to the stock of nature; at least to that degree which may entitle him to the eye of his Lord, and the glorious welcome of a good and faithful servant. He makes use of God's bounty, not as a warrant for his sloth, or an indulgence to his idleness, but as a spur and motive to a grateful care and industry; not as a treasure to be prodigally spent, but a stock to be thriftily husbanded and improved. He accounts it a thing most unworthy in a gentleman, to be an ill husband, especially where the treasure is God's, and he but his steward: yet such a steward as has the use, as it were, of his Lord's purse for his encouragement.

His will and affections he makes the instruments and servants, not the guides and mistresses, of his soul. He subjugates his will unto reason, and this to religion; and by this means it comes to pass, that he never misses of having his own free choice in all things. He both doth and hath what he will, because he never wills but what is according to reason, nor thinks any thing reasonable but what is honest and lawful: thus, by making God's will his own, he is never crossed in his desires.

Thus he exercises the first and main act of his authority at home; and that he may be more expert in governing others, he first practices upon himself, and learns to command his inferior soul. He will not submit in the least to the tyranny of a passion, nor hearkens he further to the most tempting suggestions of his sensitive part, than he sees that subject to the grave and sober dictates of its lawful empress, right reason. His affections, when prepared and fitted by an unprejudiced judgment for his service, he delays not to put into exercise, but employs them as so many wings, whereon his soul may be carried up above the reach of vulgar men. As their lord and sovereign, therefore, he appoints, and reason cuts them out their work, and assigns every one its proper task; and by this means they become the beauty, ornament, and strength, which otherwise had naturally been the blemishes, disorders, and infirmities of the man. He desires in all things to be above

the world—that is his ambition; and, therefore, he sets his affections on things above, and points them out the way to heaven—that is his prudence. The soul without them would be lame and unable to go, and they without its eye of reason are blind and know not which way to go; but (as the cripple upon the blind man's back) let but the judgment direct them in the right path, and then they will carry the soul to heaven. The gentleman is too much a man to be without all passion, but he is not so much a beast as to be governed by it.

In this moderation and empire over himself, where he gives law to his affections, and limits the extravagances of appetite, and the insatiable cravings of sensuality, the just rule he goes by, is not opinion, but knowledge; not that leaden one, which is so easily bent and made crooked, or melted and dissolved by the heat of passion, or the arts of sophistry, into error and scepticism, but that other golden one, which lies as close and firm, as it is made straight and even. When he would imprint the true loveliness of any object upon his affections, he takes it into a true light, and has a care to remove from before his eye all those cunningly wrought glasses, or instruments of Satan and lust, set so frequently to prejudice and deceive the sight; whatsoever might cause him to mistake a false object for a true, or to see a true one amiss: so endeavours he to be as free from error as from vice; esteeming it as a sin to act against his knowlege, so a shame at least to be deceived in his opinion.

He judges of things, as he does of men, not by what they promise, but by what they prove; and so he trusts, and loves, and fears them, not for what in appearance they seem to be, but for what in the use and trial of them he finds that in truth they are. He accounts not an ox, therefore, more terrible than a lion, because he is greater, nor a pebble more desirable than a pearl, because it is heavier; but he first collects the excellency of everything from its usefulness and tendency unto that end he aims at in the pursuit after, or use of it, and then he proportions his affections according to that degree of excellency, he has thus rationally concluded to be in it. After this manner does he in the first place lord it over his passion, till in a long obedience she have served out her apprenticeship to his reason; then is she deservedly enfranchised into a virtue, and so becomes at length her lord's mistress, and it is she will get him a reward for his service in heaven.

There is a brave heroic virtue, which is as a second soul unto the true gentleman, and enspirits every part of him with an admirable gallantry; I mean Christian magnanimity and greatness of soul. This presently heaves him up to that size, that the wide world seems too strait and narrow to contain him, or afford room enough for him to express the activity of his spirit. This is it which teaches him to laugh

at small things, and disdain to go less than his name. Being carried up on high, upon the wings of this virtue, he casts down his eye upon those little happinesses which seem enough to satisfy the narrow souls of other men, with no little contempt and scorn; but on those poor starvelings themselves, whose earthly appetites can make such trash their diet, with as much pity and compassion. It is this virtue which so ennobles all his actions, that they bear a just proportion to the largeness of his thought, and permits him to engage in nothing which is not truly honourable. And it is this same virtue which makes his own bosom his treasury, and that so rich and self-sufficient, that all the external felicities this world has or can cast into the bargain, are looked upon by him with as slender a regard as the widow's mite would have been by the great Lord of the temple, without a large augmentation from her piety and devotion. It is this virtue which makes him a calm in his own breast, when the whole world besides rages like a troubled sea round about him. Let the storm and tempest threaten never so loudly a splitting and a wreck to other, unbalanced souls, he knows not how to fear, whilst his courage is his anchor, and innocence safe harbour.

But as this brave virtue thus teacheth the gentleman to be enough to himself, and rest content and satisfied with what he hath at home; so does it likewise teach him to be too much for himself, and commands him not to vindicate all of himself wholly to his own use and service. This Christian magnanimity doth so stretch out his soul, that ever that too seems to be communicated unto others besides himself. It is a kind of violence and restraint to her to be pinned up within the narrow province of one individual body, and therefore she studies how she may enlarge, if not her empire, yet her charity; and make a number, by being the objects of her bounty, the witnesses of her greatness. Indeed, so diffusive and spreading is virtue, when she grows in so rich a soil, that of a little she soon becomes great, and of one a multitude. This grain of mustard-seed grows up so fast, and so great, that many may reap the benefit of its growth by partaking of its branches. And such a cloud, as at first might appear but of a hand-breadth, will suddenly make a nation happy in that refreshing dew, which by its plenty will argue a strange increase after so small an appearance. Though the indocile and untractable spirit of the common sort of men be such as force him against his will to be singular; yet to show us how unwilling he is to remain so, his virtues are too charitable to be long alone; and hence are all his breathings such as might well be thought intended by him to inspire his company with something like himself, and all his actions so many earnest essays towards the assimilating of their natures unto his own. He knows not how to be good, and not to do good, and

therefore one half of his study is to give himself away. Neither his breast nor his purse are ever shut to such as need him, and (God knows) more need him than will make use of him.

The gentleman may well be compared unto a great book, which always lies wide open to the world, that whosoever wants advice or counsel may freely consult him at pleasure: there they may read what himself, as opportunity served him, has taken great pains to copy out fair in all his actions, whatever is both safe, great, and good; thus in one and at once they may behold both the rules of a good life, precept and example.

Nor doth this virtue more manifest itself in a liberal distribution and instruction, than in as free and impartial a correction and reproof, whensoever it is requisite; choosing much rather to cross the humour of his friend, than flatter his vice, and to lose his friendship here, than his company (if it may be possible for him to have it) in heaven another day. He is not afraid to call every man by his own name, or add the epithet which is due unto it: that so every one that comes into his presence may be afraid to bring a bad name along with him. He can envy no man, because he cannot see any one better than himself; neither yet can he despise any man, because he really desires every one might be as good as himself. So that, what is most of all commendable, this most excellent virtue is accompanied with a most exemplary humility; and there is nothing can more deservedly exalt him in the thoughts of all men, than this, that he is such a diminutive in his own. Nor does this proceed from an ignorance of his own excellencies, but rather hence, that he knows whence he had them. Neither does he therefore prefer every man in honour before himself, because he knows not what other men are, but because he knows not what they may be. He is really so high that he may with ease reach heaven, but he makes himself so low that he may go in at the strait gate. When he looks upon his own virtues (which he had rather show than see, and have than show), he will not think them great, because he intends to make them yet much greater; neither can he tell how to applaud himself when he sees them great, because he knows well how little he either made or deserved them. It is this virtue that makes him much more desire the friendship of a virtuous beggar, than the favour of a vicious and licentious prince; because this he must assuredly lose, seeing he knows not how in a compliance to his humour to become wicked; but that shall never end, but last as long as his heaven. He chooses his companions not by the outward habit of their body, but that internal of the soul; and sets an higher value on them for their merits than their births. He is so little proud of what he is, that he is indeed very humble for what he is not. He will never

be persuaded (as most of those we call gallants do) to pride himself in his vanity, boast of his folly, and glory in his profaneness.

The gentleman's charity is no other than his soul drawn out to his fingers' ends. Every piece of money he hath bears as well the impression and image of this virtue, as that of his prince; and this is it which makes him value the coin more, and the silver less. He is indeed that true Briareus, which has as many hands as he meets with receivers: and for this cause he is looked upon as a monster in the latter days, and very rarely to be met with.

The course he takes to air his bags and keep them from moulding, is to distribute freely to all that are in need. If he take some pains to become richer than others, it is only to put a cheat upon that which men miscall fortune, and to manifest he hath a power so great as hers; that is, to make himself poor again at his pleasure; and to show that charity can entertain as rich servants as she. Though God hath indulged him the privilege and inheritance of an elder brother in the world, yet he wisely considers that the youngest of all may in equity challenge a child's portion. He esteems it a very high honour, that God hath vouchsafed to make him one of the stewards in his great family; and he is nothing ambitious of his epithet to his name, or reward of his pains, who is recorded in the gospel for his injustice.

When by giving to the poor, he lends to the Lord, the honour of being the Lord's creditor is all the interest he expects; and, doubtless, this happiness is not every man's, to have God his debtor. He accounts it much the safer way to trust his charity than his luxury with the bag; the former will bring in an even reckoning in heaven, the latter perhaps a jolly one in the tavern, but a very sad one in hell. He delights not to see anything starve but his lusts; he lets these crave without an answer, and die without compassion.

Where he is not able to make his estate adequate to his deserts, he takes a better course, and levels his desires to his fortune: though he seldom have all that he deserves, yet he always has whatsoever he covets. He never wants much of that which is needful, because he enjoys all that he is in love with. He makes his life and health, not his estate or ambition, the standard, his reason, and not his humour, the judge, of his necessities.

Such is his temperance and sobriety in the use of those creatures, of which by God's blessing he is made owner, that he sacrifices very much to his God in the relief of the indigent, nothing to sin, in satisfying the importunate cravings of his carnal lusts. Above all, he is ashamed, when fortune hath used him very hardly, and spoiled him of many opportunities of exercising his bounty and his charity, to permit his lusts to use him yet worse, and leave him nothing at all. He scorns

first to swagger and swill away his estate, and then curse his fortune for using him so roughly; first to make himself a beggar, and then cry out upon his poor condition, or to complain he is as poor as Job, when every day he fares as deliciously as Dives. When he has the least, he shows that he is able to live with less; and when he is brought into a low condition, he tries how he could bear up in a lower; and proves by his cheerfulness in that some would call want and misery, that happiness does not consist in superfluities. He is content with anything, and by this means enjoys all things; and is so charitable of a little, that it is evident in that little he wants not much.

He chooses rather to be well in the morning, than drunk overnight; and at any time had rather be free from the sin, than please his companions with the frolic. His money is too little to love, but too much to throw away; and he had much rather give it than lose it: preferring his charity before his gain, and the poor man's life, before his own wantonness and riot; though he had never so much, he could never have more than enough, because he sees so many that want what he has, and pities all he sees in want. He looks upon his estate as that which was given him for use and not for waste; and upon so much of it as he loses at play, as that whereby he hath robbed himself of a virtue, and another of a comfortable livelihood, and he cannot sport himself with such losses.

Having spoken already of the gentleman's magnanimity, I shall need to add very little of his valour, which he exercises more in obeying his God, than opposing his brethren. His highest piece of fortitude is that whereby he conquers himself and his sin; and in this he is always practising. He knows that by thus becoming his own captive, he shall not want the usage of a gentleman; and thus being made his own lord too, he is sure to be free from all the world besides. He looks upon it as the basest degree of cowardice, to yield unto those feeble passions, which, did not both reason and religion step in to their succour, would certainly become the prey of every light and empty toy. His Christian fortitude is such, that he fears not to encounter the great Goliath of hell, or an whole army of such Philistines as have set themselves in array against his happiness, all at once: not though they be such, as by their cunning, have already got within him. He hath that greatest courage which is so rarely found in others, who would be called gentlemen, he dares be religious in spite of the world. He sets himself, without betraying the least timidity, against that great bugbear, which so scares most men, not only out of their wits, but out of all good actions, shame, or derision. These are they which, as the elephants in King Pyrrhus's army, terrified the Romans with their prodigious bulk, do so affright the greatest part of our gentry, that they never leave

flying till they tumble into the bottomless pit together. The true gentleman, like the stout Minucius, has by experience proved these monsters to be of more bulk than metal, and to want nothing but an adversary to bring them into subjection.

The true gentleman has so much true valour, as not to fear the brand of a coward, where his courage would be his sin, and his conquest his ruin. He is ever the fugitive in such a chase, and dare boast of nothing but being routed. It is then alone he fears not death, when he is sure there is no hell will follow it. His life is more dear to him, than that he should be content to part with it for anything less than heaven. He has an honour, and that is his religion; a mistress to vindicate and defend from all injuries and affronts, and that is his own soul: for the sakes of these two he is engaged in many a duel, with those heresies and those sins, which would stain and corrupt the one, or steal away and deflower the other.

He thinks that honour is too dear which must be bought with a murder; and a name which is never to be worn, but by his monument, none of the cheapest, when purchased with his life. He has much honester thoughts of his mistress, than to think her such a Proserpine, that either he or his rival must be sent to hell, before either can enjoy her.

There is, indeed, a beauty for which the gentleman thinks it no loss to die; but such a one as is often black, though always lovely; I mean his own mother and his Saviour's spouse—the Church of God: and there is an honour which he holds cheap enough when bought with the high price both of life and livelihood, though (if he might have his choice), he had rather preserve both to maintain it, than lose either to purchase it,—loyalty to his prince, and fidelity to his country. For these he does not fear to embrace a stake, to make the scaffold his bed, and a block his pillow; seeing he is assured, that whosoever thus lies down to rest at night, shall without fail rise again to glory in the morning. He holds it much more desirable to live a beggar, than to die a traitor; and that his honour and conscience should expose him to tyranny and violence, than his treachery or hypocrisy buy out his temporal security. He thinks it no great matter to trust that God with his person and his family, who hath trusted him with his spouse and his children.

Hence is the gentleman's prudence the legitimate daughter of loyalty and conscience, not the bastard of covetousness and cowardice: it is mixed of discretion and wisdom, not craft and knavery. He was never yet so blindly zealous, as to worship a golden calf for a god, that so he might keep his chest from being broken open; nor was he so absolute a statesman, as to call rebellion reformation, for fear of poverty or

an halter. His natural affection to wife and children is such, that he would enjoy them for ever in happiness; and therefore his care is so to part with them now, that he may meet them again in heaven, not in hell, hereafter. His whole policy is to avoid an eternal, though by incurring a temporal misery. Such a politician only he thinks fit for heaven, that hath prudently managed his Lord's affairs upon earth; he cannot call him either a prudent or a faithful ambassador, who prosecutes his own design with more earnestness than his master's; or acts more vigorously for the advancement of his own particular interest, than the public good, or his prince's honour.

It is his prudence to secure what is best, by the loss of what is indifferent, whensoever he is necessitated to part with one of the two; and he chooses rather freely to part with that which he is only sure once to lose, and by that loss become eternally happy, than to throw away that which in spite of violence he might for ever have kept, and can never part with, without his utter ruin. If tares must spring up amongst the good corn in that field wherein God has intended him a labourer, he had rather show by his activeness that they were not sown whilst he slept, than by a covetous laziness give the enemy an opportunity of compassing his designs, or occasion the disheartening of his brethren, by withdrawing his shoulder, and leaving them alone to bear the burthen in the heat of the day. He can think it a greater prudence, with the disciples of his Lord, to leave his father and his net, to follow a Saviour through persecution into heaven; than with the carking fool, to lie modelling out a barn which may contain his wealth, and in the mean time suffer his soul to be stolen out of his body by the sedulous craft of the seducer.

If fortune smile upon him, and be indeed such as he dare call her good, he makes it his business to be altogether as good as she; and will be sure as well to deserve as to wear his livery. His care is that her good usage of him may be rather deemed the just reward of his own moderation and good husbandry, than the unmerited bounty of so blind a mistress. He makes his prosperity a motive to his piety, not (as others) the opportunity of displaying his vanity. He proves by his example, that he most happily enjoys the world, that glories least in the enjoyment of it. He looks upon his present flourishing condition, rather as that which is not without ingratitude to be refused than with eagerness to be desired; and upon what he now possesses, as that which he knows not how soon he may lose; and therefore he makes himself now so careless an owner, that (if the wind chance to turn) he may prove a cheerful and contented loser. He dares not fancy himself one jot the nearer heaven, for being thus mounted on the deceitful wings of fortune, lest when the contrary wind of adversity dismounts

him, and his unexpected fall awakes him from his pleasant dream, he should find himself to be really as low, as he was before but seemingly high. If fortune be content to lodge with him as his guest, she is welcome; but he cannot be so dotingly enamoured of her, as to entertain her, either as his wife, or his harlot. He can neither so far flatter her as to call her goddess, which he knows of herself to be no more but a name; nor so far honour her as to ask her blessing, because he knows that whatsoever goodness men are apt to ascribe unto her, is but one of the meanest blessings of a greater than she. Laugh she never so heartily, her pleasantness shall never overjoy him, seeing (for ought he knows) she either does or may ere long laugh at him; and if she frown, he can frown as fast as she, and that for her kindness. He never relies upon her, because he knows she is naturally so unconstant; nor can he see any reason why he should be proud of being her favourite, because he may everywhere behold many of the most undeserving altogether as much in her favour as himself.

Whatsoever blessings he enjoys he received them, as indeed they are, as the bounties of an indulgent Father, with thanks and love; and he useth them to that end, for which he supposes so good and prudent a father would bestow them on a beloved son; so that he may make them as much instruments of his own good, as they are testimonies of his father's affection. He looks upon his prosperity, not so much as a reward for doing well, as an encouragement to do more, and an opportunity of doing better; much less can he think his flourishing condition, as many seem to do, a piece of heaven's flattering courtship, where no more is intended than the affording him an opportunity of pampering up his lusts, and making himself a glorious sinner. Seeing he has already received so bountiful a reward for doing so little, he accounts it a shame for the future not to make himself a fit object for a greater, by doing more and better. If it be his lot to groan out his days under the heavy pressures of affliction, he is not like the inconsiderate drunkard, who in the morning after his double intemperance in drinking and sleeping, complaineth that his head aches, and begins to curse his pillow and his bedmaker for his want of ease; forgetting to turn that sin out of doors, which occasioned all this the day before: nor like a wretched and impenitent malefactor, who when he is hurried away to a just execution, does nothing but cry out upon the hard heart of the judge and the rigour of the laws; cursing the executioner, but forgetting to repent him of the murder or the robbery which brought his body into the hands of this executioner, and will, unrepented of, deliver his soul into the far less merciful of another hereafter: but, like a natural and hopeful child, he seriously considers his own errors, which provoked his Father thus to chastise

him; and so by caressing the hand and kissing the rod, and humbly begging pardon for his offence, he sets his Father's affections, which before he had turned aside, not lost, into their own proper channel again.

He looks upon his afflictions with one eye as corrections, and so blames himself for the occasion, but blesseth God for the charity; with the other, as trials, and makes it his care that he come not all dross out of the furnace. He dares not make either a base compliance with the vices of his persecutors the refuge of his cowardice, or the wings of the potent, by bribing their ambition with flattery and dissimulation, his sanctuary of protection. He will not attempt the lightening of his sufferings by a voluntary casting any part of his estate into the devouring treasury of the Church's enemy, nor hope to appease the wrath of a displeased God by bringing an oblation to the avarice of his oppressors; neither doth he essay to drown his sorrows in the bottom of his cup. But he flies and takes sanctuary at the horns of the altar, and by a magnanimity which becomes a gentleman, shows that true honour is a jewel indeed, such as will not break with the hammer. His religion, like the flint, never so much discovers those holy fires of zeal and devotion, which were not before so apparent, as when it most experiences the violence of the hardest steel; and his innocence is so perfectly malleable, that the more you beat it the broader it grows. In short, the gentleman carries himself so evenly betwixt these contrary winds, that he is neither shaken by the one, nor puffed with the other: he is such in prosperity, that he does not fear adversity, and such in adversity, that he need not to wish for prosperity; such indeed in both, that it shall never repent him that he hath tasted either.

The true gentleman is no less serviceable to his country, than honourable in himself. He cannot fancy himself so great, as to forget that he is but a creature, and so made for something; and till he can persuade himself to be a god (who is his own end and happiness), he cannot think that he was made only to serve himself. He that made him, made him a brother to many; and he owes a duty of love unto them all.

The gentleman is continually scattering the rays and influence of his virtues round about him, quite through all that lies within the wide sphere of his motion. As, amongst the elements, the most noble and pure is always the most active too, and most profitable as well as most high and distant; and as the highest of bodies, to wit, the celestial, cannot naturally rest, but indeed by their continual and swift motion do never fail to labour for the benefit of the whole world besides: so is this little heaven and glory of mankind never without some commendable business and employment, and such as shall as-

suredly at last tend unto the great good and advantage of as many as lie within the compass of his influence.

The gentleman (without doubt) is made for some other end than to stand, like a fair and goodly tulip in a painted pot, in some window or other corner of the chamber, only to grace the room, without either smell or other apparent virtue: he is rather like the sweet and lovely rose which perfumes the air all about it, and is besides no less medicinal than fragrant. If ever the gentleman seems to be idle, he does no more but seem so: he only sets himself down a while, as he would do a bottle of precious water which has been troubled by much motion, that so it may by a settling of its heavier parts become clear again. Thus does he order his soul, that after she hath been violently shaken to and fro, and much troubled with the affairs of the world, he may by this rest give leave to the more terrene parts therein to draw towards the bottom, that so, the grosser descending, his best and clearest thoughts may again be uppermost and at liberty.

He cannot call him a man that is without all calling, knowing that every servant (and every man ought to be God's servant), how proud soever must have his work. Seeing God hath so blessed him with abundance that he needs not work for his own bread, he will, in gratitude to his God, work for his country's peace and safety: he scorns to have it thought that he is the only cumbersome thing in the nation, the wen in the body politic, which grows great only by sucking away that nourishment which should feed and strengthen the serviceable members, and is good for nothing at length but to improve the surgeon's skill and the patience of the diseased. Those parts and members of the man which are uppermost in the body and most honourable are always most busied too for the good of the whole: in the head are placed the eye and the ear, and the organ of sense; there is too the understanding, fancy, and judgment, to see, to hear, discern, contrive, plot, and direct; and as he knows it is his honour to be made a part of the head of his country, so doth he own it his duty not to refuse the exercise of that office which belongs unto him. Hence he thinks it an unworthiness in him, not only to do ill, but to do no good; and these two he can very hardly distinguish, as some would fain do, seeing undoubtedly that which doth no good is good for nothing, and this is to be stark naught.

He holds it to be (as indeed it is) a crying shame, whilst the tailor and the cobbler are justly reckoned among the necessary members of a commonwealth, that the gentleman who takes it as an affront not to be thought much better than such mechanics, should not be so much as useful to the place where he lives, or at most but as the trimming is to a good suit, or the hair to the head, which may be cut off and thrown

away, and no great hurt done to either. This indeed is the gentleman's privilege, not to be servant to any one particular member, but to the whole body; and that whilst others in their inferior condition are only made capable of serving a few, his fortune is such as will allow him to be truly serviceable unto all. Herein consists his honour, that he is not put to work as a drudge or journeyman, but as a freeman indeed, and master of his trade; and whilst others toil hard, and receive a scant pittance when their work is done, he is able to work gratis, and so oblige a great part of the world by his service. Indeed, this must needs be the greatest obligation that can be laid upon the gentleman, to labour harder and do better than other men, because he is beforehand not only furnished with good tools by an ingenious education to work withal, but hath received so great a part of his reward already, and yet is assured of an infinitely greater yet behind. How is he ashamed to deceive him by his idleness, who, of his great goodness, hath so far already trusted to his honesty!

That he may in good time be fitted for the calling he intends, he begins to think upon it early in the morning of his age, and makes it now his business to gather the thyme which he intends should prove honey hereafter, and to lay up in the spring what may stand him instead when his winter is come. That he may indeed be young in old age, he learns to be old in his youth; and he sucks so much out of every science now, as experience and years may by degrees hereafter improve into that prudence which becomes a gentleman. Having in his greener years only so much discretion as to find the want of what he should have, he is willingly directed by the prudence of another, till he can get enough for himself. He is not impatient of subjection now, to that wise and grave instructor from whose both dictates and examples he hopes to gain so much as may make him the instructor of others hereafter; and he learns so betimes to obey, that the world may never have reason to say he began to command too soon. It is his choice to live under a severe discipline, rather than to be left to himself as his own master; lest perhaps failing in his first command, whereby he should have governed himself, he might despair of better success in his second, of commanding others.

When he is come to that maturity of age and discretion, as to be able to benefit himself by his company, he will be sure to make choice of such companions as may serve him instead of books, and of such books as he intends shall often serve him for companions. He is not ashamed to be now the worst man in that company wherein he may learn from his betters how to be the best in another: this is much more honourable than to be the best man there, where he can never learn to be better, but often worse than he was before.

The studies whereunto he cheerfully applies himself are such as will more make the man, than please the boy. He takes delight in nothing which will send him back again towards his infancy, but innocence. As for poetry and such like pleasing studies, he does not wholly neglect them, but uses them as good sauces, to make others more substantial and nourishing relish the better. When he is entered into the fair garden of the Muses, it is not his only business to pick up here and there a few leaves to hide the nakedness of his discourse, or to adorn it with blossoms and flourishes out of some poetic figment or romantic story; but he gathers, eats, and digests, that which is fruit indeed, and such as is truly wholesome and nourishing. Nor doth he, as the emperor's army, lie loitering, and picking up cockle-shells upon the shores of good literature; but he boldly launches out into the main ocean, and there contemplates the wonders of the deep. It is not his design to be called a witty gentleman, and such an one as can talk high, and breathe flashes, and thunder out big words, and store himself with so many jests, and so much bombast, as may tickle some and stupify others; he studies more to make himself a man than a companion; and more how to live and do well, than talk finely. True histories, and sound politics, and grave moral discourses, are the fruitful gardens where his muses do ordinarily recreate themselves; that so by his pleasures, as well as pains, both the commonwealth may in due time be happy in him, and he in himself. As for those lighter and more airy studies, such as too frequently steal away the amorous and unfixed youth of most gentlemen, he makes the same use of them which he does of his galleries or his arbours; whither now and then he comes to take a turn or two for recreation's sake, and as he passes along sometimes casts a careless eye upon those many pretty blossoms or pictures which he finds there. Of such toys he had rather say hereafter that he has seen them, than that he knows them. He would be ignorant of nothing, but he would only be acquainted with the best.

Divinity can never lie out of the true gentleman's way, because he is always going towards heaven. For, notwithstanding she seems so pale-faced, and of so sour a countenance to those that love her not, because they do not know her, yet is there so much heavenly beauty, and so many noble features discernible in her face, by the gentleman's undistempered eye, that he soon begins in earnest to love her, and he can never go far in any other path whatsoever, but he must often cast a longing eye back upon her. Still bearing in mind the happy place whither he is travelling with so good a will, he calls in at other arts and sciences as at so many inns, to take a short repast by the way; or he stands looking upon them awhile, as upon so many way-marks set up at the several turnings and cross paths, that from them he may receive

directions which way to turn. But the knowledge of his God, that is the way he constantly walks in, and that which will certainly bring him at last to that home, where he shall meet with a welcome which will abundantly recompense the tediousness of his journey, and an entertainment suitable to the quality of a gentleman.

His way being long, it is not amiss that he allows himself sometimes a recreation and diversion. But then his recreation shall be always such as he dares not make his business, and yet such as he dares safely make his play: it hath always so much of innocence as to be blameless, and so much brevity as to be no hinderance. It has so much youthfulness as not to be a business, and yet so much business as not to be boyish. It shall bring with it so much real pleasure as may make it a refreshment, and yet so little loveliness as may spoil the temptation.

He thinks it no prudence to fall in love with any sport, which, like a cunning thief, smiles him in the face, whilst it cuts his purse, steals away his time, and cheats him of a good conscience. If Agar once begin thus to insinuate herself into those affections, which are only due to her mistress, out of doors she shall go. He intends not to sell charity at so cheap a rate as the false pleasure of his game; nor has he so little either of thrift or religion, as to make so foolish an exchange, and part either with his soul or his time for the transitory delight of a dangerous temptation. His usual recreation, therefore, is to make a play of his study. He makes one study to draw on another, and makes the variety the recreation. Thus he takes the surest course that may be for making his study so much his delight, that he saves himself the labour of studying for a pastime.

When the gentleman comes to have the managing of his own estate, he takes pains to instruct the world, how far a man may be frugal with honour, and a good husband without a suspicion of being worldly or covetous; and again, how freely a man may spend his estate, and yet be no prodigal. He hath so circumspect and watchful an eye upon all his affairs, that you may see he had much rather give away his estate, than be cheated of it. He would be cozened of nothing, for fear of losing the opportunity of bestowing much. As he would not allow the unfaithfulness of a servant to prevent the bounty of the master, so neither would he have the master's negligence to occasion the servant's dishonesty.

His table is moderate, that so his charity and hospitality may exceed: as he studies to be good himself, so endeavours he to make every member of the family as good as he, and he will have his servants to be his disciples no less than his children: neither ever does he so wholly vindicate their service to himself, but he allows them time enough to pay what they owe both to God and their own souls.

If his condition of life be single, he so behaves himself therein that no man shall thence be able to conclude, either that he wants a wife or his house a mistress; so much chastity has the one, and so much good order is there in the other: but if he think it fit to change his condition, he endeavours to choose a second self that may suit with the former, that so they may be (as near as he can effect it) one spirit as well as one flesh. Whom, not long ago, he courted rather as a virtue than a mistress, he now uses as a wife, and not as a servant; not (as it is usual of late) calling her mistress and lady before she be his wife, whom he intends to make his drudge all her lifetime after. Nor does he (as too many) marry only for money, knowing that such are in danger of committing adultery after marriage, seeing they never married the woman, but her portion. With him, virtue and love, not money and parentage, make the match; and the question he asks, is not—what has she? but—what is she? He makes prudence and religion the guide of his love, and so he becomes as good an husband and father as before he was a man.

The gentleman is not ashamed to be called a religious man, although that epithet be thought no better than a term of debasement by the degenerate gentry of our age. He owns a God, and he worships him, and makes that honour which he observes others to render unto God the ground of his respect to them. He looks upon no man as a gentleman but him alone who derives his pedigree higher than from Adam, even from heaven; and he accounts all those who can brook any dishonour or contempt of their God, that one common Father of us all, as a bastard and no son. It would be no honour for him to seek an acquaintance here upon earth, and therefore by his frequent devotions he often goes to seek out a better in heaven, where he may be sure to meet with such as shall be worth his keeping. He dares call every man a fool to his face, who, with David's fool, suffers either his tongue or his heart to say, There is no God.

If you ask him what religion he is of, his answer is ready,—of his mother's, that is, he is a true son of the Church; and yet is he only so far her son, as he sees her willing to continue his Saviour's spouse. Neither is he content to be still an infant in religion, and to be taught only to say his prayers and his creed by rote, but he prays, and believes, and practises all truly by heart. Notwithstanding, he never forgets his mother, nor neglects to honour her with his life and substance. He is always more ready to take her direction for the form and method of all his duties, than to be disciplined by all those chatting dry-nurses which are so busy about him, such as indeed have talk enough, but, alas! no milk; whose whole business is indeed to make him undutiful to his own mother, and to set light by all her counsels

and commands. He goes not to church to save his credit or his purse, to see his friend or speak with his tenant, but to meet his heavenly Father and commune with his God, and to take directions from him how to behave himself the following week or day. When he is there he makes his heart accompany his tongue, and his ears keep time with the preacher. Every morning and evening, like a dutiful son, he in private confesseth his faults, and begs his Father's pardon and blessing; and for better ordering of his following duties, reads over with care and humility some part of those directions which He had long since commanded his servants to set down in writing for his use.

He chooseth his religion, not by its commonness, but its truth, and often weighs each branch of it in the balance of the sanctuary, that he may be sure it is full weight. He takes it not up by votes, nor (as it is most evident too many do) thrusts his hand at all peradventure into an hatful of lots, being content with whatever he hits on first; for should he go the first way to work, he knows he should be sure to have not what is best and soundest, but the easiest and most gainful; if the latter, it is an hundred to one that he shall draw a blank, and be made an atheist for his labour. He dares not by any means follow or embrace what is most in fashion; for that (it is clear) is hypocrisy, the cunning sister of atheism, or atheism shamed or frightened into conformity; but he professes that which is most ancient, for that, he may be sure, will at last be found most true. His religion is not such a young, light, and wanton girl, as pleases the vain fancy of every giddy interested professor; but such a grave matron whose natural beauty and constancy, the grey hairs of prudence and sobriety have ever judged to be truly venerable, and most deserving of the Christian's embraces. This is that worthy lady which he daily courts, to make her the mistress and protectress of his soul; and she it is alone that can give him a breeding fit for heaven.

By his haste and cheerfulness in his race he evidences his sense of the worth of what he aims at; and by his eagerness in the pursuit of another world, endeavours to confute the folly of those who would linger out an eternity (were it possible) amongst the onions and flesh-pots of this Egypt. As he was born a man, so he had his inheritance upon earth; but as he is new-born a Christian, he leaves this trash to the prodigal younger brother, expecting a possession durable in the heavens.

He fears as little the names of precise and zealous, wherewith the devil in the mouths of his disciples thinks to fright him out of all holiness, as they understand them who thus too frequently abuse them. That boisterous breath which the profane world sends forth to deride and cross him in his intended voyage, he, like a skilful pilot, so orders by the right composing of his sails, that he makes that his greatest

advantage and furtherance which was intended for his ruin. He can go to heaven with any wind, and with any name, where he is so sure to meet with a title of honour, a name written in the book of life, even the honour of all God's saints.

And now, this religion which he has thus wisely espoused and entirely loves, he dares not prostitute to interest or humour; but, as any man accounts the enjoyment of one thing which he principally loves enough to recompense him for all that he has been constrained to part with in his pursuit after it, so the religious gentleman can freely part with both humour and interest, with all he enjoys and all he hopes for here, for his religion's sake, being sure to find them all again hereafter in the fruition of her whom he so sincerely loves. Like a prudent lover, he removes all occasions of jealousy from his beloved: his religion shall never have cause to fear, that either his pleasure or his honour or his profit shall gain so much upon his affection as to become her rival.

Thus, whilst I go about to give you the character of a true gentleman, I am fallen into that of a Christian; and indeed no wonder, for there is such a necessary connexion betwixt these two, that they seem to be no more than the different names of the same man. If you desire to have his picture in a less compass, here it is: the true gentleman is one that is God's servant, the world's master, and his own man: his virtue is his business, his study his recreation, contentedness his rest, and happiness his reward: God is his father, the Church is his mother, the saints his brethren, all that need him his friends, and heaven his inheritance: religion is his mistress, piety and justice her ladies of honour, devotion is his chaplain, chastity his chamberlain, sobriety his butler, temperance his cook, hospitality his housekeeper, providence his steward, charity his treasure, piety is mistress of the house, and discretion the porter to let in and out as is most fit. Thus is his whole family made up of virtues, and he the master of his family. He is necessitated to take the world in his way to heaven, but he walks through it as fast as he can, and all his business by the way is to make himself and others happy. Take him all in two words, he is a man and a Christian.

The Gentile Sinner; or England's Brave Gentleman charactered, both as he is, and as he should be.

BISHOP PATRICK.

A. D. 1650—1688.

Every particular in the childhood and youth of this prelate,—the solemn occurrences of the time, the religious character of his parents and first schoolmaster, some providential escapes from sickness and accident which he has recorded, the sedate and learned society he fell into at the university,—all these circumstances conspired to develope that profound, but simple spirit of piety, which appears conspicuously throughout his life and writings.

Symon Patrick was born at Gainsborough, in Lincolnshire, in the year 1626. His father (who, though bred to a trade, was the son of a gentleman of some property and good education,) was much reduced in circumstances by the breaking out of the civil war. He did not, however, despair of accomplishing the intention which he had formed in his more prosperous circumstances, of training up his son a scholar. When the youth had arrived at seventeen or eighteen years of age, he procured letters of introduction to Whichcote and Cudworth, then (1644) both of Emmanuel College; depending on which, for the means of entering him as a sizar, he took him with him to Cambridge. Emmanuel College he found already full; but on the recommendation of those powerful friends, the young scholar was admitted of Queen's. Here his piety and application to his studies soon attracted favourable notice: he obtained the best scholarship in the college, and within a year from taking his first degree was chosen fellow; "before which time," he records, "I had been so studious as to fill whole books with observations out of various ancient authors, with some of my own, which I made upon them. I find one book begun in the year 1646, wherein I have noted many useful things; and another, more large, in 1647, having the word 'Æternitas,' at the top of many pages, by the thought of which I perceive I was quickened to spend my time well."

Among other subjects of thankfulness mentioned in the extracts which follow, is his friendship, already noticed in this work, with the admirable John Smith; in particular, "the singular blessing" of his rescue, by the grasp of that vigorous and genial intellect, from the gulf of predestinarianism. His first appearance as an author was by the eloquent and affectionate funeral sermon on Smith, prefixed to the *Select Discourses*.

At the period required by the college statutes, (*viz.* two years after taking the degreee of M.A.) he received holy orders, according to the custom of that time, at the hands of the London presbytery. Being, however, soon afterwards convinced of the indispensableness of episcopal ordination, he, with two other fellows of his college, applied to Bishop Hall, and was ordained by that venerable prelate in the little parlour of his humble dwelling at Heigham, in 1654. He returned to the university; but finding his exertions as a tutor, combined with intense application to study, beginning to undermine his health, he accepted, in 1656, an invitation from Sir Walter St. John, to reside as chaplain in the family of that gentleman, at Battersea, in Surrey. In the following year, the vicarage of Battersea became void, when Sir Walter, who was the patron, conferred it on his chaplain. Some sermons and small treatises, which he published while minister of that place, laid the foundation of his long-unrivalled popularity as a writer on subjects of practical piety.

At the Restoration, Patrick conformed; and such was his influence with his parishioners, that he had no difficulty in persuading them to join with fervour in the Liturgy. In 1662, he was chosen by a large majority president of his college; but a mandamus coming down from the King, appointing Sparrow, subsequently bishop of Norwich, to that office, the election was disputed. The contest remained still undecided, when the Duke of Bedford sent him a nomination to the rectory of St. Paul's, Covent Garden. On this he yielded his claim at the university to his opponent, and settled in that incumbency; "wherein," he modestly observes, while taking a retrospect of above a quarter of a century, including some seasons of unusual difficulty and danger, spent in the faithful discharge of the pastoral functions, "I hope I did more good than I should have done there," *i. e.* at Queens' College.

He had not been long settled at Covent Garden, when his zeal was put to a severe trial. The terrible plague of London

broke out. During the whole of that calamitous visitation, the devoted pastor remained at his post, cheerfully ministering to the sick and dying; and the consolations he was unable to impart, in every case, in person, he supplied by an extensive circulation of tracts from his facile but earnest pen. Such conduct endeared him to his parishioners, and attached universal respect to his name. Regarding this period, we meet in his autobiography with the following reflection, natural to a pious mind: "I noted how good God had been to myself, not only in preserving my life, but giving me so much health, and enabling me with cheerfulness to go through my labours: resolving to do my duty still more faithfully for the time to come."

The next year (1665) he took the degree of D.D. at Oxford. His reputation began now to be too high to permit his being longer overlooked by the rulers of the Church. Archbishop Sheldon, to whom he had some years before given offence, by contesting the mastership of his college, having read some of his books, now sent for him, and became henceforth his friend and patron. The Bishop of Lincoln (Fuller) made him an offer of the archdeaconry of Huntingdon; but this preferment he refused. In the year 1671, he was appointed one of the King's chaplains. A further mark of royal favour was conferred on him the following year, in his appointment to one of the prebends of Westminster. In 1675 he married, after a ten years' courtship, of which he has left an interesting, and, in some respects romantic, account. In August 1679, he was installed dean of Peterborough; and about the same time, from affection to his flock at Covent Garden, he refused the vicarage of St. Martin's, "then looked upon as the best living in England." He obtained it instead for Tenison, with whom he was on terms of affectionate friendship.

All this while he continued to labour unremittingly in private study and in the composition of numerous works, no kind of business or avocation withdrawing him wholly from these pursuits, except the agitation which pervaded the kingdom on the subject of Popery; "when," he observes, "all our labours were engaged to keep our people firm in their religion, and discover the errors of the Romish Church."

Being now among the most distinguished of the London clergy, Patrick was frequently called to take a part in the public affairs of the Church. While James the Second was

duke of York, he had had some opportunities of conversing with that ill-advised prince; and at the time when the duke's change of religion, though strongly rumoured, was still in some degree doubtful, had written exhorting him to persevere in the communion of the Church of England. Towards the end of the year 1686, he was cited to take part in a conference before the same prince, now his sovereign. The royal zealot was urgent with the Earl of Rochester to follow his example, by becoming a convert to popery. Rochester consented at length to hear the arguments of his majesty's priests, provided he might have some clergymen of the Church of England present to answer them. It was agreed to summon Patrick and Dr. Jane. These divines hesitated to engage in the proposed dispute, alleging, in particular, the want of authority from their superiors; but these objections were over-ruled, and on the 25th of November, they received a command to be at Whitehall, at four o'clock that afternoon. "Accordingly," Patrick writes, "we went then to the place where we were appointed to go, which was Mr. Chiffin's lodging. There we sat in the hinder room till three quarters past four, and then his majesty came to us, and told us he hoped we did not wonder he had desired this conference; for it was out of his great kindness to the Lord Treasurer, whose salvation he could not but wish. And he was glad, he said, that my Lord Treasurer had pitched upon us two to manage this conference." Presently they were conducted to an adjoining room, where after a little while the Lord Treasurer came in, and then the King, with two priests, Father Giffard and Father Godwin. No persons beside were admitted.

"Immediately the king began to tell us the great desire he had of the Lord Treasurer's salvation, which proceeded from his kindness to him, and was the occasion of this meeting. Then he related how he had sent Father Giffard to him, and what passed between them; which the Lord Treasurer presently declared more fully. And so we were ready to begin a debate upon two points, had not Father Giffard diverted us by a long harangue which he made, to shew what regard was to be had to the Church, and to its definitions; and that it having determined the doctrine of transubstantiation, against which we made our greatest objections, we must shew which fathers had contradicted it, not only by speeches, but in their sermons, homilies, catechisms, &c.; for they could shew where, in such discourses, they did assert it: and particularly Justin Martyr in his *Apology*, where he declares what the faith

of Christians was. And so he imperfectly related his words, and some of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, and of Gregory Nyssen. We told him we must find what the right faith was, before we could tell which Church it was safe to live and die in, because we could not tell whether a society of men were a church or no, till we knew what they believed. Now we were ready to shew that the doctrine of transubstantiation was no part of the Christian faith, but contrary to it; and we desired to be tried by those very testimonies which they had produced: and so we began to shew what Justin Martyr's opinion was; and from him passed by Irenæus, and then cleared that of Cyril, and that of Gregory Nyssen, and so proceeded to urge them with that of St. Austin, in his book *de Doctrina Christiana*, and another of his sermons of persons newly baptized, mentioned in Bede. Unto which they gave very poor solutions; but made such long harangues, that we could not come to allege the tetestimonies of Eusebius, Theodoret, Facundus, Gelasius, &c.

"I should have noted, that the King, in the beginning, desired to know of us what the faith of our Church was about the sacrament of Christ's body and blood. We answered him both out of our Catechism and out of the Articles, which he said contradicted each other. But we plainly shewed they did not. So the fathers began again to press us to shew how the body of Christ was present in the sacrament, and we told them after an heavenly and spiritual manner; and we quoted for this Irenæus, who speaks of a *terrena pars*, and a *cœlestis*; and then Origen; unto which they knew not what to say: for I believe they understood not the Greek words. After a great deal of wrangling, we were desired to shew when their doctrine came into the Church; and we produced the history of it, from Paschasius[1] down to the Council of Trent, shewing that several great men all along declared that this doctrine of transubstantiation was not the faith of the Church. At last we produced Bertram's book, which the king took into his hand and read in it awhile. Here they shuffled miserably, and affirmed confidently things that were false, as we desired the Lord Treasurer to satisfy himself at his leisure, by reading the book.

"Then the king interposed, and said he perceived there would always be a great deal to be said on both sides, and therefore we must be determined by the Church. To which we replied, that we humbly thought we had shewn this was not the faith of the Church till of late, and that it could not make a new faith. Hereupon he began to discourse of an infallible guide; which not being the business we came

[1] Paschasius Radbertus, abbot of Corbey, in the 9th century; in whose treatise *de Corpore et Sanguine Christi*, the theory of transubstantiation was first decidedly promulged. He was answered by his contemporary, Bertram, or Ratramnus, a monk of the same abbey.

about, the Lord Treasurer broke off the conference, by thanking his majesty for giving him the opportunity of hearing so much as he had done for his instruction; which, indeed, was more than he knew before."

The "father," however, interposed "another long harangue," but at last, "it being about nine o'clock," continues Patrick, "we broke up, with commendations of our learning and fair carriage on both sides."

A second conference took place, by the earl's desire, on the 11th of December, at which only Patrick appeared on the Anglican side. He thus relates what passed at this discussion.

"I went thither at the time appointed, and was sent for into my lord's closet, where I found three men (which much surprised me) sitting by my lord.

"A chair being set for me over against them, he that sat next to my lord began a long discourse, to demonstrate, as he called it, that the Christian faith was revealed and received before the Scriptures were extant, and therefore he did not depend on the Scriptures, but on the fidelity of the Church, which infallibly delivered it, and can do it without the Scriptures. I told him this seemed to me to overthrow the Christian faith, which would soon be lost if the Scriptures were laid aside. For while the apostles lived, they taught men without the Scriptures of the New Testament, (which was not presently written,) what the Christian faith was. Yet when they were gone, and left no such men as they were behind them, innumerable impostors would have started up, if they had not left in writing what they had preached. Besides, the apostles, and Christ himself, appealed to the Scriptures, and declared they said nothing but what the prophets had delivered. Then he affirmed that the religion of Moses was before it was written; about which it would be too long to relate what I replied. But, after long discourse, Dr. Giffard took up the matter, and laboured to shew that this way of conveying truth, by word of mouth, was more certain than by writing; at which the Lord Treasurer lifted up his hands, and said it was the strangest proposition that ever he heard. I will not relate all that I replied to this; but only mention one thing, which was, what moved men to be at the trouble to make deeds and conveyances of their estates, if they might be as well settled to all posterity by word of mouth? This touched the first gentleman that disputed with me, who I understood afterwards was a lawyer, no less man than Judge Allabon.

"We came at last to discourse of the infallibility of the Church; but they could not tell me where it was placed; only asserting there must be such a thing in the Church, otherwise all was uncertain: which I shewed was false, for God had given us all the certainty that

human nature and fallible creatures could have, and they could tell us of no means of certainty which we had not. About these things we wrangled till nine o'clock, and then broke up."

On another occasion also we find Patrick in the presence of the King: but whether before or after the conference with Giffard and Godwin, does not very clearly appear. James, in complaining to Sancroft, that the London ministers attacked his religion in their pulpits, mentioned in particular Patrick, as forward in this controversy; on which the archbishop brought Patrick to Whitehall, to make his own defence. "His majesty," he writes, "received me with a kind countenance;" in fact, James appears to have been in an unusually placable mind; and after all, perhaps was not (at least in his demeanour) the formidable tyrant he was commonly esteemed by the London clergy.

Patrick had a prominent share in the steps taken by the clergy regarding the famous declaration for liberty of conscience. His narrative rises in interest in this place, as the account of one who was a party to those momentous proceedings; but contains nothing which was not previously known. "The middle of that week," he writes, "I went to keep my residence at Peterborough, where I did what I was able to prevent the reading of it; which was not difficult to persuade them unto, they being generally everywhere inclined to follow the example of the London clergy."

Respecting the trial of the bishops, he observes, "I cannot but here remember, with what joy the news of their being cleared was received at Peterborough. The bells rang from three o'clock in the morning till night; when several bonfires were made, with tabor and pipe and drum, and a great part of the night was spent in rejoicing."

The course adopted towards the new government, by Sancroft, filled Patrick with alarm. It is observed by the editor of his life, that "we should have considered his conduct more consistent as a churchman, had he taken part with the venerable archbishop, and others who pursued the same course." But there was no reason why the Dean of Peterborough should have joined the nonjurors, which did not equally apply to every other clergyman in the country. And surely that consistency would have been, as far as we can perceive, dearly purchased, which would have either wholly separated the church from the state, or defeated a great national movement,

judged indispensable to the preservation of freedom and the laws, by every other order of citizens.

At length the elevation of Patrick to the bishopric of Chichester, necessarily separated him from the attached flock of Covent Garden, among whom he had for so many years laboured indefatigably for their good. Of his influence in his ministry, some judgment may be formed from the fact, that so considerable were the offerings at the Communion, that after liberally relieving all the sick and needy of the parish, he was enabled to purchase with the surplus an endowment in land of £20 per annum, to be paid to the curate for reading the morning and evening prayers, at hours convenient for servants and workpeople.

A glance over the chief literary labours of this quiet-minded but indefatigable scholar, during his parochial career of six-and-twenty years, in London, may here be properly introduced.

His first publication, after his settlement at Covent Garden, was the *Parable of the Pilgrim*, written in 1663, and published the following year. This is unquestionably one of the best works of practical piety in our language. As the production of a distinguished writer, and as having preceded the *Pilgrim's Progress* of Bunyan by about fifteen years, we might have expected that the numerous editors of the more popular book, in the progress of their researches among those writers who had previously adopted for the ground-work of pious fiction the beautiful scriptural comparison of human life to a pilgrimage, would have more largely noticed this most pleasing of Bishop Patrick's compositions. The two productions are indeed as unlike as the circumstances, minds, and objects of the respective writers. Patrick's slight thread of narrative is frequently broken, and, for a space, laid aside, and there is in his work little of that lively and felicitous illustration of the Christian doctrines, by means of familiar incident and dialogue, which constitutes the charm of the *Pilgrim's Progress;* it is written, however, in a strain of unaffected eloquence, not without occasional touches of fancy. It was much read at the period of its publication; and, in parts, had to sustain some sharp attacks of the Presbyterians. Patrick's *Parable* is the *Pilgrim's Progress* of the educated and reflective.

His next publication was given to the world anonymously: the account the author has left of it is this. "In the latter end of the year 1688, the insolence of many of the dissenters grew

so great[1] that it provoked me to write a little book, which I called, *A Friendly Debate between a Conformist and a Nonconformist.* My intention in it was sincere—to persuade them in a kind manner to join with us; at least not to leave us in contempt, as if they were the only godly people, and we, at the best, but moral men, (as they called us,) who had not the grace of God in us. This book proved very acceptable, and had many editions." The nonconformists however, in general, including even Baxter, who on other occasions expressed a high regard for Patrick, were extremely offended at what they styled the "disingenuousness and irreverence" of the author. Neal says, that in a speech delivered long subsequently, in the House of Lords, the Bishop, alluding to the *Friendly Debate*, condemned the warmth with which he had written against dissenters, and declared that he had found reason to change his opinions concerning those people, and to disapprove of that way of writing. That his views on this point underwent a change, is manifest; for in the preface to this book he expresses his disapproval of those attempts at comprehension, which, when revived at a subsequent period, had his zealous support. A second part of the *Friendly Debate* appeared the next year, and was followed by the author's replies to some tracts written against the work.

Towards the close of 1679, Patrick engaged in one of those associations for literary purposes, which, after a commencement full of promise, have in so many instances proved abortive.

"Several divines in London met to consult how they might most efficaciously promote true religion by their ministry. It was agreed that each of them (who were in number, as I remember, sixteen,) should write a little plain book, of a shilling or eighteen-pence price, on such subjects as the Knowledge of Christ, Faith, Justification, Repentance, Mysteries, Temptations, &c.; and every one chose his subject, but said they would excuse me if I would undertake to make a prayer-book to fit most occasions, and they gave me the heads; to which I consented: and in the end of that year I resolved to try what I could do in that kind, by making prayers and meditations at the holy communion of Christ's body and blood; which I began to compose January 2nd, 1670, under the name of the *Christian Sacrifice;* and, blessed be God, I brought it to a conclusion May 1st."

---

[1] In consequence of the favour with which they were regarded by the court, and of the earnest manner in which their admission into the Church was sought, by some churchmen of eminence, about this time.

The *Christian Sacrifice*, though an honourable, was likely to be the only, fruit of this learned association. "How the other books," he afterwards tells us, "which were intended to be composed, came to miscarry, I am not able to say. But not one person performed what he undertook, except only myself and Dr. (William) Sherlock, who wrote a book about the Knowledge of Jesus Christ, which was his task."

The *Advice to a Friend*, the *Witnesses to Christianity*, and others of Patrick's useful writings, followed in rapid succession, if we consider the great consumption of the author's time and intellectual energy, demanded by his more immediate professional pursuits. At length he commenced that series of works for which, chiefly, succeeding times have acknowledged their obligations to this laborious divine. His *Commentary on the Book of Job*, the first of his paraphrases, was published in 1667; that on the Psalms, two years later; the remaining portions of the Hagiographa and historical books of the Old Testament following at intervals, until, in August 1706, a few weeks before his eightieth birthday, the venerable bishop had the satisfaction of receiving from the press the sheets of the books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, the corrections of which, and the composition of his slight but interesting memoir of his own life, were probably his latest literary efforts. It had been the habit of this exemplary person, on each return of his birth-day, and upon the completion of any useful work, to record his gratitude in a form of devotion. Thus, after having finished the book of Psalms, "I was so thankful," writes he, "to God, that I concluded with the last word, Allelujah! Allelujah!—again and again praising the Lord, who hath so graciously assisted me."

Dr. Patrick was consecrated to the see of Chichester Oct. 13th, 1689, in company with Stillingfleet, made bishop of Worcester, and Ironside, bishop of Bristol.

In the preparations for the final, but abortive scheme of comprehension, made in 1688, the alterations in the Collects were assigned to Patrick, on account of his acknowledged skill in devotional composition; they were, however, afterwards to pass under the judicious eye of Stillingfleet; and then, says Birch[2], "to receive their final polish from the masterly strokes of the sweet and flowing Tillotson." He had

[2] *Life of Tillotson.*

likewise a chief hand in enlarging the service for the 5th of November.

On the deprivation of the bishops who refused the oaths to William and Mary, he was translated to the see of Ely, vacant by the ejection of Dr. Turner. One of his first acts after his consecration to that bishopric, he thus unaffectedly records: "Taking notice there was but one sermon in the afternoon, in all the churches in Cambridge, I settled a stipend upon two lecturers of £30 a piece, to preach every Sunday in two churches, at each end of the town," (St. Clement's and St. Botolph's). Another public undertaking connected with the affairs of the see, was his bringing to an end a suit long pending between the bishops of Ely and the descendants of Sir Christopher Hatton, respecting the possession of Ely House in Holborn; the claim of the Hattons to which estate, depended on one of those reckless alienations of church-property that were the opprobrium of Elizabeth's government. The bishop agreed to a compromise upon fair terms: the particulars, as related at length by himself, are curious. In short, "every place he lived in, every station he passed through, had reason to be grateful to his memory for some good work or other. Besides his finishing the gardens, fish-ponds, stables, &c. at the palace of Ely, he gave to the library of the cathedral there a very large collection of valuable books." His conduct in administering the episcopal functions appears to have been, in all respects, equally worthy of admiration with his previous life. "He was careful to do all that he was able to reform what was amiss, and to encourage learning and piety; constantly preaching in his diocese or chapel; regular in his visitations, and whatever law or conscience required from him. Where he found a scanty provision to maintain a minister, out of his own revenue he would order such a settlement as might be sufficient encouragement for one. Though of a tender and compassionate nature, yet where wholesome severities were judged necessary, he would not spare to make use of them." Instances occurred, both at Chichester and Ely, in which he brought unworthy clergymen to deserved punishment. His great judgment and moderation in composing differences, were displayed in a visitation he made at Peter House, Cambridge, the fellows of which society had appealed to him against their master, Dr. Joseph Beaumont. When very near the close of his long life, he composed a form of consecration for the chapel of Catharine Hall, in that university.

The liturgical, it has been already intimated, was a species of composition in which he delighted, and in which his reputation was without a rival. "No person has done more than Bishop Patrick in raising up a spirit of devotion, which may be seen by the many excellent compositions of this nature by him, which have been and are of great service to well-disposed Christians, in all states and conditions of life. There was no occasion of any benefit, either to Church or state, but it was ushered in with a psalm of praise and thanksgiving by him; as before, he was an earnest suitor to the throne of grace, while the mercy was in suspense, and the issues of things unknown."

The last entry in the diary of Bishop Patrick is dated May 29th, 1707; and on the 31st of that month, he ended his mortal life, at Ely. "Thus," concludes a friendly commentator on his autobiographical memoirs, from whom we have before borrowed, "he numbered his days; having spent as much of his time in the service of the Church, as perhaps any one of this last age, and to as good purpose."

The extensive incorporation, in the preceding narrative, of dates and other particulars relative to the principal writings of Bishop Patrick, appears to preclude the necessity of appending the usual list[1].

HUMILITY AND CHARITY THE CHRISTIAN'S COMPANIONS IN HIS PILGRIMAGE.

As soon then as they were come into the open air, the guide began to speak unto him to this effect: I will not be so distrustful of your memory, as to make a repetition of what hath been already said, but proceed to tell you, that having disposed your affairs in such sort as I have directed, and put yourself in good order for your journey, you must be sure to provide yourself of two companions to go along with you, which, indeed, you can never be without, whose names are, *Humility* and *Charity*. The former of these will always keep you in a mean opinion of yourself, and the latter will raise you to an high esteem of God and your Saviour; breeding in you a passionate desire to be like to them, and a grateful resentment of all their kindness

[1] In 1719, appeared a small volume of *Poems upon Divine and Moral Subjects; originals and translations;* most of which are ascribed to Patrick. The bishop's metrical compositions evince a respectable command of the sentiments as well as the language of poetry.

to you. And that you may not think I intend to put you upon some long search for them, I shall tell you for your comfort, that you shall find them both lodged together in one place from whence they never stir, but are always ready at hand to assist those that there seek for them. I know that you are desirous that I should acquaint you where that is; and because I would save your pains as much as ever I can, I shall send you no further than yourself, if you still keep in mind that sentence which I told you would be of daily use, and which you requested to have explained; for in that you will be sure to meet them embracing one another in an inseparable conjunction. You do well, I hope, remember it; yet I cannot choose but repeat it to you, and wish you again and again to say as affectionately as you are able,—I am nought, I have nought, I desire nought, but only this one thing, which is our Lord Jesus Christ; and to be at peace with him in Jerusalem. Humility says, "I am nought, I have nought;" and Love says, "I desire nought but Jesus and Jerusalem." These two you may the better keep in your company, because you cannot lose either of them, unless you will lose them both; (and who is there that would not at least have one friend to be of his society in his travels?) so lovingly they do agree together, that they are by no means willing to be asunder. If the one be admitted, the other will not be excluded; and as the one grows to a taller pitch, the other advances together with it. The more you humble yourself, the higher will your love ascend; and as that is exalted, so will you learn still lower to depress yourself. For the more you discern yourself to be nothing, with the greater ardency of affection will you embrace Jesus, who is desirous to make you something worth: and the more you admire and love him, and his incomparable perfections, the better still will you be able to take a view of your own nothing. And that is a thing which I think fit to observe to you before we pass any further, because it may be of great use unto you in your pilgrimage,—that the humility which I commend unto you is not to be exercised so much in a direct considering of yourself, your sinfulness and your misery, (though this be very profitable at the first), as in a still, quiet and loving admiration of the excellent goodness, purity, and love of Jesus. When you believe him to have the fulness of the Godhead dwelling in him bodily, and especially when you are endued with a savoury feeling of his holiness and kindness; this sight of him will beget in your soul a more pure, spiritual, and sweet humility, than the beholding of yourself can possibly do, which produces an humility more gross, boisterous, and unquiet. As there is a love which is calm and quiet, when not at all stirred with the passion, we remain possessed of all the pleasure of it; so is there an humility of the same nature, which silently sinks us down to the very bottom of our being, without stirring and troubling of our souls, as we are wont to do when we

violently plunge our thoughts into them. But both of these descend from above, when our minds are fastened to celestial objects, which always are in a serene tranquillity: they will not spring from things beneath, which are tossed in a perpetual and restless agitation. We never seem less in our own eyes, than when we look down from on high upon ourselves: and being then in peace, we have less also of that vexation wherein our souls are apt to boil and rage when they are the nearest objects of our thoughts. Our humility will be the more when we admire Jesus; and it will be of a temper more mild and gentle, like him whom we admire. It will not lose anything of itself by taking its original from him; but only lose that sourness which is mingled with it, when it hath its beginning from ourselves. You will plainly understand my meaning, if you do but consider, that by fixing your eyes upon yourself, you may indeed discern that you are a most wretched, sinful creature: but by fastening them upon him, you will both see the same, and that more clearly; and moreover feel that you are a mere nothing. This sense of yourself, which lays you lowest of all other, you can never owe to anything else, but a sight of him who wants nothing. His fulness appearing so great, your emptiness will seem as vast; and in compare with his perfections, you will think yourself nothing but imperfection. When you consider that all is his, at that thought you have lost yourself, by finding that you are not your own: and when you think that he is the original of all, you are lost again in a sense that you had been nothing without him. So that in this way you will be as much cast down to the ground, and rolled as much in the dust, as by any other reflections: all the difference is, that you will not roll and tumble about in the turbulency of your own distracted thoughts, and the violent commotion of your furious passions. You will only lie at his feet in a lowly posture, adoring his excellencies, praising his surpassing perfections, confessing your own meanness, beseeching him to pity a poor soul that thinks itself nothing, unless it may see him there, and desiring him to take the opportunity of doing himself that honour, and you that kindness, as out of his fulness to impart a new spirit, and a divine nature to you. Nay, this humility will make you study to cast all other things out of your thoughts, and labour only to be beloved of him, without which you judge yourself to be of all creatures most miserable. It is not to be told what the benefits of this sort of humility are: but to let you see something of its great virtue, reflect upon that which we lately discoursed concerning the force of a strong resolution, and hearty surrender of yourself to God. Which, as it contains all things you are to do within its comprehension, so it is supported by nothing more than a profound humility. When we consider that we were made by God,

that we depend upon him every moment, that we are infinitely engaged to him for many millions of his favours; when we think what a sovereign authority he hath over us, how much he is superior to us, what a right he hath to all our services, and how wise and good his will is; it is impossible that we should avoid resolving to give him our hearts, and to persist eternally in the abnegation of our own wills and desires, which we can never suffer to be competitors with his. This humility will not be forward to clothe you with shirts of hair, to prescribe you no other diet but the meanest you can procure, to put a whip into your hand wherewith to let yourself blood, to rob you of your hose and shoes, that you may go barefoot to Jerusalem: it will not bid you strike your bare breast against the stones, nor tell you, that, to be a saint, you must roll your naked body in the briers, or tumble in the same manner in heaps of winter snow, or plunge yourself up to the neck in an icy pool: but it will infallibly strip you of yourself, and starve all your carnal desires, and break your will in pieces, and lay you at the foot of the cross of Christ, and dispose you to all those rigours, and a thousand more, if your Lord did signify that he would be pleased with such austerities.

How safe then and secure must you needs think yourself under the conduct of such a companion? you cannot have a better guard, nor be put into a place of greater assurance, if you seek over all the world for it, than that to which humility will lead you. For making you distrustful of your own power and strength, it will urge you to a continual dependence upon your Lord, without whom you feel that nothing, much less such an excellent thing as you design, can be achieved. We accuse very much the weakness of our nature, we complain heavily of the body of flesh and blood which continually betrays us; we conceit that we should do rare things, were we but once quit of this load of earth, and suffered to move in the free and yielding air. But let me tell you, and believe it for a truth, though we had no society with a terrestrial nature; nay, though our minds were free and clear from all mortal concretion; though we had no clothes at all to hinder our motion; yet our ruin might arise out of our spirits, and by pride and self-confidence we might throw ourselves down into utter destruction. For what commerce, I pray you, had the apostate angels with our corporeal nature? what familiarity with a body? Do we not conceive them to have been pure spirits separated from all earthly contagion? and yet by placing all in themselves, by being puffed up in their own thoughts, and not acknowledging their need of the Divine presence and assistance, we conclude that they tumbled themselves into an abyss of misery and woe irrecoverable. Now they are in a worse condition than if they were spirits of a smaller size: now the torment

they suffer is proportionable to the nobleness of their nature. For the sharper and quicker the mind is, and the greater its endowments are which it hath received, the greater mischief doth it bring upon itself, and the sadder are its perplexities, when it is destitute of the special help and presence of God. As a great giant being blinded must needs tumble more grievously, and give himself sorer knocks than he would have done, if he had not been of so huge a bulk; so a mind and reason elevated to an higher pitch than others, is carried headlong into an heavier ruin, when it is deprived of that Divine light which is necessary for its guidance and preservation. Excellency of nature therefore little profits if God be not present with it; and he absents himself from all that place not their strength, sufficiency, and safeguard in him, but in themselves. And on the other side, fragility of nature is not that which will undo us, if the Divine presence do not withdraw itself; which it never doth from humble and lowly minds that confide in him and not in their own power, which, were it a thousand times greater than it is, would not be sufficient to conserve itself. Our pride and vanity, and forgetfulness of God, then, is that which we must accuse; not the infirmity and craziness of our flesh; for as the excellency of the angelical nature could not save them when they disjoined themselves from their Creator; so the weakness of ours shall not harm us, if we keep close to him, and never sever ourselves from that heavenly power which worketh mightily in us. Do you not see then how much you must stand indebted to this associate in your journey? For it is humility that must fasten you to God, that will keep you in a constant adherence to him, and not let you stir a foot from him; that will make you tremble to think of looking into yourself, and not behold him there. This is in effect your strength and salvation; this supplies the defects of your nature; this is the remedy of your infirmity; and, after a strange way, this raises you above all the power of the world, by keeping you down and pressing you very low in your own thoughts.

I must not defraud it therefore of those just praises that are due to its virtue, which may recommend it more to your affection, and make its company more grateful in your travels. But it is fit you should know that this humility, which makes us seem so little or nothing in our own eyes, is one of the most glorious things in the world, and places a man among the ancient heroes. It is indeed the height and sublimity of our mind, the true gallantry of our spirits. It letting us see what poor despicable things we are, causes us to surmount ourselves, and to have no regard to such low and petty interests as those of our own. It is not a sneaking quality that dispirits the soul, and deprives it of all its force and vigour, but a generous disposition of mind, that will not suffer it to employ its forces upon such

a mean and contemptible service as that of pleasing ourselves. Let it not seem a paradox to you, for there is nothing truer, that pride and conceitedness are the qualities of base-bred souls, of feeble and ignoble minds; and that lowliness is the endowment of a soul well born, nobly descended, and bravely educated in the knowledge of the most excellent things. For whether is greater, I pray you, he that sets a value upon little trifles, or he that despises them? Is not he that despises them? whose thoughts are taken up with sublimer objects, that make himself and all things here besides appear as nothing in his eyes. I believe you will say there was not a greater man in the world in those days than Moses, a leader of a mighty people, the captain-general of all the pilgrims of that age, who had wrought wonders in Egypt, who had signalized himself by the drowning of Pharaoh's army in the sea: and yet it is apparent there was not a meeker person living upon the earth: no man had a meaner opinion of himself. He was content to be taught by Jethro, though he knew so much himself; nay, he was not offended at his reprehension, but submitted his judgment to a better reason. Could there be a greater instance of his humility and gallantry both together? he that had overcome so many, now overcame himself. He that had triumphed over mighty hosts, now leads his pride in triumph, and tramples it under his feet. He cared not who had the honour of it, so wise and great things were effected. His own glory he valued not, but his humility inspired him by all means to seek the people's good. What think you of Abraham also, a more ancient pilgrim than this; who calls himself but dust and ashes; who condescended so far as to pray Lot, a person inferior to himself, that there might be no difference between them? and yet this was that great man who had overcome so many kings in battle, and brought away so many spoils, and redeemed Lot himself from captivity. Hath not his humility rendered him more famous than those victories? hath he not crowned himself with greater glory in not vaunting himself in those trophies, than if he had been served continually by those conquered princes? If one man thinks clay to be clay, and therefore treads upon it; another thinks it to be gold and therefore admires it; which of these hath the braver mind? hath not he who doth not admire the clay and embrare the dirt? so he truly that calls himself but dust and ashes hath certainly a very great soul; while he that understandeth not, but hath himself in admiration, is a weak and basely-minded man. He hath a great spirit, who makes no account of those things which others are proud of. He is generous, who despises things far greater than those which others esteem the marks of their glory; who doth not swell with high achievements, when his envious neighbours are puffed up with every trifle. Humility then, you see, is not sheepishness,

but loftiness of mind and the most elevated pitch of the soul. It is not dejectedness of spirit, but a raised understanding of God and of ourselves. And therefore let us be low (as one of the ancient guides of the Church advises), that we may be high. If we admire anything here, let it be the sublimity of humble minds.

I cannot conclude before I add for your further incitement, that humility is of an excellent good nature, and hath a singular obligingness in its constitution. It makes us no less acceptable unto men than unto God, and renders us amiable, though we have nothing else to give us any advantage. Do you not see how intolerable the proud are? And what is the reason of it, but because they scorn those who are not of their rank? they cannot be obliged, because they think whatsoever you do is due to their merit: they would be loved by all, without loving again: they will command in all companies, and have every one yield to their humours: they will teach all, and learn of none: they are incapable of gratitude, and think you are honoured enough for your services, if they do but receive them: they would draw all to themselves, and are unacquainted with that which charms all the world, I mean bounty and liberality. The humble man, no doubt then, is the most agreeable person upon earth; whom you oblige by a good word, which he thinks he doth not deserve; who thanks you for the smallest courtesy; who had rather obey than rule, who is desirous to learn of the meanest scholar; who contemns nobody but himself; who loves though he be not loved; who thinks nothing too much to do for those that esteem him; and who is afraid he hath never recompensed enough the civilities which are done unto him. In short, this humility is of such great value, and so good-natured, that there is nothing comparable to it but its twin sister, Divine charity. This amiable pair are like the right foot and the left, by which the traveller performs his journey. There needs no more but this happy couple to carry you through all the paths of piety, and bring you safe to Jerusalem. Let us turn our eyes then, if you please, from the one to the other, and look awhile upon the beauty and graces of Charity, whose charms are so powerful, that you cannot choose but open to it your embraces.

And that which will very much enamour you at the first glance, is the power which you will discover in it to establish your resolution, and to make it so firm, that it shall not be shaken by all the force of all the world, which is nothing so strong and mighty as love. I know this touches you with a strong inclination to it, if you have any mind to offer your will to God as I advised; and therefore you will not think I importune you with a tedious discourse, if I make you more sensible of this following truth: That love makes one will of two, and causes us to sacrifice all our own desires to the will of that we love, if we esteem

it better than ourselves. For what, I pray you, can we say of love, but which a wiser man than you or I hath told us, who calls it "that emotion of the soul whereby we join ourselves in will and heart to that which is presented as lovely and convenient for us?" It is such a consent, I say, of the heart to some fair and inviting object, that we consider ourselves as joined and united to it: insomuch that we do not look on ourselves and it as remaining any longer two things which subsist asunder; but we conceive a whole, whereof we think ourselves but one part, and the thing beloved to be the other. Is it not necessary then, that we have a mind to cleave to this, and eternally live in dear embraces of it? can we endure the thought of being torn from this, and so dissolve the whole which love hath made? do not we naturally desire to conserve things, especially those of our own creating? It is unavoidable then, that in any contest which may arise between these parts, we yield to the will of that we love, for fear of a separation; unless that thing be worse than ourselves, and so we hope to gain by the dissolution. If one of these two must be displeased, we shall ever choose that it be ourselves, unless we esteem the other to be of less value and worth than ourselves. There is but that one exception lies against this general truth, which I shall not stick to reiterate, that love doth so tie us to that we love, that we and it become but one whole consisting of two parts; and that we shall sooner suffer that part which we make, to be crossed in its desires, than the other to which we have joined ourselves, to be disgusted. Do you doubt of it? observe then, that love being placed on things that differ in three degrees, it comes to be divided into three sorts. Either it is to things below us, and then it is called a bare affection; or to things equal to us, and then it is termed friendship; or to things above us, and then it arrives at the name of devotion. Thus I have learned from a wise man of my acquaintance. Now the nature of love in every one of these being such, that it joins our hearts to the thing beloved, and we and it make but one whole: in this only they differ, that though we may consent to part, and break with that which we esteem less than ourselves, yet we can never agree to be separated from that which we esteem greater. The less part will always be abandoned to the conservation of the greatest; we must always sacrifice that which is worst, to keep entire the best. And therefore, though in bare affection a man always prefers himself before that he loves, when one must suffer a displeasure, yet it is quite otherwise in the highest love (and sometime in the second sort), which we call devotion, for there a man prefers the thing he loves so much before himself, that he fears not to venture his very life for the conservation of it. He will sooner sever soul and body, than consent that this and his soul should be divided. He will rather quit all the

world, and never see it more, than forsake this and be banished from it. Because, as there is no compare, he thinks, between all the world and this, so he is tied with an incomparably stronger bond to it, than to all the world. Now of this sort is the love that we call charity, which is an high devotion to our Lord; who, since he is Lord of all, the Lord of life and glory, the Author of eternal salvation, the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth; if it were possible for us to leave some things that are better than ourselves, in expectation of something better than them, to which we will give that love which they have lost; yet he will make us love him eternally above all, and live in inseparable union with him, because there is nothing else superior to him on which to bestow our love if we take it from him. If we once sincerely love him, if we become one with him, it is manifestly in the nature of this sublime affection, to make us part with ourselves for his sake; to resign up all our own desires that his will may be done; to lose whatsoever we call ours, that we may keep him and his good esteem of us. It is not possible that we should grant our consent to have that knot untied, which makes us part of such a whole, whereof the Son of God is the other part. There needs nothing to keep it fast, but to keep us in our wits. And therefore, since a will distinct from his will makes us two again, we shall always compromise with his will, that we may continue one.

I believe now you think you shall make a mighty purchase, if you can but procure this companion to go along with you. It is apparent to you, that this charity will help and enable you to do all that is commanded you, though it be never so much, and hard to be otherwise effected. And do you not think that it will make all things easy to be done? Alas! it knows no difference between doing and suffering but only this, that it chooses the latter many times as a noble testimony to its sincerity and truth. Nothing will seem absurd, nothing will be thought misbecoming, nothing will appear difficult, when once you are in love. It is well compared to an artificial glass, which when we look through, an enemy seems a friend, disgrace is rendered an honour, and hardships look like a pleasure. The love of Christ, you know, caused him to make himself of no reputation. It preserved his Majesty, and made it seem no disparagement to be so low as a servant, and to court his vassals. It hath this privilege, that it cannot be defamed; and it hath this generosity, that it cannot learn to deny. Ask anything of it, and it will make no difficulty to give it; nay, ask a coat, and it will give the cloak also: ask it to go a mile with you, and it will go two: ask it to forgive one injury, and it will forgive an hundred: ask it to render you a service, and it will serve you with its whole self. So that I think one of the ancient guides of the Church had reason, who said, "Love,

and do what thou wilt." Take thine own course, so that thou dost but heartily love. This is a thing so powerful, that it withstands our temperament, and resists our most natural inclinations. It claps a new bias upon our hearts; it carries us against the stream and tide of sensitive desires; it breaks the chains of custom; it roots up inveterate habits; it is of such vast force that it makes us vanquish ourselves, and obliges us to destroy our own pleasures that we may please another. It is strangely bountiful and liberal with all, thinking it can never do enough to make itself known to those whom it loves. From whence it is, that whereas they who live only in a fear and dread of God have starved and half-dead affections to him, which makes them do but little, and that with a pensiveness and sadness, as if they desired to be excused: they, whose hearts burn with love to him, have all their powers excited thereby to do their best for him; and they strain themselves with the greatest gladness to execute his pleasure in all things. And to say the truth, there is no passion of the soul, but love hath it at its full command. They all owe their original to love, and would have no being at all if it were not in the soul before them. If there were no love implanted by God in our natures, there would be no desire, no hatred; no grief, no joy; no fear, no despair; for all these grow upon this single root, or rather are but love shooting forth in divers shapes. They are, I say, but several motions which love causes—the different figures which it assumes according as the object and occasion requires. It is love which desires when the thing is absent; which hates that which would spoil its enjoyments; which grieves for the loss, or fears the departure, which despairs of the coming, or joys in the presence, of a beloved good. What therefore should that be, which love cannot do, seeing it carries all these along with it, and leads the whole soul thither, whither it goes itself? It is an active and busy affection; having as much vivacity as it hath strength. Its life consists in motion; and, like to the heart, it ceases to live when it ceases to stir. It is painted, you know, with wings, and will make you fly rather than go to Jerusalem. It is like to fire, which is both a greedy and a fierce element; a very covetous affection, I mean, that thinks it never hath enough of that which it desires; and so earnest and vehement, that it never rests till it hath spent itself upon its beloved. It is like the holy fire which God sent from heaven, which was found unextinguished at the return from Babylon (as the Hebrews say) in the bottom of a well, all covered with mud and dirt. Much water from without cannot quench it; and the dulness and heaviness of our own temper cannot repress it. But as fire elevates the matter to which it takes, though it be never so gross and ponderous; so doth love raise the hearts wherein it makes an impression, and stirs them up to actions far surmounting

their age, their breeding, and condition. There is a certain cheerfulness also in this affection, like to the shining and brightness of fire, which contributes much to the augmenting of its activity. It diffuseth a secret joy through the whole soul, which cannot be dissembled, but casts a splendour into the countenance of those in whom it resides. Though melancholy indeed is sometimes the companion of other love, yet it cannot find so easy access to Divine charity: for that which the one wants, the other hath, and that which the one doubts of, the other necessarily supposes. Is not this the common cause of such sadness, that love meets with no return from an heart to which it hath given its own, or is in despair of overcoming all the obstacles of its satisfaction? but these are things that cannot find a place in this heaven-born affection, which is nothing else but a return of our love to God who hath loved us first, and thereby given us assurance that he is desirous to be enjoyed by us. All the heaviness then of pious souls is when they cannot make such returns as they wish, not when they feel this flame within them; for then they are strangely pleased and ravished with joy, both because it is an effect of the love of God to them, and because hereby they do actually enjoy him. Now as melancholy and sadness do oppress the spirits, and make us lazy and unwilling to stir; so this cheerfulness and lightsomeness of mind which love infuses do set them free, and render us active and vigorous in our motion. Melancholy is a lethargic humour, and binds up all the powers, because its frozen disposition imagines all things impossible to be either done or avoided: but cheerfulness by its heat and warmth gives us some degree of confidence that things are not so hard to be undertaken, and it thaws, melts, and loosens our faculties into freedom and liberty, whereby we become of a lively, forward, and ready disposition. Love therefore being of this pleasant and cheerful nature, you see, must needs both quicken your spirit and facilitate your work. Nay, it is apt to excite and inspire others who come near us, and therefore much more ourselves. Cheerfulness, and the love from whence it springs, makes our countenance smooth and clear, and invites others into our society. When this passion stirs in the heart, the face is all over touched with the sweetness of it; which both entices and enlivens those that approach us. How is it possible then that we should not feel these effects of it ourselves, that are so sensible to others? or what heart is there so cold and indifferent, that would not be possessed with this affection which is as useful as delightful; and whose benefits redound to our neighbours and stay not in ourselves? It will not let us be a terror to our own souls, nor appear with such a dismal aspect that we should scare and affright others: it will not drive others from piety while it carries us unto it: it will not suffer us to put religion on the rack, that we may look severe; and it is far from making us appear

so, as though we imagined we could not be saved, unless we make an ugly face.

What shall I say more? need I tell you that love is full of imitation, and forces us to conform ourselves to the humour and disposition of him whom we love? There is a stranger property by far than this, which will make you open your heart to it; and that is a singular sagacity which it is master of, whereby it knows what is fit to be done without any teaching. If you were fully in the power of it, it would go near to render me of no use, being itself instead of twenty masters. It knows what will please before it be told, and sees what is acceptable without a director: it hath eyes of its own to find out its way, and by its innate wisdom would lead you straight to Jerusalem. It is very skilful to spy out its duty, and hath a quick perception of what is befitting in every passage of life; insomuch, that when a man begins to love, he begins to know how to guide himself. His love will suggest unto him many things which he ought to do; and be instead of a thousand monitors to put him upon the doing of them. It will make a man descry the least faults in himself, though it hide them in others. It notes an indecency with as much severity as another marks a gross impurity. It labours to overcome the smallest infirmity, and weeps more for a mote in its eye, than others do for a beam. Nay, it is afflicted for those things which nobody sees, save only itself. It blushes more for a vain thought, than the rest of the world do for a monstrous act. It hath a curiosity about those little circumstances, which all men are wont to oversee or neglect. Its niceness and delicacy is so great, that it abhors the very shadow of all evil; and it every way strives to adorn itself with such accuracy, that there may not be the least speck to render it less fair and beautiful in the eyes of God.

Love, therefore, I beseech you; love as much as ever you are able, if you mean to be happy: make your heart ready as an altar, for this fire from above to descend upon it: prepare yourself as a sacrifice to be offered up in this holy flame to the Lord of love: let all the world know that you are a consecrated thing: tell it that you cannot entertain its suit, nor unhallow the place where heaven is pleased to dwell: yield yourself a captive to this mighty conqueror, whereby you will be enabled to conquer all things else: subject yourself to the power of that, which will bring the devil, the world, and the flesh under your feet: let it take away your liberty of doing what you please, that it may make you free to do as you ought: possess it of your soul entirely, and suffer it to inspire all your desires and to order all your motions; and it will not fail to possess you of that blessed place, to which you wish to be conducted. And is this any difficult thing that I require

of you? I should rather think that we are highly obliged to God for making the way to Jerusalem so easy, and our arriving there so certain as it is. For love is the most natural and pleasant thing in the world, which will certainly bring us thither, and God being so lovely, and having loved us so much, one would think it should be an easy thing to beget it in our hearts. Do you not mark how a dog loves you, if you do but throw him a bone, or some such thing, which to you is of no use or worth at all? for this he fawns upon you; for this he stays in your house, and keeps your door, and defends your goods; this makes him follow you at the heels, if you please, to travel with you long journeys, to forsake all other masters for your service, and many times to die with you; though it be a poor thing, which you know not what to do withal, unless you cast it unto him: How can you choose then but love Jesus, and be at his command, and follow his steps, and leave all others for his sake, and even give your life to him; who hath given you not a thing of no value, not that which cost him nothing, or that which he could not tell what to do withal, but himself, his holy blood, his precious promises, which it cost an infinite deal of pain to seal and ratify unto you? Are you still insensible of his favours, when you think of this? are you still to learn to love, when such a weight of love as this doth press your heart? If such a thought could enter my mind, I would send you to the brutes to be their scholar; I would call your spaniel, and bid him to teach you; I would cease to be your instructor any longer, and put you there to learn the affection you owe to your dearest Lord and Master. But your blushes bid me spare this language, and seem to assure me, both that you are ashamed to owe your virtue to such examples, and that you feel already this flame enkindled in your heart. Feed it, I beseech you, continually, and let it increase unto greater ardours of love; as it will infallibly, if you do but consider what great things your Saviour hath done for you, and that he is still busy in procuring your good; and in short, that there is not an hour, not a moment, wherein you do not stand indebted to him for eternal blessings, or for the means of them, or for the grace to help you to attain them.

Parable of the Pilgrim.

THE END OF FAITH IN CHRIST.

Do you not think that Christ came into the world for some end? nay, was he not sent of God upon some high design? You cannot doubt of it, and therefore I will not stay for your answer. But tell me, what do you think that great end was? wherefore, for instance, did he die and shed his blood? Was it only that our sins might be pardoned? did he bear the cross, that we might bear none? did he deny his

own will, that we might have liberty to do ours? is his death to excuse us from holy living? Hypocrisy indeed thinks so: but true religion teaches us that the intent of his death was, by keeping us from dying, to make us alive to God: by saving us from execution when we were condemned, to render us honest men: by denying of himself, to teach us to take up our cross and follow him. Will you hear what they that knew the mind of Christ have taught us in this argument?—"He that committeth sin" (saith St. John) "is of the devil, for the devil sinneth from the beginning: for this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil" (1 John iii. 8): which is as much as to say, that he appeared in the world that men might cease to sin. And so St. Paul tells us, "That he died for all, that they which live should not henceforth live to themselves, but to him which died for them and rose again" (2 Cor. v. 15): *i. e.* will come to judge them; as a little before he had declared. This is the end for which he gave himself for his Church, "That he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word, that he might present it to himself a glorious Church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing, but that it should be holy and without blemish" (Ephes. v. 25, 26, 27). Nor is it a slight and superficial holiness that he intends; the cleansing only of the outside, or the washing away of some pollutions; but "He gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify to himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works" (Titus ii. 14). For, "He hath reconciled us" (as it is in another place) "in the body of his flesh through death, to present us holy, and unblameable, and unreproveable in his sight" (Coloss. i. 21, 22). And to say no more, St. Peter also teaches us, that "He his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree, that we, being dead to sin, should live unto righteousness: by whose stripes we are healed" (1 Pet. i. 24). I know not what sense hypocrisy may pick out of these words, which hopes the scourges on Christ's back will save sinners from the lash; and that his death shall preserve them from dying, though their sins still live: but it is evident to them that are sincere, that the apostle's meaning is, our Saviour died not merely to save us from dying of our wounds, or to take away the anguish and torment of them; but that our natures might be healed, and made sound and whole again. He is such a physician as removes the pain and the smart by curing of the wound; that easeth the part affected by making it well; that doth not lend his cripple patient a crutch to support him, but infuses strength into his feet and ankle bones, and spirits into his sinews, that he may walk in the ways of God's commandments. I wish there was nothing harder than this to understand in the Book of God. It is not a truth which men cannot, but which they will not understand. It is against a corrupt

interest, or else they would not resist it; there is a strong party in their heart against this end of Christ's death, or else there would be no dispute about it: the bias that inclines their will is not on the side of this truth: it contradicts their pleasures, their unlawful gain, or some such thing which they are loath to leave, and therefore it shall be false, though never so clear in itself, lest these beloved sins should suffer any harm. But if there were any honesty in mens' hearts, if they were void of guile, they would be able to see this without the help of so many testimonies out of holy writ; that it was not a thing worthy of the Son of God to come and die for any less end than to make the world better, and render it obedient to the Creator. For what do you mean, I beseech you, when you say that Jesus satisfied for your sins? what was it, do you think, that he gave satisfaction unto? was it not all those glorious attributes of God; his wisdom, his truth, his justice, his holiness; saving the honour of which, he might now pass by the offences of returning sinners? was it not that the credit of all these might be maintained, and yet the rebels not perish? that the sentence might not be executed, and yet the authority of the laws be preserved? There is nothing plainer, than that this death of Christ did do great honour to God in the face of the world; asserted his right; gave countenance to his authority; proclaimed his righteousness and purity; was a notable testimony on his behalf against sinners; and so there could be nothing more powerful to move God to grant a pardon to those rebels that would submit to him, since now he should lose nothing by it, but that which he had a mind to give away and not demand; *viz.* the penalties which they had incurred by the breach of his laws. But is it not manifest then, that God cannot love sin, nor be friends with sinners until they amend? did not the death of Christ shew that his nature is such, that he cannot indulge men in their trespasses? is it not apparent that it was not fit to pardon even penitent and returning offenders, unless he shewed his displeasure at their offences? did he not take care to secure his authority when he issued out a pardon? There is nothing more visible. And if hypocrisy had not overrun us, and thrust true reason as well as religion out of doors, men would easily see that Christ could not die merely to procure us a pardon; much less that men might sin with more security, and without any fear of punishment. No, natural reason tells us, that men must needs be hateful to God while they are unlike him; that all the blood of Christ cannot wash them and make them lovely, as long as they continue in actual rebellion against him. His very nature is against such men; his wisdom is an enemy to them. For how should he maintain any government in the world, if he himself should be the cherisher of traitors? if he should take care for their protection, and set up a sanctuary to which they

may boldly fly; if he should make the altar of the cross a refuge where they may find salvation and safety, who are the opposers of his authority? It cannot be that God should be so liberal as to give away all his own right. He cannot quit his title and claim unto our universal obedience: it is impossible that Christ by his death should repeal all the laws of God, and absolve us from our duty: there is no question he intended to strengthen them, when he made a relaxation: and when he procured a dispensation, he did more establish and secure that which is not dispensed withal: it is a rule of reason, "that all exceptions do confirm the law." They tell us that it is not to be extended to any further indulgence: and therefore Christ dying that the punishment might not be executed; this is all the remission that we are to expect, and not that God should remit all our duty to him.

It is very easy, if men were well disposed, to read at once in the death of Christ, the greatest love of God to us; and the greatest love to his laws. His love to us appears in that he would for our good, and that we might not be eternally undone, lay aside his own right which he hath to punish: forgive us a debt which we were not able to pay: alter his law, and abate the strictness of it: dispense with the execution of the old law, and make a new one of grace and favour, and that he might do so, and save both us from dying, and his law from contempt by our escape, that he would provide such a wise remedy as this of his Son's dying for us. Herein was his love indeed manifested, and we can never sufficiently admire it, that he would have him die rather than us; that he would have him suffer that we might be delivered. But then this also plainly tells us the great love that he bears to holiness, to his laws, and to our duty; which he took care should not be injured by this favour and remission. Though he would not have all die out of love to us; yet he would have one, lest we should still continue in the love of sin: though he would not have every one of us suffer for the breach of his laws; yet he would have Christ suffer, that we might not take the boldness still to break them. This death of his Son reduced things to an excellent temper; providing that neither we nor God might be damnified: that we might not suffer for what we have done, and that he might not suffer by our doing still the same: that he might be what he is, and we become what we ought: that the old original laws, which require our obedience, might remain in force, and the rigour of them not be executed for our disobedience: that he might part with some of his right, and yet recover all the rest. In one word, that he might be moved to let go his right to punish us, and we not moved to be careless in yielding him the rest of his right which he hath to our hearty and constant obedience.

I wish heartily that you and every body else would seriously

consider this, and not expect that God should not require your service and obedience: for it is so much his due, that for the sake of his Son, he cannot part with his right and claim unto it. Nay, I have a bolder thing to say than all this, and that is: that the death of Christ is so far from intending our pardon only, that it is not the chiefest thing that he intends. Of the two, the purifying of our hearts and lives was more in his design than the forgiveness of sin, and this was but in order to the other. So much you may easily gather from many of those places of the holy writings which were mentioned before; for though he "bare our sins in his own body on the tree," yet it was for this end, this was the ultimate scope of it, "that we being dead to sin, might live unto righteousness." And so another apostle saith, "He gave himself for our sins, that he might deliver us from this present evil world" (Gal. i. 4). By shewing his willingness to pass by our faults, he would move us to acknowledge them, to repent of them, and become more dutiful. This must be done before we can actually receive his pardon and absolution; according to that of the apostle, "He saved us according to his mercy, by the washing of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Ghost, that, being justified by his grace, we should be made heirs of eternal life" (Titus iii. 5, 6, 7); where it is visible to them that will not shut their eyes, that his mercy cannot save us unless we become new creatures, and that this must go before the justification which we expect by the grace of God: And, indeed, reason tells us that Christ must needs have more regard to his Father's rights than to our accommodation, and intend more the reclaiming of his rebellious subjects than the procuring of their pardon. Which is a thing so apparent, that I am ashamed to do more than mention it.

And besides, by this time I believe you will be ready to ask me a question who have asked you so many, and demand to what purpose have you made this long discourse? The answer is ready, and the end of it is as clear as anything that hath been said, *viz.* That since justifying faith is to have respect to our Saviour and his death, just according to the intention of God in sending of him; it cannot be so little as the casting ourselves upon him for pardon of sin. The former part of this argument you will grant me; for we must look upon an object according as it is proposed. Faith cannot apprehend things otherwise than God hath revealed them: it cannot receive the Son of God in any other manner than as the Father gave him. The consequent then, God himself demands your assent unto; for you see that he had another end, and a far greater also in giving his Son for us, than the forgiveness of our offences. He gave him, that he might cleanse and purge our souls from all filthiness; that he might make us holy and unblameable in his sight: why do you not then thus receive him?

or how comes it about that you will not only put this end behind the other, but also speak as if justifying faith had nothing else to do, but to lay hold on the merits of Christ? This, I am sure, you make to comprehend the whole notion of it, for we hear of nothing besides in its definition. This is either all the business of faith, or else you do very ill not to express the rest. I beseech you in the Name of Christ that died for us, reform this grand error. Let your faith be as large as the gospel itself; and let this be your principal care, that it may purify your heart. When you expect to be justified through faith in his blood, remember that it was shed to "purge your conscience from dead works to serve the living God" (Heb. ix. 14).

And that I may resume the beginning of my discourse, and so make way for a speedy conclusion, let me ask you another question or two, which seem to be very pertinent to my present design. If there was an end, and so great an one as you have confessed, of Christ's coming into the world, then what is he but a means unto this end? "He died," saith the apostle, "that he might bring us to God" (1 Pet. iii. 18). And "By him we believe in God who raised him from the dead, and gave him glory, that our faith and hope might be in God" (chap. i. 21). Our belief in God then (which is no small thing, but comprehends all our duty to him), was the end of Christ's appearing, and of all he did: and therefore must not he stand in the place of a means to it? It must be so, said the other. But what then, continued the father, will become of your resting on Christ, and your staying or leaning on him for salvation? is it not manifest that this only is insufficient for your purpose? that it will let you fall to the ground, and leave you short of your happiness? is it not plain that this faith fixes itself where it should proceed, and rests in the means whereby it should advance to a noble end? There is nothing, methinks, more evident than that the faith which justifies a sinner is not that which lastly terminates itself in the person of Christ; and which doth not clearly, and in its own nature, produce a cordial obedience to God: means must be used, and not rested in: from whence it unavoidably follows, That Christ himself and his merits must not be rested in, as the last end of our faith; but it must go further and beget an holy life. Let us so speak of faith then, that it may be visible whither it tends. Let it be seen at what it aims; and that it designs more than the casting ourselves into the arms of Christ, that he may protect us from the wrath to come. Learn, I beseech you, before it be too late, that Jesus cannot save a man by a naked confidence in him, *i. e.* in his person, or anything that he hath done or can do. All they that think so, reproach our Saviour, and make him the advocate of sin, and not of sinners; one that shall save their lusts, and not them from the power

of them. They stay in the halfway to heaven, and so shall never come thither: they rest when they should go forward: they lean upon that staff wherewith they should walk: they make Christ their support only, who should be also their strength: they cast themselves upon him, but would not have him carry them to God and a divine nature: they make him to stand in their way, and not to be the way unto obedience: they render him an enemy to God, who shall keep his subjects with him, and detain them from their duty: they content themselves with what they find in him, and care not for any righteousness of their own: they rest satisfied with what he hath done, and by virtue of that do nothing themselves. And so he that is made of God a means of life, they make to themselves a means of death: because they make him indeed the end of all, and not the means to our end.

Parable of the Pilgrim.

PRAYERS FOR CONTENTMENT AND RESIGNATION TO THE WILL OF GOD.

I.

O God, who art the full and the filling Good; who satisfiest the desire of every living thing, and therefore will not refuse to answer the desires of immortal spirits, whom thou hast made to know how good thou art, and to be satisfied with no less good than thyself: thou art ever pouring thy benefits upon us; and sendest us every day some new token of thy love, to make our pilgrimage here upon earth the more comfortable to us. But above all, thou art to be acknowledged in thy surpassing love and kindness towards us in Christ Jesus, by whom thou hast made the darkest night of trouble and sorrow not to be without the light of joy and gladness. I thank thee, O God, for the great satisfaction which thou hast given to all that is within us, which ought to bless thy Holy Name. For thou hast filled our minds and understandings with the highest knowledge, and our wills with the divinest love, and all our affections with the comforts of hope and joy in thee our God, sufficient to swallow up all our sadness, and grief, and fear, and care, and all the troublesome passions that are in our hearts. O my God, how rich art thou in mercy towards us, who providest that contentment for us, which we seek and labour after in these lower enjoyments, by leading us to thyself, the fountain of all that good which is in any creature! How excellent is thy loving-kindness; who when we desire much in this world, givest us an immortal inheritance in the other; and when our hearts are set upon perishing riches, invitest us to treasures in the heavens, and settest before us eternal honour and glory with

of my friends, lovers, and acquaintance; in whom I see likewise how full of love thou art, and how ready to do us good. Thou wilt never cease thyself, I believe, to follow me with thy loving-kindness all my days, to take care of me, help, and comfort me; who hast put such great good will into the hearts of men.

My soul doth magnify thee, O Lord; and my spirit rejoiceth in thee, O God my Saviour; particularly for that thou hast promised me thy Holy Spirit to strengthen and empower me to do my duty faithfully to thee, and to increase in wisdom, charity, and piety, that I may rejoice in thee evermore. O that I may feel the effect of these holy thoughts and devout acknowledgments, in the constant stillness and quietness of my soul, whatsoever the condition be into which thou art pleased to bring me. Dispose my heart to such an humble confidence in thee, that I may be careful for nothing, but in everything by prayer and supplication make known my request to thee with thanksgiving. Help me to have my conversation without covetousness, and to be content with such things as I have. Let no solicitude for the future discompose my duty, or disturb my present enjoyment. Root out of my heart all distrust for thee, all envy, uncharitableness, ambition, murmuring or repining at any of thy providences, with every thing else that dishonours the gospel of our Lord Jesus, and misbecomes the Christian spirit. In all events, give me grace to acquiesce in thy wisdom and love; and to study rather how to mend myself, than how to mend my outward estate: that having my soul still more and more furnished with those heavenly goods wherewith thou hast enriched us by Christ Jesus, I may lead every day a more happy life in this world, and be prepared for that perfect satisfaction of contentment, which we wait for in the world to come. Amen.

II.

O Lord, the fountain of all good, whose blessings are derived in several channels to us, especially to our souls; unto which all things minister, and help to promote their eternal welfare: I see the large and abundant provision which thou hast made for them in Christ Jesus. Thou hast opened the heavens, and let down eternal life unto us. Thou hast set before us the glory of another world, and called us to thy kingdom, and promised to make us heirs with thy only-begotten Son, and to give us an everlasting inheritance. I thank thee that thou hast brought the word of thy gospel so nigh me, and put it even into my mouth, and into my heart; and that I have felt thy Holy Spirit in my soul, so often disposing my mind and affections to seek that blessed immortality. Every good thing in this world

bids me love thee, and rejoice in thee, who art the giver of it: and all the crosses likewise and afflictions of this life tend to make me happy, by teaching me moderation and sobriety, humility and heavenly-mindedness, faith in thee, and absolute resignation to thee, with fervent devotion, and passionate desires after a better life.

O God, how excellent is thy loving-kindness! therefore the children of men put their trust under the shadow of thy wings. How inexcusable shall I be, if I should starve in the midst of such abundance, and perish, when thou hast sent me such great salvation! How shall I escape, if, after thou hast done so much without my thought or labour, I should take no pains to attain the end of thy extraordinary grace towards me? Excite in me, I beseech thee, a greater sense of thy love, and endue me with a greater care to improve every thing to the enriching of my soul with spiritual wisdom, and all divine virtues; that so I may be the better able to bear all the troubles of this life; and neither the infirmities and pains of this body, nor the poverty and meanness of my outward estate, nor the loss and unkindness of friends, nor any other sad accident, may throw me into discontent and impatience of spirit: but I may still remember, that, as I suffer nothing but what I deserve, so my soul may be a gainer by all my sufferings. Help me, therefore, instead of murmuring and repining at my present condition, to apply myself to make the best use of it, whatsoever it be, to my everlasting advantage. Purify and refine my spirit more perfectly from all unreasonable opinions, and purge out of my heart all inordinate affections. Settle my will in an immoveable submission to thine. And, considering both that I am thy creature, and that I am an offender, enable me always to rest satisfied with thy proceedings, and acknowledge that I am less than the least of thy mercies.

Pardon, good Lord, all my ingratitude, and indecent complaints; pity my infirmities; accept my holy desires; confirm all my good purposes; strengthen and empower my endeavours, that I may mortify every bad disposition in me, faithfully discharge my duty, rightly use thy various blessings, patiently bear the heaviest afflictions, and make for my soul most certain provision; by all the means of grace, by the good counsels of others, the inspirations of the Holy Ghost, thy many remarkable providences about me, and whatsoever courses thou takest with me, to bring me safe through this life to a happy eternity. Amen.

III.

I PROSTRATE myself before thee, O Lord of heaven and earth, the eternal God; who art all that can possibly be, and whose goodness

designs to make us happy both here and for ever. I acknowledge that it is only of thy infinite goodness, that I am not as miserable as any in the world are. That I enjoy so many blessings, which ought to make me rejoice in thee, more than any trouble can give me cause to complain, is to be ascribed merely to thy good will towards me. I am ashamed to think, that the most excellent knowledge which thou hast communicated to me of thyself, and of thy Son Jesus, hath had no greater effect upon my heart, to dispose me to love thee, to rest satisfied in thy love, to study to be quiet, and to be contented with my portion; which is so fair and liberal, in comparison with many others in this troublesome world.

Thou hast set before me thy grace and love in so clear and full a manner, that it ought to stir up the greatest admiration, and make me delight in the meditation of it. Thy power, and greatness, and purity likewise is so apparent, that it ought to make me fear, lest I should offend thy love by unthankfulness and discontent, or any other way. Thy wisdom directs me; thy truth and faithfulness upholds and assures me; thy tender mercies encourage me; and even thy severity moves me to fly from that which would utterly undo me. There is nothing in thee, but I am the better for it. Thou art altogether excellent even in our eyes, and far more excellent in the eyes of angels and more understanding creatures. They rejoice always to behold thy face, and perpetually praise thee. But thou art infinitely more excellent in thyself, than we, or they, or any creature else, can comprehend.

How would my heart be pricked with desires to know thee more, how would my spirit be inflamed with the most ardent love to thee, how quiet and joyful should I be in thy love; if I did really feel the sense of what I have confessed, and uttered nothing with my mouth but what was first in the profoundest depth of my heart! But, alas! we have too superficial thoughts of thee: our words are apt to be fuller than our sense; and therefore I fall down before thee, and beseech thee to help me to consider over again what I have said of thee; and to make me feel something in my soul of thy divine Majesty, too big for my mouth. Make me heartily and deeply sensible of thy omnipotent greatness, of thy no less omnipotent goodness, of thy unspotted holiness, of thy unsearchable wisdom, of thy bottomless mercy, and just indignation at those sins whereby we provoke thee; that so I may fear thee, and trust in thee, and earnestly study to resemble thee in what I am able, and to admire and adore thee in those things which are above our imitation. O that the least sin may be more hateful to me than the greatest misery of this life; and the least degree of goodness more lovely in my eyes, than the highest worldly prosperity!

Endue me with a settled, quiet, and composed temper of spirit, like that of the celestial natures. Make me constant and immoveable in the choice of my happiness. Fix a perpetual cause of joy in my heart. And fill me with that heavenly sense of things, which will be always springing up in delightful thoughts, and comfortable hopes, and cheerful praises and thanksgivings to thee, my God. Seal up my heart with such a sense of thyself, that nothing may hereafter be admitted there, but what will let me love thee better than it, with the purest and strongest affection. And, seeing thou hast designed us to an excellent condition, help me ever to mind those heavenly things; and not set my heart on lower enjoyments, which thou dost not think to be good enough for me. Remember me, on all occasions, how frail these comforts are, which I am apt so eagerly to pursue, and closely embrace; that I may love them as dying things, and resign them back to thee with a willing heart, and an undisturbed spirit; blessing thee who hast let me enjoy them so long, and prepared better blessings for me by patient and contented submission to thee, when thou deprivest me of these.

Behold, O Lord, I commit myself unto thee, and all I have, with a perfect trust and confidence in thee. I know thou intendest my good in all that befalls me; and thy wisdom knows how to effect it, even contrary to my inclinations and natural desires. Preserve, I beseech thee, this resolution in my heart for ever, to commend myself unto thee in doing good with a cheerful mind, and enduring evil with a patient spirit; that so I may honour my Lord and Master Christ Jesus, and be an ornament to his religion, and declare the power and force of that faith which I have entertained. O that I may never come behind those who had less knowledge of thee, but rather excel them as much in contented and constant submission to thy will, as I do in my understanding of it. And make me every day to grow in both; to make a great increase in wisdom and virtue, until I come to perfection; and be fit to be removed hence from all the troubles of this life, unto rest and peace, in uninterrupted joys, with my blessed Saviour. Amen.

IV.

O God, in whose presence is fulness of joy, and at whose right hand there are pleasures for evermore: we see daily how uncertain and empty all our enjoyments are in this world; and are directed by our constant experience to look up higher, and fix our hearts on thee, for our true contentment and satisfaction of spirit. Our eye is not satisfied with seeing, nor our ear filled with hearing; but after all that we possess, our spirits are still thirsty, and craving more. The

very love of ourselves, and our own ease, carries us unto thee; for we are extremely miserable, even in the midst of abundance, if we want thee. Blessed be thy goodness, that I know thee, and thy exceeding great love to mankind in Christ Jesus. Blessed be thy infinite grace that I understand where my happiness lies, and am not left to wander after the foolish desires of my own heart. O turn away mine eyes from beholding vanity, and quicken me in thy way. Fasten my mind on that immoveable bliss, which our Lord hath discovered unto us, and fill me with constant delight and joy in contemplation of it; that so I may not lay out my strength for that which is not bread, and my labour for that which satisfieth not; but earnestly pursue that everlasting life, the very hope of which is so sweet and comfortable in this world.

Thou hast not made me, I know, to be miserable here; for thou art the Father of mercies, and takest pleasure in enriching others with thy benefits. It is thy glory to do good: thou openest thy hand, and satisfiest the desire of every thing living. The whole creation acknowledges thy bounty; and therefore I should be the most ungrateful wretch, if I should not rejoice in it, which hath made me to want nothing but what I may easily enjoy, and hitherto hath supplied all my needs with a continued care and kindness. Preserve me, O Lord, in a sober and serious sense of the state of my own nature, and of the condition of all things round about me; that I may not stretch my desires greedily after that which I do not need, and which cannot satisfy and fill up the vast emptiness of my soul, if I did enjoy it. Make me so wise as to reflect continually upon the trouble as well as pleasure that I am like to meet withal in every change; that so I may be modest in my desires, and pursue what I desire with an indifferent mind, and enjoy what thou bestowest on me with a thankful and charitable heart, and with a quiet and undisturbed spirit resign it back into thy hands, when thou callest for it. O blessed Jesus, as thou hast made thyself my example, so be thou pleased to be my guide. Inspire me with the same thoughts, inclinations, desires, and resolutions, which were in thy blessed nature. Help me to place my satisfaction there, where thou livest in perpetual peace, amidst all the troubles and vexations of this life. Raise my spirit to that great and sublime good, which none can touch, much less remove; that, remaining in an unshaken possession of thy love, and being lifted up in noble hopes of the glory to which thy love will promote thy faithful servants, I may not feel myself altered by any of the changes which are in the things that are under my feet. Dispose my mind, O God, to the sweetest and most gentle compliance with thy providence. And make me so perfectly in love with thy will, that all that is great, or glorious,

or delightful in this world, I may enjoy in a pure and clear conscience, void of offence towards thee and towards all men. O the deliciousness of those pleasures! O the divineness of those joys! Bless me daily with a stronger taste of them, and satisfaction in them, till I come to enjoy that reward of well-doing, which exceeds all thoughts and desires, through our Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus. Amen.

V.

O ETERNAL God, who art the first and the fountain-good, from whom all other things flow: I and all men else are but as so many little drops from thee; yea, the whole world is but as the drop of a bucket, and the small dust of a balance, in comparison with thy greatness. Thou art our only happiness, the true joy and rest of our souls; and so we should feel, and not only say, were we well acquainted with thee. O what delight, what height of joy would it create in my soul (did I but apprehend what thou art) to think that thou, who art so great, and needest not any thing, wilt offer thyself unto us, such poor things, to be our God, our portion, and our exceeding great reward! If my mind was deeply sensible of thee, it would be as hard to draw mine eyes from thee, as now it is to turn them towards thee. I should never love to be absent from thee: I should sigh and mourn after thee: O how would my soul languish in desires to enjoy more of thee! But now in this dark and ignorant state wherin we are, alas! I can think but seldom of my happiness. And when I do, my thoughts are short, and raise me up but to small glances of thee; my meditations are as dreams that soon vanish, and are presently forgotten. O what a dull and cold image of thee do they leave upon my heart! How soon doth all that warmth of love and joy, which I at any time feel, expire and faint away! I adore thy unspeakable goodness, O most blessed for evermore, that thou wilt accept of such poor love, and praise, and service as I am able to tender unto thee; and it is the unfeigned desire and study of my soul to present thee with an heart more devoted to thee, and possessed with a holy sense of thee, and constant delight in thee. I bless thee with all my soul, for all the ways and means whereby thou bringest thyself to our notice, and to our remembrance, and provokest our love and affection to thee, who hast the most absolute title to it.

Thy wise and fatherly Providence is to be acknowledged, even in all the troubles and afflictions of this life: and when thou chastenest us we ought to confess thy love is great, which makes the most distasteful things to be friendly to us, and the instruments of our eternal good. We are extremely indebted to thee, if thou wilt by any means be pleased to bring us more acquainted with thee our chiefest

joy; and accordingly ought to submit ourselves to whatsoever thou wilt order for us, with humble, meek, and contented spirits. I will never murmur, O Lord, nor repine at any thing that befalls me; I will never question thy care of me; but always say, "It is the Lord, let him do as seems good in his sight." Join my heart in a closer affection to thee; give me but to taste and relish more the words of eternal life: lead me but more and more into the knowledge of myself, and all things here; carry me but above this world, and make me like my Saviour, and deal with me as thou pleasest.

I see the benefit I may receive, even by the loss of any thing in this world. Lord, vouchsafe me the grace that I may study to improve in goodness, according to my knowledge. And though my nature may be apt to be impatient of many troubles, of reproaches offered to me by my enemies, or unkindness from my friends; yet enable me to reap much good by such evil means, and not to think so much of what I suffer, as of what I have enjoyed, and of what, through thy grace, I may still enjoy, and never lose. Dispose me, O God, I again beseech thee, by all afflictions, to be better acquainted with thyself; to learn to seek my happiness in the other world, (of which I beseech thee to give me a stronger taste); to see what is amiss in my own soul, and to amend it; to improve in the most excellent virtues, by entire submission to thy fatherly Providence. O that death, by this means, may grow more familiar to my thoughts, and that, while I live, I may use all the pleasures of this world discreetly and thankfully, and do the more good with that which I must shortly leave; and that when thou callest for any thing I have, I may return it back willingly and cheerfully, saying, "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord from henceforth, and for ever." Amen.

VI.

O ETERNAL God, who only hast immortality, and dwellest in such unapproachable light and glory as our clothed spirits cannot behold, nor enter into its brightness: if we can at any time look out of our bodies, and see beyond this world, and have some little beam of that light communicated unto us, we can apprehend nothing so beautiful and attractive, nothing so satisfying and contenting, nothing so delicious and ravishing to our spirits. It even invites them to quit these bodies, and makes us willing then to go from hence, that we may be with thee.

It is thy goodness which hath imparted such a capacity to us, that we may understand thee in some measure, and the things that thou hast made; which all represent, to our great admiration and delight,

thy wisdom, power, goodness, and infinite majesty, in their vast numbers and comely variety wherein they stand or move. It is but fit that we should absolutely submit ourselves unto thee, who art so great; and that we should never in the least dispute thy orders, who couldst contrive such a mighty fabric as this, and who supportest and governest it continually in an admirable constancy. Behold, O Lord, in a firm belief that thou art, and that thou art most perfect; in an high admiration of thee, and an unfeigned desire to agree with thee, I yield up myself to follow thy counsels, to obey thy orders, and to endure whatsoever it is thy pleasure shall befall me in this world. It is by thee alone that I, or any other creatures, have a being; and I know thou art so good, that thou hast not made me to be miserable, and that thy wisdom is so great, as to be able to bring the greatest good out of that which seems most to prejudice my happiness.

I adore thy power, and trust myself in the arms of thine infinite mercy, which embraces all creatures. I believe that thou who art so incomprehensible, canst not please thyself in grieving such poor things as we are, who, if we were greater, have no power to resist thy will. Imprint these thoughts, O Lord, so deeply in my mind, that I may ever reverence thee, and give thee my thanks that I have a being and am capable of immortality; and rejoice that I live under thy wise and good government; and acknowledge thee in all the good things that I enjoy, which can do me no good without thee; and humbly bear thy chastisements, which cannot hurt me, whilst my mind and heart is fixed on thee. Enlarge my thoughts beyond myself, that I may be well pleased if others gain by that which is my loss. And help me especially to desire the eternal happiness of mankind, and to rejoice in thy long-suffering and patient charity, even towards those who are evil; nothing doubting but that thy fatherly love will have a more tender regard to me, while I endeavour to do good.

O that the same spirit may be in me which was in those holy men who have left us an example of contentedness and patience; that I may not only commend them, but imitate and follow them, as they were followers of thee and of our Lord. Fix my mind so steadfastly on thee, that it may be my constant and immoveable will to follow thee whithersoever thou leadest me. And possess me with such a deep sense of thy unsearchable understanding, that I may neither presume to judge thy Providence, nor be so foolish as to distrust thy conduct, or murmur at thy appointments; but still remembering that thy judgments are a great deep, all the displeasure, and disgust, and sorrow, and grief, and fears, and cares, and other troublesome passions that are apt to arise in my heart, may be swallowed up in the thoughts of thy infinite wisdom, and no less infinite love.

I have the greater reason to submit myself with an humble confidence in thee, considering all the good that I have received already from thy bounty. Thy benefits are innumerable; so that if I should spend all that time, which I am too ready to waste in complaints, in recounting thy favours, I should not be able to come to the end of them. O God, raise my spirit more and more to that heavenly employment. Let the remembrance of thy mercies be ever dear and sweet to me, and let not the bitterness of any affliction ever make me to forget the sweetness of them; but rather excite me to show myself more grateful to thee, that I was not always so afflicted. I commend both soul and body unto thy care and blessing, not knowing to what thou hast reserved me, but resolving still to say in every condition, "The Lord is good, and doth good. Let it be as seemeth good in his sight. And blessed be the name of the Lord." Amen.

VII.

I ADORE and praise, O Lord, thy greatness, thy power, wisdom, and goodness, which shine in all thy works of creation and Providence. They all show forth the majesty of thy glory; and are placed and move in such comely order, that thou thyself rejoicest in all thy works, and art perfectly pleased even in that which gives us grief and trouble. It is our duty, O blessed God, to be pleased too, and to rejoice in this knowledge which thou hast given us of thee, who art from everlasting to everlasting, and changest not, but art ever the same immutable love, exercising the most wise and tender Providence in every part of this great world; and more especially over mankind, to whom thou hast shewn the highest kindness, and given unquestionable testimonies of thy singular care of them, and good-will towards them.

There is nothing, I am sensible, so unseemly as a discontented mind, repining at the present, or distrusting thee for the future; especially in us, who have been so strangely favoured by thee, and had particular assurance of thy most gracious inclinations and purposes to make us happy for ever. I am ashamed, O my good God and loving Father, that so much as one complaining thought should arise in my heart; beseeching thee to pardon me, and to represent thyself so fully and feelingly to me, that I may with a serene and untroubled mind receive whatsoever shall befall me; yea, rejoicing that thy most holy will is done, though never so cross and contrary unto mine. O, sweet Jesus, who didst possess little, and enjoy much; who didst endure much, and not complain at all; whose charity was far larger than all the wants of miserable creatures; who providest even for their pleasure and decent entertainment; and, by humbling thyself, hast

obtained a most glorious power, and promised to bless us, and never leave us nor forsake us; bless me, I most humbly beseech thee, with the same contented mind and spirit. Imprint on my heart the image of thy humble, meek, and patient goodness. Make me feel that thy merciful kindness endures for ever; and fill my soul with that meat which abideth to everlasting life, as once thou didst the bodies of thy disciples with the meat that perisheth. While I think of what thou wast, and what thou art, and what thou hast done, and what thou art able, and hast promised still to do for us, transform me by that means into the very spirit which was in thee; that I may be lowly in heart, and satisfied with my present portion, and do good, and endure evil, and conform to thy will in every thing; in imitation of thy most excellent example, and in hope of that complete bliss, which thou art able, and intendest, I see, to bestow upon me, both in soul and body, in an immortal life.

O God, what things are those which thou hast laid up for those that fear thee; for those that trust in thee, and depend entirely on thy goodness, and submit to thy will and pleasure! In what a kind relation art thou pleased to stand unto us, that we may be confident thou dearly lovest us, and wilt take care of us! All ages have experienced this love, that thou, Lord, hast not forsaken them that seek thee: therefore thy face evermore will I seek. I will never doubt of thy merciful kindness; but always believe that thou art gracious and full of compassion, just and true in all thy ways, O thou King of saints. Confirm and strengthen these holy purposes in me by the assistance of thy good spirit, making these thoughts more strong, more lively, and mightily affecting my heart; so that I may be able to say, The Lord is my helper, I will not fear what man can do unto me. He hath not spared his only Son, but delivered him up for us all: how shall he not with him give us all things? I will bless the Lord at all times, his praise shall be continually in my mouth, my soul shall make her boast in the Lord, and I will rejoice in his salvation.

O blessed day, when we shall see Jesus again; and feel him changing this vile body, and making it like his glorious body, by the power whereby he can subdue all things to himself! O happy day, when all tears shall be wiped away from our eyes, and there shall be no sighing nor sorrow, but present satisfaction and joy for evermore! Help me always to comfort myself in every condition with the hopes of that joyful time, and to prepare myself for the blessedness of it; by doing thee all the honour I can in this world, especially by testifying, through a meek, patient, and cheerful suffering of all the troubles of this life, that thou art wise and good, and bountiful to all thy faithful servants, and that thy service, in the midst of my

sufferings, is better than all the pleasures of sin, which endure but for a season.

O God, I desire always to give thee this glory, and to count it an honour that I can bear witness to thee, by a contented virtue, in every state and condition of life. I esteem that approbation and praise which I hope for from thee, far above all the dignities and preferments of this world. Do thou, O Lord, but allow of me for thy good and faithful servant; and make me but to feel the comfort of that joyful voice which I hope to hear, "Well done, good and faithful servant, enter into thy Master's joy;" and do with me what thou pleasest. I confide in thee for that happiness, and for all things else. I leave myself wholly to thy disposal. I depend absolutely on thy wisdom, and thy good will and kindness, which I intrust with all that concerns me. I resolve to be satisfied with what thou orderest, and still to speak good of thee; hoping, that whilst I have this good heart towards thee I shall at all times rejoice with a cheerful countenance. Amen.

VIII.

O most holy and ever-blessed God, when we turn our eyes from this world towards thyself, we cannot but account it our highest happiness that we know thee to be the author of it, and that we know thou rulest and governest in heaven and earth, and humblest thyself to take a special notice of us, the children of men; whose affairs thou administerest with such great reason, wisdom, and justice, and hast declared thyself so abundant in goodness and tender mercy, that we ought not to suspect thee of any unkindness to us, or entertain any hard thoughts of thee, notwithstsnding any misery that may befall us: but in every estate and condition of life, to adore thy power, and commend ourselves to thy wisdom, and hope in thy goodness, and rest satisfied of thy intentions of giving us better goods than we are naturally apt to desire.

Accordingly, O Lord, I here bow down my very soul before thee, and, with the greatest humility of spirit, submit myself both to what thou wouldst have me to do, and what thou wouldst have me to endure. I know that I cannot but be safe in thy hands, and that no harm can come unto me while my heart is possessed with a due care to please thee, rather than to ease myself. Settle in me, O blessed God, right notions and apprehensions of thee. Persuade me perfectly, as of thy being, so of thy Providence, and excellent counsel, and fatherly care, and almighty love, that can turn the greatest evils of this world into our greatest good. Fill my mind with such a strong and lively belief of thy most blessed and gracious nature, that none of the crosses of this life may ever shake my hope in thee, or make me murmur or

repine at any thing which thou thinkest fit should be my portion. Endue me likewise with a right sense of the nature of all those things, whether good or evil, which we desire to enjoy or to avoid; that the want of the one, or the suffering of the other, may not seem so considerable as to alter my thoughts of thee, or weaken my belief in thee, or disturb the holy peace and joy which the thoughts of thy good will towards me are apt to raise up in me. Help me by wise and composed thoughts to moderate all my desires after those goods that are without me; to be contented with those that are within myself, which none can take away from me; to value all things by their end and use; to enjoy what I have temperately; and to live in an humble sense that I have nothing but what comes from thee, and is the fruit of thy free bounty: that so I may return it quietly, and acknowledge that in all conditions I have more than I deserve.

Adorn my soul with all the graces of thy Holy Spirit, that so I may have peace within, in the midst of all troubles which surround me, and the splendour of Christian virtues may shine forth in the greatest darkness. Enable me always to prize innocence more than pleasure, or greatness, or any other worldly good; to shew forth the power of godliness, and a divine nature, under all the pressures and sufferings that I may lie under: that honouring my religion, it may be an ornament and a crown of glory to me, both now and in the great day of the Lord Jesus.

I commend myself unto thee, O God, who canst not misguide me; and perfectly knowest what is fittest and most convenient for me in every part of my life. Bear me up against all discouragement by wise and pious thoughts, especially by a firm and mighty sense that thou art good, and dost good, and hast shown thyself most excellently good to us in our Lord Jesus Christ; by whom I will give praise and thanks unto thee for ever and ever.

IX.

O MOST blessed and glorious God, who art to be acknowledged and praised by all understanding creatures, as much as they are able! For according to thy name, so ought thy praise to be; very great and excellent. And so likewise ought to be our fear of thee, our faith in thee, our love to thee, our desire after thee, and our delight and joy in thy love. All good men have magnified and extolled thy power, by which the heavens, the earth, and the seas, and all things therein were created. They have acknowledged thy truth and faithfulness, which endureth for ever. Thy justice and mercy have been wonderful in their eyes, and all ages have celebrated thy particular care of those that fear thee, and put their trust in thee. Thou

hast preserved the strangers, and relieved the fatherless and widows; and, blessed be thy goodness, I know that thou reignest King for ever unto all generations.

But above all I rejoice in this, that thou hast not disdained to appear in our flesh; but hast loved and honoured us so far as to secure our hope and confidence in thee, by dignifying our nature at thine own right hand, with the greatest glory.

What praise, what love, what joy, what service, is great enough to render to thee, O Lord, who art so high, and whose kindness is so great, far exceeding all our conceptions? I make thee, O my God, a present of all that I have, with the most ardent and hearty affection; desiring but to be so happy as to have a perpetual sense of thee possessing my soul with delightful thoughts of thee, and engaging my heart to the most passionate love of thee, and preserving me in perfect quietness and peace by an entire trust in thee.

I will trust in thee, O Lord, at all times. I will love thee with all my heart, and with all my soul, and with all my strength. The meditation of thee shall be always sweet unto me. I will rely on thy precious promises, that thou wilt never leave me nor forsake me; and will still be giving thanks unto thee in everything, according to thy will declared in Jesus Christ.

Thanks be unto thee, that thou hast made me such an excellent creature, and endued me with a mind so great and large, and to all the riches of nature added those great treasures of thy grace in Christ Jesus, which are unsearchable and inestimable. I thank thee for all the blessed fruits of his Passion, Resurrection, and Exaltation; for the power of the Holy Ghost; for the service of better creatures than these which thou hast put in subjection under our feet, even the ministry of the Celestial Host, and all the kindness I have received by their means.

Vouchsafe, I beseech thee, to replenish my mind more and more, with abundance of Christian wisdom. Fill me with holy thoughts. Make them familiar and natural to me; that they may be ready at hand on all occasions to present themselves, and to quell all those unquiet thoughts or desires, that are apt at any time to rise in my heart. Settle my faith and hope in thee, and make them more strong and vigorous. Raise that love, which I acknowledge is due unto thee, to a greater height, that I may feel the power of it composing my spirit, and making me well-pleased with what pleaseth thee, and satisfying me fully with a constant belief of thy love and kindness towards me. Raise me, O God, to that noble pitch of faith in thee that I may be able to embrace my present condition, whatsoever

it be, as best for me, and accept of all crosses from thee with an equal and thankful mind; and wait on thee with a patient and resigned will, for what thou seest good for me; and not to be too hasty in my desires of deliverance from the greatest burdens that may lie upon me.

Preserve that divine reason which thou hast inspired me withal, by thy holy Gospel, in such clearness, force, and activity, that it may perfectly subdue and govern all my passions, and be ever at hand to assist me against all temptations to discontented thoughts and fretfulness of spirit. Possess my heart, O my God, so entirely therewith, that I may be of good comfort, yea, rejoice, in every estate, and still say, Thanks be to God, thanks be to God! until I am set free from all the troubles of this life, and from the straitness and burthen of this body too; that I may give thee thanks, with more enlarged thoughts and affections in the happy company of the blessed. Unto which I hope thou wilt conduct me by all that befalls me, according to thy wise love manifested in Christ Jesus; by whom all honour, glory, and praise, all hearty love and cheerful obedience be rendered to thee eternally. Amen.

X.

I PROSTRATE myself, O Almighty Lord and Ruler of all things, in the most humble acknowledgment of my obligations to thee, and the most hearty submission of all that I can have unto thy Divine Wisdom, of whose care and good Providence I have such rational belief, and have had such long experience: I owe all the comforts of this present life to thy bounty; and whatsoever hopes I have, either here or in the future state, they depend upon the same goodness, and upon thy gracious promises, thy honour, faithfulness, and truth. I thank thee, O Lord, that thou hast manifested thy will, and declared thy most merciful intentions of grace towards us, in such precious promises, which, as they excite my love to thee, so they move me to trust entirely in thee, to commit myself absolutely to thee, and heartily to serve and obey thee.

Accordingly here I renew that dedication which I have frequently made of my whole self to thee, and choose to be governed and ordered by thy will rather than mine own; hoping in thine infinite mercies, relying on thee for what thou judgest to be convenient for me, and conducing to my welfare, resolving my desires into thy better will, and stedfastly purposing to rest contented and satisfied with whatsoever thou art pleased to appoint for my portion, and believing that thou disposest of all things for our good and happiness.

Bestow upon me, O blessed Lord, such a measure of thy Holy Spirit as is needful for me, that may preserve in my mind these good

thoughts and holy inclinations, and excite in me still more pious affections, and assist all my endeavours to be so wise and so good as thou wouldest have me. Help me rightly to employ my precious time, prudently to choose my society, to do all things with good advice, to be constant to well-settled resolutions, to provide and arm myself for all changes, and, foreseeing what may come, to dispose myself to receive it with an humble, equal, quiet, and undisturbed spirit; and that I may never be surprised nor disordered, help me in the day of prosperity to remember affliction, and in the day of adversity to solace myself with the remembrance of thy past favours and with the hopes of thy future mercies.

Purge my mind and heart from all false opinions and naughty affections, and enable me to preserve my heart so pure, sincere, and undefiled, that from a conscience of well-doing I may feel a perpetual satisfaction springing up to refresh me in all conditions of life. Endue me, good Lord, with such a prudent, sober, sweet, condescending, and gracious temper and disposition of mind, that I may be acceptable to thee, inoffensive to others, and comfortably enjoy myself; free me from the trouble of a contentious or envious spirit; help me to bridle my tongue, and to keep it from evil, and my lips from speaking guile; and whatsoever the opinions or censures of others be concerning me, bless me with the comforts of an innocent mind and an upright heart; and enable me to rejoice always in the testimony of a good conscience, to mind my own proper business, and in all simplicity and plainness of heart to order myself by a sound and unprejudiced reason, and not by the customs and uncertain fashions of this present world.

Blessed be thy infinite goodness, that I see the way to be happy, and am acquainted with the paths of pleasantness and peace; blessed be thy goodness that I have such constant good admonitions, wise counsels, and faithful advices, and enjoy so many assistances of my friends, lovers, and acquaintance, to guide, refresh, and solace me, in my passage through all the dangers and troubles of this life. Good Lord, affect my heart with thy wonderful love, and make me truly thankful for all these blessings; enable me also to make the best use and advantage of them, and, setting before me the examples of all those who through faith and patience have inherited thy promise, to follow them cheerfully and courageously till I become myself an example of true piety and generous virtue.

Fix and establish in my mind all good principles and religious reasons; root them so deeply in my heart, by serious and constant meditation on them, that I may find the friendly power and strength to assist, support, and comfort me, on all occasions. And especially fix my mind in an immoveable resolution to cleave to thee, and unite

itself with thee: never suffer my wish to incline to divide itself from thine, but enable me always readily and heartily to say, whatsoever comes, "It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth good in his sight!" that, maintaining an uninterrupted friendship with thee in this world, and never contradicting or opposing thy wise appointments, I may have the consolations of the Holy Spirit filling my heart at all times, and may live in a delightful hope to see all the troubles of this world end in everlasting repose and joy, through thy Son our Saviour Christ Jesus; by whom all honour, glory, praise, and thanksgiving be rendered, by me, and by all mankind, and by all the host of heaven, to thee, O Father Almighty, both now and eternally! Amen.

BISHOP BULL.

A. D. 1660—1709.

This prelate succeeded to the controversial usefulness, and more than the controversial fame, of Bishop Stillingfleet. Few of our great masters of theology have done more towards fixing the opinions of English churchmen respecting important points of doctrine than Bull; none besides, perhaps, so much to establish the reputation of the Anglican Church on the continent of Europe. George Bull was a tradesman's son, but of good descent; and was born at Wells, in Somersetshire, in the year 1634. His father, whose wishes to be brought up a clergyman had been, in early life, over-ruled, declared, on presenting this infant at the font, that he designed him for the service of the altar. His education was conducted at the free-school of Tiverton, till the age of fourteen; when he was transferred to Exeter College, Oxford, with the character of a youth of unusual sobriety and attainments, and in particular, remarkable for his skill in the composition of Latin verse. It is intimated by his biographer, and apparently forms the subject of an allusion in one of his sermons[1], that his early career at the University was not quite in accordance with the promise of his boyhood, and the gravity of his mature years. Neither the benefits, however, nor the diversions of a college life attended him long: in consequence of having refused the "Engagement," (or oath of allegiance to the usurping government) he withdrew from Oxford before the close of his second year, accompanied by his private tutor, and pursued his studies in the retirement of North Cadbury, a village of his native county. As soon as, with the assistance of this gentleman, he had added to his previous acquisitions a competent acquaintance with theology, he formed a pious resolve not to be deterred by the discouraging state of the Church from completing his father's purpose on his behalf; and, at the early

[1] Sermon IX., as quoted by Dr. Burton to this effect, in a note to Nelson's *Life*.

age of twenty-one, obtained ordination from the hands of Skinner, the ejected bishop of Oxford[2].

The first place where Bull exercised his pastoral office was in the parish of Easton-in-Gordano, near Bristol, over which he presided with zeal and discretion; complying (like Sanderson, and others) with the requirements of those in power, so far as to forbear the regular and unqualified use of the Liturgy, yet employing exclusively the Church's language in his public ministrations. From Easton he removed, in the year 1658, to the living of Siddington St. Mary, near Cirencester; to which was added, after the Restoration, the adjacent vicarage of Siddington St. Peter. Being now free to follow the directions of the Church, he adopted a strict compliance with the rubrics, acquitting himself in every department of his clerical duties with the united fervour and simplicity which characterize our apostolical establishment. In fact, his whole course of life, domestic as well as public, was adjusted to the purest primitive model.

It was in 1669, at the age of 35, that this ripe theologian, by the publication of his *Harmonia Apostolica*, first made his appearance before the world as an author; although that judicious treatise had been composed several years before. The design of the *Harmonia* was to settle those differences which had long distracted the Church, concerning the doctrine of justification. In the first of the two parts into which he has divided his work, he undertakes to explain and defend this important doctrine, on scriptural and rational grounds; in the second, to prove the agreement of St. Paul, in relation to it, with his brother apostle. Opposing, with earnestness, the Romish dogma of human merit, he, at the same time, no less earnestly maintains that good works, as proceeding from and inseparably conjoined with genuine faith, are a necessary condition of acquittal before God. His opinion appears to combine the decisions of two articles of our Church; the 11th, which declares that we are justified "only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ;" and the 12th, which decides, that

[2] In remarkable cases of early fitness for the sacred profession, uniting high attainments with singular maturity of disposition, our bishops appear to have considered themselves at liberty, with or without a dispensation from the archbishop of Canterbury, to deviate from the Church's rule respecting the age of admission to holy orders. Some instances of this have before come under the reader's notice. Ussher and Taylor were both ordained deacons at an earlier age even than Bull.

"'good works necessarily spring out of a sincere and lively faith." "The true reformed religion, (I am sure, that of the Church of England)," he elsewhere says, "teaches men the necessity of good works, *truly* good; all the substantial works of piety, justice, and charity. It teacheth men not to expect heaven and salvation without these, but yet not to think of meriting heaven by them[1]." In the second part of this treatise, in which the writer proposes to reconcile the seemingly contradictory statements of the two apostles, he adopts the principle that St. Paul, as the earlier, ought to be interpreted by St. James, as the later; and this on the reasonable ground, that, as mentioned by Augustine and others of the fathers, St. James composed his Epistle expressly to correct certain errors which had arisen from a misapprehension of St. Paul's language. The latter apostle asserts, that "a man is justified by faith, without the deeds of the law:" by the former we are told, that "a man is justified by works, and not by faith only." Setting aside a variety of expedients, which had been previously devised for solving this difficulty, and of which some still retain a place in our popular manuals of theology; such, for example, as supposing the term "faith" to be employed by the one apostle in an absolute, by the other in a relative sense; or, that by St. Paul, the word "justification" is used to denote the first entrance into a state of pardon, by St. James to signify perseverance in that state; the author of the *Apostolical Harmony* reconciles the apparently jarring *dicta* of both, by considering the immediate circumstances and object of each. St. Paul had to combat the views of some, who pretended that the Christian converts were required to conform to the Levitical ordinances; against whom, therefore, he peremptorily affirms that a man is not justified by compliance with the requirements of the law, but "by the faith of Jesus Christ," *i. e.* by belief in the Gospel, including, not mental assent merely, but with assent, its attendant and consequent graces and evidences. It was proposed, on the other hand, by St. James, to correct the mistakes of those, who, not heeding the full scope of St. Paul's sense, were willing to understand him as asserting that no performances of any kind, no practice of moral virtue, were required to the efficacy of a justifying faith. With this view, therefore, it is, he insists so strongly that deeds are indispensable; meaning such actions as spring

[1] Sermon on Hosea x. 12.

from the principle of belief and its inseparable accompaniments; or moral conduct, considered as the fruit of grace, dispensed according to the terms of the gospel covenant.

Notwithstanding the care taken by the author of the *Harmonia Apostolica* to avoid all cause for censure, by expressly (with the Scriptures and the Church) ascribing justification to the effectual merits of Christ, it was not likely that, in an age of controversy and dissent, the work could escape unfriendly animadversion. Morley, bishop of Winchester, prohibited the reading, in his diocese, of a production which he regarded as certain farther to exasperate the spirit of controversy; Barlow, Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford, launched a course of lectures against it from his official chair; while Dr. Tully, principal of Edmund Hall, at the head of a host of opponents chiefly belonging to the ranks of nonconformity, prepared to answer it in print. By most of these writers Bull was accused of a bias towards popery, a charge which they at the same time extended, with at least equal probability, to the generality of those eminent clergymen, who about this time, or not long afterwards, began to be distinguished by the name of the High Church party. Resolving to vindicate his treatise from these attacks, he chose for the immediate object of reply the animadversions of Charles Gataker, son of the celebrated scholar of that name who sat in the Assembly of Divines; answering all the objections of his adversary *seriatim*, and adding an *Apology* for the work against Dr. Tully's book, entitled *Justificatio Paulina*. This defence bears the title of *Examen Censuræ*. It displays a full share of the intellectual vigour of its author, heightened by the adoption, to some extent, of that severity of language towards his opponents, which marks the controversies of the time. The effect of it was, to leave him (at least after Dr. Tully's death, which soon afterwards occurred) in undisturbed possession of the field, with a polemical reputation of the first rank; and, by degrees, the opinions of the author of the *Apostolical Harmony* have come to be generally admitted as a faithful exposition of the mind of the Anglican Church respecting justification. The accusation of popery was indeed revived, not many years since; but promptly answered[2]; and how little

[2] See the *Charge* of the venerable Archdeacon Browne, delivered in the year 1826, with the defence of Bishop Bull from the imputation contained in that discourse, by Archdeacon Daubeny, and by the Rev. C. M. Mount, A. M.

obnoxious this great divine really is to such an accusation, strikingly appears from a comparison of his account of that doctrine, as just described, with the views of a modern party, who, considering themselves still within the scope allowed by the Church, nevertheless rest the claim of man to salvation on his own intrinsic, though originally infused, righteousness, not on the proper righteousness of Christ.

While engaged in the composition of a second, and more important controversial treatise, the labours of Bull were encouraged by his being appointed by Lord Finch, who was then chancellor, and afterwards earl of Nottingham, to a stall in the cathedral of Gloucester. This preferment (in which the wise intention of the Church, with regard to prebendaries, was well observed) he is said to have owed to the interest of Archbishop Tillotson. The work alluded to, the *Defensio Fidei Nicænæ*, was published at Oxford, in 1685, at the expense of Bishop Fell. Its object, viz. to vindicate, on the authority of the ante-nicene fathers, the doctrine denied by Arius, and maintained in his condemnation by the council of Nice, was suggested to the author's mind as seasonable, by the zealous dissemination, about that period, of Socinian and Arian opinions. At and from the time of that famous council, the Arians had been constant in asserting that they had those venerable witnesses on their side; an assertion which the Socinians, though with less confidence, were likewise in the habit of making for themselves; and these pretences appeared to have recently received some countenance from the writings of two distinguished continental divines, the Jesuit Petavius, and Curcellæus, or Courcelles, the successor of Episcopius in the theological chair at Amsterdam; both of whom, from different views, though neither designing to favour heresy, had endeavoured to lessen the credit of the Nicene synod.

In this celebrated composition, ("a work," observes Professor Burton, "which must ever stand preeminent in the department of theological learning,") the catholic faith is defended on all those points in which it has been found most liable to the attacks of heretics. Against the Socinians, its author maintains that the primitive Church held the pre-existence of the Son of God, before the birth of Jesus, and before the foundation of the world; against the Arians, he asserts its belief in the consubstantiality of the Son with the

Father, thence proving his coeternity; against the tritheists, he proves its acknowledgment of the subordination of the Son, from the necessity of regarding God the Father as the original fountain of Deity (αὐτόθεος). To use the compendious language of Waterland, he has "unanswerably proved that the ante-nicene fathers, in general, believed the Son to be of an eternal, uncreated, immutable, and strictly divine substance." From those four theses, he further deduces four others respecting the Holy Spirit, viz. that he is not, as Sabellius asserted, a mere energy, but a distinct person; that he is of the same essence with the Father and the Son; that he is, consequently, eternal; and yet, not self-originated, but proceeding from the Father and the Son. The *Defensio* having been long announced, and its author already in high repute; being, besides, written with force and perspicuity, and making its appearance at a time of intense polemical earnestness; produced a lively sensation, notwithstanding the somewhat repulsive excess of its controversial erudition: it greatly added to the immediate celebrity of Bull in his own country, diffused his fame over the continent of Europe, and has been the chief means of transmitting it, almost undiminished in lustre, to our own times. The university of Oxford declared its opinion of the extraordinary merit of the work, by conferring on him the honorary degree of D.D. In short, as a treatise purely catholic in its design and method, and most learnedly maintaining the common faith of Christians, it received the praise equally of the Romanist and Protestant communities.

In the same year in which this celebrated book appeared, and when its meritorious author had been reduced by the narrowness of his income, the expenses of a large family, and an habitual generosity in giving, to circumstances of extreme difficulty, he was opportunely relieved by receiving a presentation to the rectory of Avening, near Tetbury, in Gloucestershire; and this preferment was also followed, soon after, by his appointment to the archdeaconry of Llandaff, bestowed on him by Archbishop Sancroft. It ought to be mentioned, as a fact, of itself sufficient (were its evidence needed) to clear Dr. Bull from the imputation of favouring popery, that, with the other duties devolved upon him by these appointments, he exerted himself with great zeal, by his public discourses, throughout the dangerous reign of James II., to guard the

clergy and people under his care against the growing influence of the Church of Rome.

The admiration with which the *Defensio Fidei Nicænæ* was received, had not the effect of putting an end to the Trinitarian controversy. Among the more distinguished opponents of the Socinian party, was Dr. William Sherlock, master of the Temple. This animated but not always judicious writer having, in his *Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity*, broached opinions closely bordering, to say the least, on tritheism, exposed himself to the violent assaults of one of the boldest and most vigorous disputants that had appeared even in that age of robust intellect, the famous Dr. South: with so much animosity, indeed, was the contest between them carried on, that a plausible pretext was afforded by it for the common adversary to step in, and, under a show of charity and forbearance, to seek covertly to undermine the faith which each of these learned divines alike conceived himself to be engaged in defending[1]. In order to arrest this evil, Bull, a weightier and more completely armed champion than either, once more entered the lists. He now (1694) published his *Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, a kind of supplement to the *Defensio*; the object of which is sufficiently stated in the remark of Nelson, that "as in the latter work there are the witnesses of the three first centuries for the Trinity, and incarnation of the Eternal Word considered; in the former, there are the witnesses of those three first centuries also, against those doctrines, examined and balanced," with the others.

In the number of Dr. Bull's continental admirers, was Bossuet, bishop of Meaux. This prelate happening, while in attendance on an assembly of the heads of the French Church at St. Germains, to receive a copy of the *Judicium* presented to him by their common friend Nelson, perused the work with so much satisfaction, that, at his instance, the thanks of the synod were unanimously voted to its author. The celebrated Frenchman, having communicated to him this compliment, in a letter addressed to Nelson, thus continues: "Allow me to observe, that there is one thing which astonishes me; viz. that so great a man, who speaks so justly of the Church, of the salvation which is to be found only in unity with her, and of the

[1] In *The Naked Gospel; An Earnest and Compassionate Suit for Forbearance*, &c.

infallible assistance of the Holy Ghost in the Council of Nice, which implies the same assistance for all other assemblies in the same Church, can for a moment hesitate to acknowledge her. Let him condescend at least to acquaint me, a zealous defender of the doctrine which he teaches, what it is he means by the 'Catholic Church.' Is it the Church of Rome, and those which adhere to her? Is it the Church of England? Is it a confused heap of societies, separated the one from the other? And how can they constitute that kingdom of Christ, not divided against itself, and which shall never perish? It would be a great satisfaction to me to receive some answer upon this point, that might explain the opinion of so weighty an author." This request met with the ready compliance of Bull; who composed, by way of answer, his tract *Of the Corruptions of the Church of Rome.*

"As to the wonder of Monsieur de Meaux," he writes, "I cannot but very much wonder at it, especially at the reasons on which it is grounded. He wonders 'how I, that speak so advantageously of the Church, &c. can continue a moment without acknowledging her.' Her! What 'her' doth the bishop mean? Doubtless the present Church of Rome, in the communion whereof he himself lives, and to which his design seems to be to invite me. But where do I speak so advantageously of the present Church of Rome? Nowhere, I am sure. My thoughts concerning her I have plainly (perhaps too plainly and bluntly, in the opinion of Monsieur de Meaux) delivered in the book which he so commends. Cannot the Catholic Church be mentioned, but presently the Roman Church must be understood? The book which the bishop refers to bears this title, *Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ primorum seculorum*, &c. Of the Catholic Church of the three first centuries I do indeed speak with great deference. To her judgment (next to the Holy Scriptures) I appeal against the oppugners of our Lord's divinity at this day, whether Arians or Socinians. This primitive Catholic Church, as to her government and discipline, her doctrines of faith, and her worship of God, I think ought to be the standard by which we are to judge of the orthodoxy and purity of all other succeeding churches, according to that excellent rule of Tertullian, *de Præscript. adv. Hæres*, c. 29, 21. 'Every descent must necessarily deduce itself from its first original. If these things are true, it is plain that every doctrine which these apostolical, these original and mother-churches held as analogous to the rule of faith, is to be owned as true, and as containing, without doubt, what the churches received from the apostles, the apostles from Christ, Christ

from God.'... According to this rule, the Church of England will be found the best and purest church at this day in the Christian world. Upon which account I bless God that I was born, baptized, and bred up in her communion; wherein I firmly resolve by his grace to persist, *usque ad extremum vitæ spiritum.* How far the present Church of Rome hath departed from this primitive pattern, will appear hereafter.

"Monsieur de Meaux," continues he, "adds, as a farther reason of his wonder, 'that I speak of salvation as only to be found in unity with her.' Her! doth the bishop here again mean the present Church of Rome? If he doth, I must plainly tell him, that I am so far from ever thinking that salvation is only to be found in unity with her, that, on the contrary, I verily believe they are in great danger of their salvation who live in her communion; that is, who own her erroneous doctrines, and join in her corrupt worship....

"He asks me, 'What I mean by the Catholic Church?' I answer: What I mean by the Catholic Church in the book which we all along refer to, I have already shewn, and the very title of the book sufficiently declares. If he asks me, What I mean by the Catholic Church, speaking of it as it now is, I answer: By the Catholic Church, I mean the Church universal, being a collection of all the churches throughout the world, who retain 'the faith once (ἅπαξ) delivered to the saints' (Jude 3); that is, who hold and profess, in the substance of it, that faith and religion which was delivered by the apostles of Christ to the first original churches, according to Tertullian's rule before mentioned. Which faith and religion is contained in the Holy Scriptures, especially of the New Testament, and the main fundamentals of it comprised in the canon or rule of faith, universally received throughout the primitive churches, and the profession thereof acknowledged to be a sufficient *tessera*, or badge, of a catholic Christian. All the churches at this day which hold and profess this faith and religion, however distant in place, or distinguished by different rites and ceremonies, yea, or divided in some extra-fundamental points of doctrine, yet agreeing in the essentials of the Christian religion, make up together one Christian Catholic Church, under the Lord Christ, the supreme head thereof. The Catholic Church, under this notion, is not a confused heap of societies, separated one from another. But it seems, no other union of the Church will satisfy the bishop, but a union of all the churches of Christ throughout the world under one visible head, having a jurisdiction over them all, and that head the bishop of Rome for the time being. But such a union as this was never dreamed of amongst Christians for at least the first six hundred years"

This learned, temperate, and manly answer to his queries, was however never seen by Bossuet; that prelate dying in

April 1704, before it reached him. It was published, with other tracts on the same controversy, in 1705, by Dr. George Hickes.

The last considerable composition by Dr. Bull was his *Primitive Apostolical Tradition, concerning the Divinity of our Saviour*, written against Dr. Zwicker, an Unitarian writer at Dantzic. It made its appearance in 1703, contemporaneously with an edition, in folio, of his Latin works, prepared by Dr. Grabe; the venerable author being himself too infirm to undertake the labour of editorship.

Two years later, in Feb. 1704-5, when Bull had already reached the allotted age of man, he was surprised by an intimation, that the sovereign intended to confer on him the bishopric of St. David's. Considering, not only his advanced age, but the warnings of a broken constitution, the Doctor at first sought to evade her Majesty's design; but finally gave way to the importunity of his friends, and was consecrated to that see in the succeeding April. He would probably have refused with more pertinacity, had he not calculated on being largely assisted in the labours of the diocese by his eldest son, the Rev. George Bull, a pious clergyman of good attainments, long resident at Oxford, though still in the prime of life; but the hope built on this promising foundation was quickly overthrown by the young man's death. The bishop, however, bore up bravely under this severe bereavement; and, taking his seat in the House of Lords during the discussion upon the bill for the union of England and Scotland, had some share in that debate: with reference to the exalted character which the Scottish Parliament had given of their own Church, he opportunely threw in an expressive testimony to the excellence and undoubted apostolicity of the Church of England.

The ecclesiastical duties of his office he administered (in person, as long as his health permitted) with primitive simplicity and earnestness; reproving the too frequent negligence of his clergy, and diffusing a new spirit of piety over the diocese. A charge, prepared by the bishop, to be read by his son-in-law, the archdeacon of Brecknock, when extreme weakness precluded him from continuing his personal visitations, is a manual of friendly practical admonition, worthy at all times the attentive perusal of clergymen. In the *Life* by Nelson, there is likewise an admirable letter, written with a design, which, however, he did not live to fulfil, of circulating it

among the clergy of the diocese of St. David's, containing recommendations on almost all those points of improvement connected with the establishment, which have in our own period been tardily adopted; and an earlier attention to which, as suggested by this good and wise prelate, might have averted many evils. He insists, for instance, on the general adoption of family prayer; urges the building of schools; and recommends the formation of religious libraries for the young; with other useful particulars of a more local nature.

In such good works, Bishop Bull employed the small remains of his bodily strength. He perceived it however to be rapidly approaching exhaustion; and, towards the close of September, 1709, extreme languor assumed the form of confirmed disease; under which he sank, and gently expired, February 17th, 1709-10, after a most devout and exemplary preparation for his change, in particular by an act of solemn confession, and by receiving absolution according to the Church's formulary. Two only, out of twelve children, survived him, viz. Robert, rector of Tortworth in Gloucestershire, and a prebendary of Gloucester cathedral; and one daughter.

In Bishop Bull, we contemplate, perhaps, as perfect an instance as could readily be named, of the genuine English clergyman. Learned, serious, profoundly but not ostentatiously pious; equally removed from the extravagances of sectarianism, and the corruptions of popery; he knew, and steadily kept, the true "middle way" of the Anglican branch of God's Church,—the plain path of apostolical orthodoxy, as laid down by inspiration, indicated by the light of primitive times, and cleared at the Reformation by the labours and sufferings of wise, thoughtful, heaven-directed men. Entering on his professional career during the usurpation, he consented to serve the Church by means of a compliance (the slightest, indeed, possible,) with the evil demands of the times; and in the difficult crisis of 1688, he does not appear to have thought it became him to join that small but violent party, who, in obedience to a principle, rather conscientious than well-considered, opposed themselves to the decision of a great, religious, and enlightened people; but, practically at least, admitted, that in the affairs of nations a necessity involving the general well-being may assume the nature of a law, superior in obligation to all laws. The

Revolution of 1688, is a case which, if any can, justifies the maxim, *Vox populi vox Dei.*

Works of Bishop Bull:—

Harmonia Apostolica. 1670.

Examen Censuræ and *Apologia pro Harmonia.* 1676. Both of these publications abound in typographical errors: the former in particular, being, in the opinion of Dr. Burton, "perhaps the most scandalously printed book that ever issued from the press."

Defensio Fidei Nicænæ. Oxford, 1685.

Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ. 1694.

In the year 1703, these four works, with a tract, called *Primitiva et Apostolica Traditio*, were published in one volume, by the learned J. E. Grabe, editor of the Septuagint. Grabe is a pains-taking, but unscrupulous editor: Dr. Burton has given a long list of his arbitrary changes in Bull's text. With regard to the Bishop's preference of the Latin language, for his principle treatises, we are told by his biographer, that he thought too much had already been put forth on abstruse points of controversy, in a popular form; and that if he addressed his works to "men of learning and capacity," the valuable truths contained in them would readily obtain circulation, by their means, among the more numerous and unlearned classes. It is, probably, to this choice of a vehicle for the more considerable of his literary productions, that the steadiness and purity of his fame are in part owing.

The epistolary discourse, on the *Corruptions of the Church of Rome*, in answer to Bossuet's queries, was first published in 1705, in a volume chiefly consisting of *Letters on the Popish Controversy*, by Dr. Hickes. Several subsequent editions of this tract appeared within a few years.

In 1713 appeared the bishop's remaining English works, edited by Robert Nelson; consisting of twenty sermons, four other discourses, and a fifth in Latin, with an English translation by the editor. Of the sermons, the greater part relate to subjects of speculative divinity, some of them indeed to points of theological inquiry, rather curious than essential. Of such, for example, are those on "the middle state of happiness or misery, allotted to every man presently after death," and on "the respect due to the Blessed Virgin." Others, how-

ever, are entirely practical; and the whole are calculated to perfect and settle the faith of Christians on a Catholic basis, and carry with them that conviction which always accompanies uncommon learning, when wielded by a calm, earnest, and strong mind. They were written while Bull resided at Siddington.

The discourses appear not to have been designed for the pulpit; one of them, in fact, is the Charge already mentioned. The other three English discourses are, 1. *On the Doctrine of the Church for the first three ages of Christianity, concerning the blessed Trinity.* 2. *Concerning the Spirit of God in the faithful; how and in what manner it doth bear witness with their spirits, that they are the children of God.* 3. *Concerning the first Covenant, and the state of man before the Fall.* The first illustrates the author's views of the doctrine of the holy Trinity, as they appear in his larger works devoted to that subject: the second, in like manner, takes up the doctrine treated in the *Harmonia*, and adapts it to the less learned reader. The Latin discourse, placed fifth in this edition, bears the title of *Breves Animadversiones*, &c. or, *Some few Animadversions on a Treatise of Mr. Gilbert Clerke's, entitled 'Anti-nicenismus;' so far as the said author pretends to answer Dr. Bull's Defence of the Nicene Faith.* The well-known Life, by the pious and accomplished editor, accompanied these volumes; it was likewise separately republished, in the following year.

Subsequently (in 1719) appeared *A Vindication of the Church of England from the Errors and Corruptions of the Church of Rome.* This treatise was written in 1671, at the request of the Countess of Newburgh, a lady whom the efforts of some of those Romish missionaries, with whom the country was then infested, had partly succeeded in detaching from the communion of the reformed Church. It was published by the bishop's son, Robert Bull.

A complete edition of the works of Bishop Bull was printed at Oxford, in 1827, under the care of the late Professor Burton, whose profound acquaintance with the writings of the ante-nicene fathers peculiarly fitted him for this undertaking. It consists of six volumes, in 8vo, with the Life in a seventh; the whole enriched with some judicious notes, and preceded by an useful preface.

The following translations of the bishop's Latin works have been published:—The three treatises relating to the Trinity, by the Rev. Francis Holland, 1725; the *Harmonia Apostolica*, by the Rev. Thomas Wilkinson, 1801; the *Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, by the Rev. T. Rankin, 1825.

Nelson's translation of the tract against Gilbert Clerke has already been mentioned, as forming part of the original edition of the English works.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH FOR THE FIRST THREE AGES OF CHRISTIANITY, CONCERNING THE BLESSED TRINITY, CONSIDERED, IN OPPOSITION TO SABELLIANISM AND TRITHEISM.

THE unanimous sense of the Catholic doctors of the Church, for the first three ages of Christianity, concerning the article of the Trinity, is in short this:—

I. That there are in the Godhead three (not mere names or modes, but) really distinct hypostases or persons, the Father, the Son or Word of God, and the Holy Ghost.

II. That these three persons are one God; which they thus explain:—

1. There is but one fountain or principle of divinity, God the Father, who only is αὐτόθεος, God of and from himself; the Son and Holy Ghost deriving their divinity from Him; the Son immediately from the Father, the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, or from the Father by the Son.

2. The Son and the Holy Ghost are so derived from the fountain of the divinity, as that they are not separate or separable from it, but do still exist in it, and are most intimately united to it. All the fathers insist upon this, that if there were more than one fountain of the divinity, or if the three persons were each of them a self-dependent principle of divinity, or if the three persons were separate from each other, then there would be three Gods. But being there is but one fountain of the divinity, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost deriving their divinity from that fountain, and that so as still to exist in it and be inseparably united to it, there is but one God. That this is the unanimous consent and constant doctrine of the primitive fathers, I have fully showed in my *Defensio Fidei Nicænæ*. I shall here resume and more fully explain only one testimony which I have there alleged, because it shows us what was then accounted Sabellianism, what Tritheism, and what the Catholic doctrine concerning the blessed Trinity; matters so hotly disputed among us at this day.

Dionysius, bishop of Rome, who flourished about the year 259, whom his great namesake of Alexandria styles λόγιον τε καὶ θαυμάσιον, "a learned and wonderful man," in an epistle against the Sabellians[1], (which doubtless he wrote, as the manner then was, with the advice and consent of the clergy of his diocese synodically convened,) after he had refuted the doctrine of Sabellius, thus proceeds to discourse against the contrary heresy of those "who divide and cut asunder, and overthrow the most sacred doctrine of the church of God, parting the monarchy into three certain powers and hypostases, separated from each other, and consequently into three Deities. For I hear that there are some catechists and teachers of the word of God among you, who maintain this opinion; therein diametrically, if I may so speak, opposing the hypothesis of Sabellius. For he blasphemeth by affirming that the Father is the Son, and, on the other side, that the Son is the Father; but these men in a manner teach three Gods, whilst they divide the holy Unity into hypostases, alien and wholly divided from each other. For it is absolutely necessary that we hold, that the divine word is united into one, as into a certain head; I mean the omnipotent God, the Father of all things."

Here we see what is Sabellianism, viz. To affirm that the Son is the Father, and the Father the Son; and consequently that the Holy Ghost is the same with both. And all they come very near this heresy, who acknowledge only a modal distinction between the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. What is Tritheism he also shews us plainly, viz. That it is to hold, that the three persons in the Trinity are of a different nature, or separated and divided from each other; or that there is more than one fountain or principle of the divinity. According to which account, Dr. Sherlock is certainly clear from the charge of Tritheism: the Catholic doctrine he declares to be this, "That there are three really distinct hypostases in the Godhead, and yet that there is but one God; because the Father only is the head of the divinity, and the Son and Holy Ghost, as they are derived from him, so they exist in him, and are inseparably united to him."

Of such a distinction and union of persons, we have indeed no example or exact similitude among created beings: but what then? It does not follow that therefore there cannot be such a distinction and union in the transcendent and most spiritual nature of God. The Antitrinitarians can never produce a demonstrative reason to prove that this cannot be; and divine revelation assures us that so it is. The most weighty arguments that are brought by the Antitrinitarians against a distinction of hypostases in the Godhead are reducible to one,

[1] *Apud Athan. de Decret. Syn. Nic.* Tom. 1. c. 26.

which if well answered, the rest will fall to the ground. The argument is this:

The most simple being admits of no distinction.
God is the most simple being;
Therefore God admits of no distinction.

Ans. If the Antitrinitarians that make this objection are the Socinians among us, as I presume they are, it is news to hear that they should argue from the simplicity of the Godhead, seeing the great masters of that sect, Socinus, Crellius, &c. held that God is a material being, and consequently compounded of matter and form. Express citations to this purpose may be seen in Dr. Edwards's *Antidote against Socinianism*, Part I. pp. 65, 66.

This opinion they held, because they could not conceive how there can be any substance that is purely spiritual and abstracted from all matter; and if they could have conceived this, perhaps they would not have stuck at the doctrine of the Trinity. For the great difficulty of conceiving a Trinity in Unity in the Godhead arises chiefly from hence, that men are apt to measure the divine nature from ideas and notions taken from material things. But to the purpose:—

1. The simplicity of the divine nature does indeed exclude all mixture; *i.e.* all composition of things heterogeneous in the Godhead, there being nothing in God but what is God; but for all that there may be distinction of hypostases in the Godhead, provided they are homogeneous and of the same nature, as the Catholic doctrine teaches.

2. The simplicity of the divine nature (if rightly considered) is so far from excluding, that it necessarily infers a distinction of hypostases in the Godhead. For wherein does the simplicity of the Godhead especially consist but in this, that God is a pure eternal mind, free from the mixture of all kind of matter whatsoever? Now an eternal mind must needs have in it from eternity an ἔννοια or λόγος; a notion or conception of itself; which the schools term *verbum mentis*, nor can it be conceived without it. This word in God cannot be (as it is in us) a transient, vanishing accident, for then the divine nature would indeed be compounded of substance and accident, which would be repugnant to its simplicity; but it must be a substantial subsisting word. The great apostolical Bishop of Neocæsarea, Gregory, surnamed Thaumaturgus, in his Panegyric to Origen, (by all confessed to be genuine,) calls it, "the most perfect living, and animate word, of the very first mind." This word also is manifestly (though not divided, yet) distinct from the eternal mind from whence it proceeds. And this is no novel subtlety of the schools, but a notion that runs through all the fathers, even those of the first ages, as appears from the testimonies produced out of them in my *Defensio Fidei Nicænæ*, and it is also grounded on holy scripture.

Hence the excellent Athanasius, than whom no man better understood the sense of scripture and the doctors of the church that were before him in the article of the Trinity, insists upon it in his Oration against the Sabellians. In the beginning of which, having first shown how the catholic church of Christ, in her notion and worship of God, differs from the heathens and Jews, he proceeds to declare the difference betwixt the orthodox Christians and the Sabellians and other Unitarians of his time, who under pretence of defending the unity of the Godhead, denied all distinction of hypostases therein. His words are these: "We are separated also from those who corrupt Christianity with Judaism, who, denying the God of God, profess one God, as the Jews do, affirming him (the Father) to be the only God, not upon account that he only is unbegotten, and the only fountain of the Deity, but as if he were without a Son, and barren, and void of his living word and true wisdom. For they conceive the word of God to be such as proceeds from the mind of man, and his wisdom to be such as that of ours, and therefore affirm God with his word to be one person, just as we say that a man together with his word is one man; being in this no wiser than the Jews, who own not the evangelist in the beginning of his Gospel, proclaiming, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." For if God hath a word in his mind not really begotten of him as God of God, how could the word be with God, and could it be God? For the word conceived in the mind of man is not a man with another man, seeing it neither lives nor subsists, but is only a motion or operation of the same living subsisting mind."

This great man took it for granted that St. John, in the text alleged, meant that "the Word was with God in the beginning," before any created being existed, and, consequently, that he is called the Word of God, not with respect to the creatures, (though it is true that he afterwards revealed the will of God to mankind, and might in that respect also be called the Word of God,) but with respect to God the Father, whose Word he eternally was, and with whom he was "in the beginning;" and, therefore, he was not the same hypostasis with him, and yet he was God as well as the Father. He had never heard of the senseless interpretation of Socinus, who by "the beginning" in that text understands the beginning of the gospel; there being then no heretic (among those many that opposed the divinity of our Lord) who had the confidence to advance so ridiculous a sense of those words: Lælius Socinus hath the honour of that interpretation.

If it be objected, that all this being granted proves only two hypostases in the Godhead, not a Trinity; I answer, 1. This proves that a distinction of hypostases in the Godhead is very consistent with

its simplicity; nay, that from the true notion of the simplicity of the Godhead, such a distinction necessarily follows. 2. If there be two hypostases in the Godhead, there may be a third; and that there is a third the holy scripture assures us. Indeed, I do not remember that any of the fathers of the first three centuries have attempted to explain distinctly the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, or from the Father by the Son; there being little or no dispute concerning the divinity of the Holy Ghost till Macedonius appeared and disputed the faith of the Church in that article. For before him, all the Antitrinitarians, of what sort soever, chose especially to oppugn the divinity of the Son of God, taking occasion from those texts of scripture which respect his human nature, and that economy which for our salvation he took upon him. Which pretence, seeing they had not to make use of in disputing against the Godhead of the Holy Ghost, they thought it best to say nothing of it, contenting themselves in opposing the divinity of the Son, and, by consequence, to overthrow that of the Holy Spirit. But in general I have observed, that those primitive fathers held the Holy Ghost to be as it were *vinculum Trinitatis*, the bond of the holy Trinity, the union of the Father and Son. Hence some ancient doxologies run thus, "Glory be to the Father and the Son in the Unity of the Holy Ghost." And the most learned Christian philosopher, Athenagoras, who flourished very near the first succession of the apostles, expressly affirms the Father and the Son to be one, ἑνότητι Πνεύματος, *i.e.* "by the unity of the Spirit;" which I think imports the same thing with what St. Augustin and other later fathers say, that the Holy Ghost is *Amor Patris et Filii*. But this by the way.

There is another notion which frequently occurs in the writings of the primitive fathers, tending to shew the incongruity of asserting the Godhead to be so simple a being as to be μονοπρόσωπος, "a solitary single hypostasis," which hath also a foundation in the holy scriptures, and it is this:—"Without acknowledging a distinction of hypostases in the Godhead, we cannot well conceive that αὐτάρκεια which we attribute to God, *i.e.* his self-sufficiency and most perfect bliss and happiness in himself alone, before and without all created beings." But, by admitting this, it plainly appears, that himself alone is a most perfect and blessed society, the Father, the Son, and the Spirit eternally conversing with and enjoying each other. See Prov. viii. 22, to 31 inclusive; where the wisdom of God, which is said to be with God "from everlasting, from the beginning, before the earth was, and to be his continual delight," all the fathers unanimously understood to be (as indeed the words themselves literally and plainly import) Σοφία ὑφεστῶσα, "a subsisting personal wisdom," *i.e.* the Son of God, who

is accordingly by St. Paul expressly styled, "the wisdom of God" (1 Cor. i. 24.) And that the Λόγος, or Son of God, was known by the ancient Jews themselves, under the title of "the wisdom of God," sufficiently appears from many passages in Philo, and from the author of the Book of Wisdom, chap. vii. 26, compared with Col. i. 15 and Heb. i. 3.

To conclude: The doctrine of the Church concerning the blessed Trinity hath been abundantly confirmed by Catholic writers, both ancient and modern, from many clear texts out of the holy scriptures; which, as they assert the unity of the Godhead, so do they also plainly teach us, that there are three to whom the essential attributes and proper operations of the Godhead do belong, viz. the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. The interpretations whereby Socinus, and his more immediate followers, endeavoured to elude the texts alleged by the Catholics, are so manifestly forced and strained, that I do not see how any honest mind, that bears any reverence or respect to the sacred scriptures, can away with them. This the Socinians among us of late seem to be sensible of, and therefore have taken a shorter, but more desperate course, by calling in question the authority of the principal scriptures alleged by us. Thus the author of the pamphlet, entitled *The Judgement of the Fathers*, &c., disputes the authority of the Gospel of St. John. For he tells us, from Epiphanius, that the Alogians or Alogi (whom, according to his accustomed impudence, he highly magnifies, and affirms to be the purest and most ancient Gentile Christians, yea, and coeval with the apostles, whereas Epiphanius expressly saith, that the heresy of the Alogi appeared in the world after the Cataphrygians (or Motanists), the Quintilians, and the sect of the Quartodecimani, and therefore could not be earlier than about the beginning of the third century) were so called, because they denied the Λόγος, or Word, of which St. John speaks in his Gospel, Epistle, and Revelations. They said, that all those pieces were written by Cerinthus, under the name of St. John: and, in his *Considerations*, he produceth their arguments, and with this preface, that "he should be glad to see a good answer to the exceptions of those Unitarians against those books we receive of St. John's." Which implies, that he thinks those arguments (which in truth are but senseless cavils) have not been sufficiently answered by Epiphanius, or any other Catholic; and that he himself cannot tell how to answer them, and therefore must submit to the force of them till he receives better information.

Now, as for the Apocalypse, we acknowledge that it hath been questioned by some, not only heretics, but Catholics; but upon slight grounds, as hath been sufficiently shewed by divers learned inter-

preters, and particularly by Grotius, in the preface to his annotations upon it. The second and third Epistles also have been, and still are, doubted of by many, who rather think them to be written by St. John the presbyter; (see Grotius again, in the preface to his notes on the second Epistle). But as for the Gospel and first Epistle attributed to St. John, they have always been received in the church of God as his undoubted and genuine writings. They are cited as St. John's by the Catholic fathers that lived nearest the times of that apostle; and particularly by Irenæus, who was an auditor of St. Polycarp, the disciple of St. John.

As for their being written by Cerinthus the heretic, no man in his wits, and that understands anything of the dogmata of Cerinthus, can imagine it. For it is evident, that the first chapter of the Gospel according to St. John, and divers passages throughout his first Epistle, are directly opposite to the Cerinthian hypothesis, as I have fully shewn[1]; and, accordingly Irenæus and others of the ancients, testify that they were purposely written by St. John against the Cerinthian heresy, which in his time began to trouble the church. So that those heretics who fathered the Gospel and first Epistle, which we receive as St. John's, upon Cerinthus, were by Epiphanius deservedly named Ἄλογοι, men in this void of all sense and reason.

But before I dismiss this account of the Alogi from Epiphanius, I must not omit by the way to observe, that they rejected, not only his Gospel and Revelation, but his Epistles also, and all upon the same account, because in them there was mention made of the divine Λόγος, which they disowned, affirming Christ to be entirely and wholly a mere man that had no existence before the blessed Virgin. Now where is there any text in the Epistle of St. John concerning the Λόγος, that should give such offence to the Alogi? Surely the most likely text is that in the first Epistle, chap. v. 7, "There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word (ὁ Λόγος), and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one." This text was extant then in the Greek copies of the first Epistle of St. John, in the age wherein the Alogi lived, *i. e.* about the beginning of the third century. And accordingly Tertullian, who then flourished, manifestly alludes to it in his book against Praxeas (cap. xxv.) in these words, "Connexus Patris in Filio, et Filii in Paracleto, tres efficit cohærentes, alterum ex altero, qui tres unum sunt, (οἱ τρεῖς ἓν εἰσιν,) non unus." And not long after him, St. Cyprian more clearly and fully, "De Patre, Filio, et Spiritu Sancto scriptum est, hi tres unum sunt." But to proceed.

---

[1] *Jud. Eccl. Cath.* ii. 3, et seq.

The same author tells us, "He cannot believe that the eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth verses of the first chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews were originally a part of that Epistle, but have been fraudulently added." Who can help the infidelity of one who is such a slave to his hypothesis as to resolve to believe nothing against it, though never so certain? Those verses are found in all the Greek copies of the Epistle to the Hebrews at this day extant; and all ancient versions of that Epistle, the Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic, render them. But the divine author's applying the words of the psalmist concerning the creation of heaven and earth to the Son of God (ver. 10, 11, 12), is so clear a proof of his divinity, that the Socinian knew not what to say to it, and therefore resolves it shall be no scripture. Indeed he would seem to slight the argument of the Catholics from those verses, if admitted to be a part of the Epistle, and would persuade us that it is easily answered, by saying, that the "heavens and earth" there meant, are only the "new heavens and earth" foretold by the prophets, even the gospel economy and state.

But can the heavens and earth, which are said to be made κατ' ἀρχάς, "in the beginning," or of old, as it is in Psalm cii. 25, possibly be understood of the new heavens and earth, or the gospel-state, that they "shall perish and wax old as a garment, and as a vesture be folded up?" Certainly, whoever can give credit to such an interpretation, must be given up to a reprobate mind.

But, *O Deus, in quæ nos tempora reservasti, ut ista patiamur?* as the blessed martyr Polycarp was wont to say, when he heard the blasphemies of the heretics of his time; the same wretched author is not afraid to say, "There are shrewd presumptions, that to the institution of baptism by our Saviour, in the Gospel of St. Matthew, these words have been added, 'In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.'"

They are presumptions, and shrewd presumptions indeed, that are opposed to the faith of all the copies of St. Matthew's Gospel at this day extant, and to all the ancient versions of it, and to the practice of the universal Church of Christ throughout the world, founded on these words, as undoubtedly the words of our Saviour. But what are the shrewd presumptions he speaks of? He names but one, and that is this: "It appears in the Acts and Epistles of the apostles, that the apostles never baptized in that form of words, but only in the Name of the Lord Jesus." But where doth this appear, either in the Acts or Epistles of the apostles, that when the apostles baptized any man, they did it in this form only, "I baptize thee in the Name of the Lord Jesus"? It is said, indeed, that "they baptized in the Name of the Lord Jesus;" *i. e* into the faith and religion of the Lord Jesus; viz. according to the form of baptism prescribed by the Lord Jesus himself,

i. e. "In the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Are not they baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus that are baptized according to that form? do not we all understand the Lord Jesus to be meant by the second person named in that form, viz. the Son? Hence Grotius upon those words (Acts xix. 5) "And when they heard this, they were baptized in the Name of the Lord Jesus," hath this note, "In nomen Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti." And for this he refers us to his notes on Matt. xxviii. 19, where he handles this matter at large.

Indeed this will clearly appear, if we do but look back to the verses preceding the aforementioned text in the Acts: there we read (ver. 1, 2, 3) that St. Paul, meeting with certain christians at Ephesus, asked them whether they had "received the Holy Ghost?" To which they answered, that they had "not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost." St. Paul, wondering at this, replies, "Unto what then were ye baptized?" As if he had said, How can you be ignorant whether there be any Holy Ghost? If not, after what form, or how have you been baptized? "And they said, Unto John's baptism." John indeed, as the Apostle rejoins, only baptized unto repentance, thereby to prepare men for the reception of the Messias that was to come after him. He did not baptize in the Name of the Lord Jesus, *i.e.* "In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." This form of baptism was first appointed by our Saviour himself, and that not till after the resurrection, just before he was to ascend into heaven, and from thence soon after to pour out the Holy Ghost, after a wonderful manner, upon the apostles. Then, and not before, they were commanded by our Lord, to baptize *in plena et adunata Trinitate*, as St. Cyprian expresses it[1].

To the most holy and undivided Trinity, God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, be ascribed all honour and glory, adoration and worship, now and for evermore. Amen.

Bishop Bull's Works. Vol. II.

CONCERNING THE SPIRIT OF GOD IN THE FAITHFUL; HOW AND IN WHAT MANNER IT DOTH BEAR WITNESS WITH THEIR SPIRITS THAT THEY ARE THE CHILDREN OF GOD; AND WHAT DEGREE OF HOPE OR PERSUASION CONCERNING THEIR ADOPTION THIS WITNESS OF THE SPIRIT DOTH ORDINARILY PRODUCE IN THE FAITHFUL.

St. Peter hath long ago observed, that in the Epistles of his brother apostle, St. Paul, there are some δυσνόητα, "things hard to be understood;" which the ignorant and unlearned did in his time (as indeed

[1] *Epist. ad Jubaianum.*

there are some such that still do in our time) "wrest to their own destruction" (2 Pet. iii. 16). And he seems in that place, if it be heedfully considered, to have a special respect to St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, which indeed hath more of those δυσνόητα, or difficult passages, than any other of his epistles. Such is his discourse of justification by faith without works, which runs throughout the Epistle, which was abused even in the apostolic age to a dangerous kind of solifidianism by the Gnostic heretics; against whose perverse interpretation St. James afterwards wrote his Epistle as an antidote.

And indeed St. Paul himself expounds himself in another Epistle very plainly to the same purpose, viz. Gal. v. 6: "In Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but faith which worketh by love." From whence it is evident, that by the faith to which he attributes justification, he means not an idle faith, but working faith, attended with works of love both toward God and our neighbour; and, consequently, that the works he excludes from justification are not evangelical works, or such as are done in and proceed from faith in Christ; but only, first, works of perfect obedience, or sinless works, there being none such to be found among the sons of fallen man; or, secondly, works done in the strength of the Mosaic law, without the grace of the gospel; or, thirdly, the works of the ceremonial law, such as circumcision, sacrifice, and the like; or, fourthly and lastly, all manner of works whatsoever, as far as they are relied on as meritorious causes of our justification or salvation; there being but one only cause of that kind, viz. the meritorious obedience and sufferings of our dear Redeemer and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Of this sort also are the discourses of St. Paul concerning the conflict between the law of the mind, and the law of sin in the members, in the same men (chap. vii.), and concerning the irrespective love and hatred of Jacob and Esau, and of the obduration or hardening of Pharaoh (chap. ix.), and of the bondage and redemption of the whole creation (chap. viii. 19—22). And such also is that passage, upon which I shall found my present discourse concerning the witness of the Spirit in the faithful (chap. viii. 16), "The Spirit beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God:" a passage almost in every man's mouth, but rightly understood by very few, yea, by too many dangerously mistaken and abused.

In handling whereof I shall endeavour, with all the plainness and clearness I can, to pursue and resolve these two inquiries:

First, how and in what manner the Spirit of God in the faithful doth bear witness with their spirits, that they are the children of God.

Secondly, what degree of hope or persuasion concerning their adoption this witness of the Spirit doth ordinarily produce in the faithful.

1. First then I am to enquire: How and in what manner the Spirit of God in the faithful doth bear witness with their spirits, that they are the children of God. I answer, first negatively; not by an immediate oracle, voice, or whisper within them, in express words pronouncing their pardon and acceptation with God, or saying, that they are the sons of God; after the manner our Saviour told the man sick of the palsy, "Son, be of good cheer; thy sins be forgiven thee," (Matt. ix. 2,) or, as Nathan the prophet said to David, "The Lord hath put away thy sin," (2 Sam. xii. 13.) This is a vain imagination, and as dangerous as it is vain, it being apt to lead some good men into despair, as not finding any such whisper within them; and to expose others to presumption and the delusion of the evil spirit. Such a vocal testimony of the Spirit is nowhere promised in scripture, and therefore not to be expected by us; though it is possible God may to some persons, and in some extraordinary cases, give it. But that St. Paul means not any such vocal testimony of the Spirit is evident from hence, that this vocal testimony would be the immediate testimony of the Spirit alone, whereas the apostle speaks of a testimony of the Spirit concurring and adjoining with the testimony of our spirits, *i. e.* our minds or consciences: *συμμαρτυρεῖ*: our minds and consciences therefore have a part and share in giving this testimony, *i. e.* our consciences give this testimony by and with the Spirit within us. In what manner I am to shew in the affirmative, to which I proceed.

2. Therefore affirmatively the Spirit of God witnesseth that we are the sons of God. (1.) By those gracious fruits which it hath wrought in us, which when we discern and perceive, we do or may from thence conclude that we are the sons of God, those fruits and effects being the sure badge and livery of his children. (2.) By enlightening our understandings, and assisting the faculties of our souls, as need requires, to discern those gracious fruits and effects which he hath wrought in us.

(1.) The first way whereby the Spirit of God witnesseth that we are the sons of God, is by the gracious fruits and effects which the Spirit hath wrought in us. The Spirit of God in person is not the immediate suggester of this conclusion, that we are the sons of God; but the Spirit in the fruits and effects of it is the medium or argument from whence we ourselves draw it. St. Paul tells us in the very same chapter, (Rom. viii. 9,) "If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his." Now how shall we know that we have the Spirit, but by the fruits of it in ourselves? And what are the fruits of the Spirit? St. Paul describes them, Gal. v. 22, 23, "The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance; against such there is no law." Where, among the fruits of the Spirit the Apostle reckons *χαρὰ*, "joy," the best interpreters

understand him to mean, not that joy or peace of conscience, which is the result and reward of duty, but a joy which is itself a duty, and a duty respecting our neighbour; for of that nature are all the rest of the graces there mentioned by St. Paul. For it is immediately subjoined to love, and after it are added several other virtues, which have all reference to our neighbour; and therefore it is altogether improbable that this joy, being placed in the midst of those virtues, should respect any other than our neighbour. And then by joy, we must understand either that joy which a man takes in the good things of his neighbour, or that virtue whereby a man studies to create and cause joy to his neighbour, or to gratify and please him in all his actions, for his good and edification. But this by the way. When therefore I find these fruits of the Spirit within me, "love, joy, peace," &c., I may conclude that I am the son of God, and accepted by him; and this comfortable conclusion, though it be made by myself, yet is due to the Spirit of God, from whom all those gracious arguments of my comfort proceed; and therefore it may well be said to be attested or witnessed by the Spirit of God, in concurrence with my spirit, mind, or conscience.

Thus St. John most plainly expounds St. Paul, (1 John iv. 13,) "Hereby we know that we dwell in him, and he in us, because he hath given us of his Spirit." So that the Spirit doth not immediately tell us this, but we come to understand it by perceiving that we have the Spirit, i. e. the fruits of the Spirit in us.

Hence the Spirit of God in Scripture is called ἀρραβὼν, God's "earnest," 2 Cor. i. 22: "Who" (that is, God) "hath also sealed us, and given the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts." Now an earnest is *pars pretii pro toto spondens*, "part of a sum, given in assurance of receiving the whole afterwards." So the Spirit of God within us is given us by way of earnest, to assure us that in due time we shall receive from God all those other good things, and that full glory and bliss, which he hath promised us; always provided we keep our earnest, and do not throw it back to the giver, or by resisting the motions of the Spirit provoke him to take it again from us. The fruits of the Spirit are also called σφραγὶς, God's "seal," in the same place, and likewise Ephesians i. 13, where the Ephesians are said to be "sealed with that holy Spirit of promise." In which words St. Paul alludes to the custom of men, who used to set their seals upon those things which they would mark for their own. And thus the fruits of the Spirit are said to be God's seal, because by them we know ourselves to belong to God, and to be in his favour. When therefore we find that we love God above all things, and value his favour more than all the world, and that our greatest care is how we may glorify God

and serve him in this life; that we love our neighbour sincerely, and are ready to do him all the good that lies in our power; that we bear no malice to any man, yea, and can forgive our very enemies; that we are strictly just in all our dealings, and are ready to relieve the distressed according to our abilities; that we study mortification, and to deny our fleshly lusts, and make conscience of every thing we know to be sin; that we delight in religious exercises, especially in prayer; that we have something within continually crying, Abba, Father, and inclining us in all our wants, necessities, and distresses, to have recourse to our God by humble supplication, and to depend and trust on him for help and relief; and finally, that we can bear afflictions with submission to God's will: by these things, as by the fruits of the Spirit, we know that we have the Spirit, and consequently that we are the sons of God, and heirs of salvation.

Indeed the Christian's comfort is every where in Scripture founded on the graces and good things which the Spirit of God hath wrought within him. Thus St. Paul most plainly tells us upon what foundation he built the peace, joy, and comfort of his mind (2 Cor. i. 12): "Our rejoicing is this, the testimony of our conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, we have had our conversation in the world." The joy and peace of his mind arose from that testimony, which his conscience gave him of his integrity and sincerity. Thus the Spirit of God in the fruits and effects of it did witness with his spirit that he was a good man, and accepted in the sight of God, *i. e.* a Son of God. And the same method of consolation he prescribes to others, Gal. vi. 4: "Let every man prove his own work, and then he shall have rejoicing in himself." We can have no true and solid joy but what arises from within ourselves, and proceeds from a thorough proof, trial, and examination of our hearts, and finding things right and well there. This matter of comfort, though it be within ourselves, yet is it not of or from ourselves, but is the fruit of the Spirit, an effect of the grace of God; and so the glory of all at last redounds to him. But still from within ourselves we must fetch our comfort.

They are therefore false apostles and teachers, and betrayers of the souls for whom Christ died, who teach for sound, yea the only gospel doctrine, that we are not to seek our consolation from within ourselves, *i. e.* that we are not to fetch our comfort from the graces within us, or the duties performed by us; that this is to dishonour free grace, and to set up our own graces and duties in the room of Christ's righteousness. But as you love your souls, avoid and take heed of these men, and of this doctrine, for it leads to perdition, and hath been, I doubt not, one main cause that hath contributed to the ruin of multitudes of men.

It is true, indeed, we are not to build our comfort and hope of salvation upon our graces and duties, as meritorious of salvation. For the only meritorious cause thereof is the obedience, sufferings, and death of our dear Redeemer, and only Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Nor are we to take comfort from our graces and duties, as purely our own, *i. e.* as wrought in us, or done by us, merely by our own strength; for we have no strength of our own in spiritual things; but it is God that works in us both to will and to do. Indeed this would be to glory in ourselves, and not in the Lord; to rob God and his grace of their due honour; to fetch our comfort, not from the grace or Spirit of God, but from corrupt nature and the powers of it, which whoso doth let him be *anathema*. But to derive our comfort from the graces within us, as the fruits of God's Spirit, freely given us in Christ Jesus, to cherish our hopes by those duties, as conditions without which our Lord Christ hath declared he will never save us, this is not only lawful, but our duty; this we not only may, but must do; and if we seek for solid comfort and peace of conscience in any other way, we shall never find it.

And thus I have explained to you the first way whereby the Spirit of God doth witness with our spirits, that we are the sons of God, or in a state of salvation, viz. by those blessed graces and fruits which he works in us.

(2.) The second way by which the Spirit of God witnesseth with our spirits, that we are the sons of God, is by enlightening our understandings and strengthening the powers of our minds, as occasion requires, to discern those gracious fruits and effects, which he hath wrought in us. It would be but little comfort to us, that the characters of God's Spirit are written upon our minds, if we ourselves do not arrive to the knowledge of them. Now this is the case of many Christians of great piety, but of weak understandings; they have the fruits of the Spirit flourishing in them, but take no satisfaction from thence, because they do not perceive and discern them. When therefore it is of use and expediency to them, that they should have a better knowledge of themselves, the Spirit of God is pleased to shine upon their understandings, and raise and strengthen the faculties of their souls to an apprehension and lively sense of those graces which he hath wrought in them, that they may receive comfort and satisfaction from them. How and after what manner he doth this, I dare not undertake to tell; but though the manner of it cannot be explained, yet the thing itself is certain, and ought not to be denied.

That Spirit of God, which in the first beginning of things moved upon the face of the great deep, and invigorated the chaos, or dark and confused heap of things, and caused light to shine out of that darkness,

can with the greatest ease, when he pleases, cause the light of divine consolation to arise, and shine upon the dark and disconsolate soul. And this he often doth. I may here appeal to the experience of many good Christians, who sometimes find a sudden joy coming into their minds, enlightening their understandings, dispelling all clouds from thence, warming and enlivening their affections, and enabling them to discern the graces of God shining in their brightness, and to feel them vigorously acting in their souls; so that they have been after a sort transfigured with their Saviour, and wished, with St. Peter, that they might always dwell on that Mount Tabor.

And indeed we ought in these happy intervals, when our understandings are thus irradiated and enlightened, to make a judgment of the state and condition of our souls in the sight of God, and not to take our estimate of it when our understandings are eclipsed, and we are overshadowed with a dark cloud of sadness and melancholy.

Thus I have largely shewn the way and manner how the Spirit of God doth witness with our spirits, that we are the children of God; viz. 1. By the fruits of the Spirit, or those graces which he works in us. 2. By enlightening our understandings and strengthening the faculties of our minds, if need be, to see and discern those graces, and thence to make a right conclusion concerning our hopes of salvation. Though this latter operation of the Spirit I do not think to be meant by St. Paul, in the passage I have grounded this discourse upon, at least not principally. For he seems to speak of a standing permanent witness of the Spirit, that is always in all the faithful; and that can be no other than the habitual grace of God within them. Whereas that operation of the Spirit, in irradiating our minds to discern the things of God within us, is a transient, occasional act, not always to be found in the faithful, but only in their extraordinary exigences and necessities.

In this way of explanation, and in no other, it is easy to understand the concurrence of God's Spirit and our spirit in this witness or testimony that we are the sons of God, and so heirs of salvation, and what part each of them hath therein. The Spirit of God hath the main and principal part; for it is that Spirit which produces those graces in us, which are the evidence of our adoption; it is he that, as occasion requires, illuminates our understandings and assists our memories, in discerning and recollecting those arguments of hope and comfort within ourselves. But then our spirits or understandings have their share in this testimony too. For God's Spirit *συμμαρτυρεῖ*, doth witness, not without, but with our spirits and understandings, so that our spirits concur and cooperate; and act their part in this matter too. How? We make use of our reason and understanding in considering and reflecting upon those grounds of comfort which the Spirit of God hath wrought in

us, and from them draw this comfortable conclusion to ourselves, that *we are the sons of God.* This witness or testimony is given, not by a direct immediate suggestion, either of God's Spirit or our own, but in a rational and argumentative way. For it being certain from Scripture, that whosoever hath the fruits of the Spirit, or those graces which none but the Spirit of God can work, is in the favour of God; a good Christian, by considering and reflecting on himself, finds that he hath those fruits of the Spirit, and from thence he draws this certain conclusion, that he is in the favour of God.

Thus the witness of the Spirit appears to be not an unaccountable enthusiasm, as some have made it, but a sober, rational testimony. The right understanding of this is of great use to settle the minds of many good but weak Christians, who are infinitely perplexed in their thoughts about the witness of the Spirit within them. They sadly complain of their want of it, when indeed they have it, because they do not rightly understand what it is. They expect some secret impulse or suggestion of the Divine Spirit telling them directly that they are the children of God, and missing of this, (which indeed God hath nowhere, that I know of, promised,) they are in a disconsolate afflicted condition. They look for comfort only and immediately from the Spirit of God, while their own spirits are wholly inactive and idle; *i. e.* they do not make use of their reason and understanding, in gathering comfort to themselves, from those grounds of comfort which the Spirit of God hath wrought in them.

We may very fitly apply the words of St. Paul, borrowed from Moses, concerning the righteousness of faith, to the assurance of faith, (Rom. x. 6, 7, 8,) "The righteousness which is of faith speaketh on this wise, Say not in thine heart, Who shall ascend into heaven? (that is, to bring down Christ from above:) or, Who shall descend into the deep? (that is, to bring up Christ again from the dead.) But what saith it? The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth and in thy heart." So here, do not seek after an oracle or immediate revelation, or expect that a voice from heaven should assure thee, that thou who art a true believer, and a sincere penitent, art in a state of grace and favour with God; for the resolution of the case is nigh unto thee, and even within thee, and to be sought after no farther than in thine own heart and conscience. If thou perceivest that thou dost believe in the Lord Jesus Christ with all thine heart, with a faith working by love, love to God, and love to thy neighbour, thou mayest as certainly conclude thou art in a state of salvation, as if a voice from heaven had told thee so.

And so much of the first thing propounded, The manner how the Spirit of God doth bear witness with our spirits, that we are the children of God.

II. I am next to shew you what degree of hope or persuasion concerning their adoption, the witness of the Spirit doth ordinarily produce in the hearts of the faithful. And here again, to this enquiry I answer both negatively and affirmatively.

1. Negatively. The witness of the Spirit doth not ordinarily produce in the faithful that highest degree of persuasion, which amounts to a plerophory, or absolute and full assurance of his salvation, excluding all doubt thereof. A full assurance of salvation is that which very few of the best of Christians can boast of. Indeed, this seems not expedient in any man but him that is near the end of his race, that having fought a good fight perseveringly against the world, the devil, and the flesh, is now ready to go off the stage, and to take his crown of glory, the reward of his laborious combat; which seems to be the case of St. Paul, (2 Tim. iv. 6, 7, 8.) "For I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith; henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day."

It is the opinion of very learned interpreters, that St. Paul was warned by an oracle, or revelation from heaven, of his near approaching martyrdom, after the manner that St. Peter was, 2 Pet. i. 14, "Knowing that I must shortly put off this my tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ hath shewed me." St. Paul being thus "ready to be offered," *i. e.* to suffer martyrdom for Christ's sake, and having, through the whole course of his past life, had experience of the grace of God carrying him through a multitude, an infinite variety of sufferings, with honour and victory, was assured that he should not fail in this last act, but that the same grace would complete his former victories with a crown of martyrdom. This assurance was necessary in him at this time to support him in his last trial, and there was now no danger that he should abuse it. But before this, when the blessed apostle was farther off from the end of his race and combat, he speaks in a more doubtful manner, (1 Cor. ix. 27.) "I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection, lest that by any means when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway," *i. e.* a reprobate. St. Paul cannot be supposed at that time, when he wrote this, to be absolutely certain of his salvation. Indeed, such an assurance, as I said before, seems no way expedient for any man who is yet in the midst of his combat with the adversaries of his soul, the devil, the world, and the flesh; because it would be apt to betray him to security. The case in this particular is much the same between the life of our bodies and the salvation of our souls. If divine Providence should give any man an absolute assurance of a very long life, he would be apt to

neglect the means of his health, and to take no care for the preserving of his life: so, if God should give a man beforehand assurance of his perseverance to the end, and so of his salvation, it would probably make him careless and negligent in the use of the means appointed for his perseverance, *i. e.* watching and praying.

2. I answer affirmatively. And the affirmative I will lay down in these following propositions:

(1.) The witness of the Spirit of God doth ordinarily produce in the faithful such a degree of hope and persuasion of their adoption, as shall render their lives in some measure comfortable, and free from tormenting fears and anxieties, and such as shall be sufficient to encourage them in the discharge of that duty which God requires of them.

(2.) The degrees of this comfortable hope and persuasion in the faithful are ordinarily proportioned to the degrees of their other graces.

The graces of the Spirit within us, as I have already shewn, are the evidences of our titles to heaven: and therefore the greater and stronger our habitual grace is, the greater and stronger evidence we have of our title to glory.

This grace is the great witness of the Spirit within us, testifying that we are the children of God, and so heirs of salvation; and consequently the greater this grace is, the greater and clearer witness we have of our adoption. And, on the contrary, the witness and evidence of our adoption must needs be darker and more obscure, as this grace is weaker and more imperfect in us. And therefore as the characters of the Holy Spirit in our souls are more or less apparent and legible, so will our hope and comfort be greater or lesser.

Indeed, sometimes he that hath a lesser degree of grace, may have a greater measure of comfort; because, perhaps, in the circumstances wherein he is, he needs it; as being under some heavy, pressing outward affliction, which, were he not supported by a greater measure of inward comfort, would be apt to sink and crush him. Or perhaps he is a man of a stronger and clearer understanding, or an happier temper and constitution of body, and so better qualified to take comfort from those grounds of comfort that are within him, than another who yet hath arrived to a greater perfection in grace and virtue than himself. But regularly, ordinarily, *et cæteris paribus*, the more grace the more comfort. The more strictly we walk with God in the ways of holiness, the greater will be the peace and satisfaction of our minds. And accordingly we may observe in scripture a very close connexion between hope and holiness. Thus the Holy Ghost, describing the exemplary piety of the primitive Christians, tells us, that they "walked

in the fear of God, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost," (Acts ix. 31). A seemingly incongruous couple, fear and joy, fear and hope, or comfort. But indeed these two are so far from being inconsistent, that they can hardly be separated. The more a man fears to offend God, and the greater his care is to please him, the greater his hope and comfort will be. The more we fear, the less reason we have to fear; *i. e.* if we fear God, we need not fear anything else. In this fear we are safe and secure, and all the powers of hell cannot hurt us.

(3.) The Spirit of God doth always administer some degree of hope to all the faithful, so much as is sufficient to keep them from despair.

Some degree of hope is absolutely necessary to preserve the very life and being of our other graces. It is in this sense also the Christian's true motto, *Dum spiro, spero;* "he hopes as long as he lives and breathes." And if ever his hope should utterly fail him, his spiritual life would expire and cease, and all his other graces would languish and die with it. And therefore the Spirit of God never fails to give some degree of hope to all the faithful.

Indeed, it is possible for the hope of a good Christian to be at so very low an ebb, that he may think himself to be in despair, but indeed he is not so; there is some degree of hope still left in him, which though he himself cannot discern, yet another that is a diligent observer may perceive, in his earnest desire of God's grace and mercy, in the conscience that he still makes of committing any sin that he knows to be such, and his endeavour to do that which he thinks to be his duty to the best of his power, and in his requesting the prayers of good people to God for him. For to what purpose doth he these things, if he were indeed fully resolved in himself that his case is desperate, if he had not some degree of hope yet remaining in him?

Thus some have been known, in a melancholy fit, to think they have lost all faith, and seriously to accuse themselves of downright infidelity, and an utter disbelief of the articles of the Christian religion, and thereupon have been plunged into horrible fears, perplexities, and agonies of mind; whereas these very fears are a plain demonstration that they are not guilty of that infidelity, the supposal whereof is the cause of their fears. For if they had no belief at all of the matters of religion, they could not be so much troubled for their unbelief. For how can a man possibly be troubled for not believing that which he is fully resolved and really persuaded in his own mind is false, and so ought not to be believed?

In like manner, some men think themselves void of all hope, and that they are guilty of utter despair, when their own actions at the same time plainly declare the contrary. But yet to be thus next door to despair is a very sad condition, though it may be safe. And, God

be thanked, the instances of good men in this pitiable state are comparatively very rare. And where they are found, it commonly appears that much of their misery is to be attributed to an excess of melancholy in their natural temper and constitution; and much to the false notions of religion which they have imbibed and sucked in from those unlicensed, unlearned, ignorant, or corrupt teachers, which perhaps, through their own wantonness and folly, they made choice of. But still the hand of God is to be acknowledged in the case, permitting them at least by such means to fall into the heaviest afflictions and calamities in this world, for reasons best known unto himself, always wise, just, and righteous, and, as it will appear in the issue, good and gracious too.

Obj. But here it may be objected, How is the case of these disconsolate Christians consistent or reconcileable with this truth, that "the Spirit of God beareth witness with the spirit of the faithful?" &c. For whereas St. Paul, manifestly speaking of all true Christians, all that have the Spirit of God in general, saith, that "the Spirit doth bear witness with their spirits, that they are the children of God;" these afflicted persons, whom we suppose to be true Christians, are so far from having any such thing witnessed to them, as that they are the children of God, that, on the contrary, they are under dreadful apprehensions of their being reprobates and cast-a-ways.

Ans. I answer that this passage is, as many other passages of scripture of the like nature are, to be understood not so much of the certainty or necessity of the effect itself spoken of, as of the nature of the thing to which that effect is attributed, and its sufficiency to produce it, if not hindered by some obstacle intervening. Thus for instance, the gospel of Christ is everywhere in scripture described as a gospel of peace, which should cause an universal peace in the world; because, though through the corruption of men, it too generally fails of that blessed effect, yet in its own nature it is apt and fitted to produce it, and would do so, if its most strict precepts of peace and love, and most powerful motives and arguments to enforce that excellent virtue, were duly regarded and attended to. So here the Spirit, *i. e.* the fruits and graces within us, are said to testify and witness to and with "our spirits that we are the children of God;" because in themselves, wherever they are, they are a sufficient evidence of our adoption; and if by this spirit we are not actually assured of it, it is because our own spirits are not rightly fitted and disposed to receive that evidence. So that all true Christians, even those disconsolate ones, have in themselves the witness of the Spirit, which St. Paul speaks of, *i. e.* they have that habitual grace, which is a certain argument or testimony of their being the children of God; but they do

not at present discern it, through the weakness and indisposition of their minds, and too often of their bodies also, which indisposition the good and gracious God will some time or other, sooner or later, remove; and the same divine Spirit, which implanted that grace in them, will in due time illuminate their understandings, to perceive and see that blessed work of God within themselves.

And now to conclude this discourse; the best advice that can be given upon the whole matter is this: Let us carefully mind our duty which the word of God hath laid before us, and then leave our comfort to our good and gracious God, who will certainly dispense it in such measure as he sees best and fittest for us. There is many a one who might have been in a much more comfortable state of mind than he is, if he had minded his comfort less and his duty more; if he had studied more the pleasing of God, than the pleasure, peace, and satisfaction of his own mind; if he had laboured more to be a true obedient child of God, than to know that he is so. Do not, therefore, as the manner of some is, lie down whining and crying for comfort and assurance, in the mean while neglecting thy duty; honestly study to know and to do the will of God; take heed of defiling thy conscience with any wilful sin; call upon God for his grace by constant and daily prayer; and in this way of well-doing commit thy soul to the goodness and mercy of God in Christ Jesus; and whilst thou dost so, be assured thou art safe, and canst never miscarry. For it is as certain that God is good and gracious, as that he is, and that therefore he will never cast off those who thus cast themselves upon him. Remember that ordinarily an abundant comfort is the reward of a fruitful piety, and therefore endeavour "to grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ" (2 Peter iii. 18).

In a word, persist and persevere in thy duty, and thou canst not fail of that comfort which is convenient for thee; and to be sure, what is wanting in thy joy and comfort here, shall with infinite advantage be made up hereafter, in that "fulness of joy, and those pleasures which are at God's right hand for evermore."

Dr. SOUTH.

A. D. 1660—1716.

This divine was concerned in the same engrossing controversy which chiefly engaged the mental powers and resources of Bull; he is likewise valuable for the lively notices scattered over his pages of the manners (the fault is not his, if they were commonly the "evil manners") of his time; but, as his most remarkable characteristic, he is justly styled by way of eminence, "the witty, the sarcastical." It is not, however, for these reasons, but for others which we shall presently endeavour to specify, that his writings, though circumscribed in form and character, have secured the steady esteem of mankind.

Robert South, the son of a London merchant, was born at Hackney in 1633. He became a king's scholar at Westminster, under Dr. Busby, at the age of fourteen, and in 1657 was admitted a student of Christ Church, Oxford, in company with Locke, and under the care of Dr. John Smith, regius professor of Greek, who was his relation. A juvenile poetical performance of some merit, entitled *Musica Incantans*, was published by him in 1655; and in the previous year his name had appeared to a copy of Latin verses, in the collection addressed by the university to Cromwell, on the conclusion of the peace with Holland. His contempt for the fanatical opinions of the party who now presided over the national affairs, he nevertheless took no pains to conceal. Owen, whom the government had obtruded upon the college as dean, discovered that the intractable Master of Arts (South had taken that degree in the year 1657) made use of the proscribed Common Prayer Book; and when reproved by the learned Independent for this serious breach of the Cromwellian discipline, his bold and caustic answers plainly betrayed the same spirit that afterwards dictated those fierce attacks, and fearless exposures, which abound in his sermons.

South was privately ordained in 1658, by one of the deprived bishops; immediately after which, he began to make himself remarked for his courage and ability in the pulpit.

At the restoration of Charles II., the floodgates of his peculiar eloquence were thrown open without reserve. He was chosen in August 1660 to the office of public orator in his university; and presently after preached before the king's commissioners a sermon, in which, amid the triumph of a liberated church and a rejoicing people, he launched some of his wittiest and most searching invectives against the discomfited ranks of sectarianism.

Before so vigorous, earnest, and (it is no more than justice to add) conscientious a supporter of the restored constitution in Church and State, the road to preferment was of course readily cleared. Clarendon appointed him, without delay, his domestic chaplain: on the disgrace of that minister, he was nominated to the same office in the family of the Duke of York; the King, in the meantime, placing him on the list of royal chaplains, and otherwise testifying satisfaction with those exhibitions of strenuous loyalty in his discourses, which, distinguished as they were by unrivalled ability, delighted the courtly audience. He obtained a prebend of Westminster in 1663; and, in 1670, was installed canon of Christ Church. Several proposals of far higher advancement were made him during the lifetime of Charles, but he declined them; and the same disinterested course he continued in the following reign, when offered an archbishopric in Ireland.

A principal incident in the life of this lively scholar and industrious divine, was his journey to and residence in Poland, whither, in the year 1676, he accompanied, in the quality of chaplain, Lawrence Hyde, son of Lord Chancellor Clarendon, who was sent out as ambassador extraordinary to congratulate John Sobieski on his election to the Polish crown. In the Life of South, is printed a long and entertaining letter, written by him while in Poland, to Pococke, the great orientalist, containing a complete account of the country and its inhabitants.

On returning home, after an absence of about two years, he was presented by the dean and chapter of Westminster to the pleasant rectory of Islip, near Oxford. He now divided his time between his living, the neighbouring university, and the village of Caversham, near Reading, where he possessed a family estate, and where he is said to have prepared for the press the greater number of his powerful sermons. To Islip he became a considerable benefactor, by rebuilding the parsonage-house and a part of its ancient church.

In common with all loyal and patriotic Englishmen, but especially the members of the clerical profession, South was at this time torn by profound anxiety at the prospect presented by the Established Church, and at the posture of the national affairs in general. Though rude and violent in controversy, he was yet sincerely and humbly pious; and, while the issue of events was in suspense, passed much of his time in acts of devotion, with a view to avert the evils of a return to popery and arbitrary government, which appeared to be impending [1]. Nevertheless, when urged to sign the invitation to the Prince of Orange, he refused; alleging that prayers and tears were the only means it became him to employ against his sovereign. And although he acknowledged the legality of the succession, as determined by necessity, when James had withdrawn, and took the oaths to the new King and Queen, yet he again refused the mitre on its being proposed to him to succeed one of the deprived bishops.

No sooner had the occurrence of the Revolution withdrawn the public attention from the dangers of popery, than socinianism, encouraged by the Act of Toleration, and the general license of the times, began to thrust forward its pretensions with unprecedented boldness. It was at this time that South became engaged in the violent controversy with Dr. Sherlock, dean of St. Paul's, to which allusion was made in the notice of Bishop Bull [2]. Sherlock's *Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity* appeared in 1690. This work was answered by South, in a volume in 4to, entitled *Animadversions* on it, published in 1693; a production of great ability, but deformed, in the view of calmer judgments, by a more than commensurate infusion of asperity and contemptuousness. In 1694, Sherlock replied in a *Defence* of his notion of the Trinity. This work also South answered, in the following year, in *Tritheism charged upon Dr. Sherlock's new Notion of the Trinity;* again, as in the former volume, asserting, with a warmth of zeal for

---

[1] It is stated, in his Life, that he was originally chosen as the colleague of Dr. Jane, to dispute before king James with the priests, Gifford and Godwin (see page 365 *et seq.*), but that the king would not consent to the nomination of South, on account of his sarcastic temper, and the bitterness of his invectives against the Roman Catholics and sectaries.

[2] The reader will have remarked, that that learned prelate endeavours to clear the dean from the charge of tritheism, on the testimony of the Fathers. See treatise *On the Catholic Doctrine of the Trinity*, p. 422.

which the epithet furious is not too strong, his own different views of that doctrine, which with justice he terms, the Church's "palladium—the prime, the grand, the distinguishing article of our Christianity; without the belief of which, a man can no more be a Christian, than he can without a rational soul be a man;" and declaring the system of Sherlock to be "paganism—the introduction of a plurality of Gods."

That this strongly attached son of the Church of England wholly disapproved of those plans, which, in his time, were successively entertained for the comprehension of dissenters, was of course to be expected: in fact, he opposed them on all occasions, with that want of moderation in the use of language which was too characteristic of his zealous mind; including, in his fearless and indiscriminate censures, all those who favoured such attempts, as, equally with the Puritans of a past age, "wolves in sheeps' clothing." He was therefore naturally displeased with the course which public opinion now took, as well as at the extreme partiality of the government in favour of the low, or liberal party in the Church; and lost no opportunity of expressing it in his own inimitable manner.

Less worthy of an enlightened mind was his jealous dislike of the new school of experimental philosophy, and its promoters. An instance is recorded by Dr. Wallis, as occurring on a very marked occasion. In a letter from Wallis to Mr. Boyle describing the ceremonies at the dedication of the theatre at Oxford, then recently erected, the writer mentions the oration delivered on the occasion by South, as university orator; and complains that "the first part of it consisted of satirical invectives against Cromwell, fanatics, the Royal Society, and the new philosophy."

Through the greater part of Queen Anne's reign, Dr. South was a severe sufferer from illness; yet he neither lost his wonted alacrity of spirit, and pleasure in the society of his friends, nor would wholly remit his habits of study. On the decease of Dr. Sprat, the historian of the Royal Society, he was once more solicited to take preferment. The bishopric of Rochester, with the deanery of Westminster, was offered him; but he again refused to quit a private station,—now, at least, on sufficient grounds; and Atterbury was, in consequence, chosen to occupy the vacant see. He expired July 8th, 1716, and was buried with great pomp in Westminster

Abbey; where his monument, in the taste of the period, stands next to that of his old master, Busby.

The mind of this remarkable divine abounded in rich attainment, as well as in quick and vigorous native ability; even its secondary qualities would have appeared, in an inferior writer, to belong to the first rank, though in him frequently unobserved amid the brilliancy of the most prominent. Thus, we quote him for the irrepressible exuberance of his sarcastic wit, to the neglect of his high strains of masculine eloquence; and in enjoying the racy expressiveness of his English style, are prone to overlook the aptitude of his arguments and the strictness of his reasoning. As a preacher, he could scarcely fail to be popular before any auditory. In the university he secured respect by his erudition; at court, admiration by his wit[1]; in both places a delighted attention by his inimitable "gibing at rebels and fanatics;" while to the mixed congregation of an ordinary parish-church, his sterling sense, his homely phraseology, (which rejected no word, however trite, or however new, provided it were expressive,) together with his familiar and masterly expositions of scripture, must have appeared to stamp the learned orator as formed peculiarly to officiate in that humble sphere. Upon the whole, though not to be cited among those illustrious divines, whose personal amiability and Christian meekness equalled their great intellectual powers and prodigious erudition; the subject of this imperfect notice has left a name and works, which entitle him to be styled *ultimus Romanorum*—the last great theological writer of that wonderful century, the close of which he survived.

We subjoin in this place two paragraphs, illustrative of his various talent for the pulpit: the first, a well-known example of his invectives against the fanatics of the republican period; the second, one which (though perhaps the same may be said of many others) seems to us inconsistent with the assertion that "his sermons want all that is called unction."

"In the fourth and last place, this emanation of gifts from the Spirit assures us that knowledge and learning are by no means opposite to grace; since we see gifts as well as graces conferred by the same

[1] In delivering his sermons, he is said to have prepared for the effect of the more remarkable passages, "working up his body when he came to a piece of wit, or any notable saying."

Spirit. But amongst those of the late *reforming* age, (whom we have been speaking of), all learning was utterly cried down. So that with them the best preachers were such as could not read, and the ablest divines such as could not write. In all their preachments they so highly pretended to the Spirit, that they could hardly so much as spell the letter. To be blind was, with them, the proper qualification of a spiritual guide; and to be book-learned, as they called it, and to be irreligious, were almost terms convertible. None were thought fit for the ministry but tradesmen and mechanics, because none else were allowed to have the Spirit. Those only were accounted like St. Paul who could *work with their hands*, and in a literal sense *drive the nail home*, and be able to make a pulpit before they preached in it."—*Sermon on* 1 Cor. xii. 4.

"At this disconsolate time, when the busy tempter shall be more than usually apt to vex and trouble him, and the pains of a dying body to hinder and discompose him, and the settlement of worldly affairs to disturb and confound him, and, in a word, all things conspire to make his sick bed grievous and uneasy; nothing can then stand up against all these ruins, and speak life in the midst of death, but a clear conscience. And the testimony of that shall make the comforts of heaven descend upon his weary head, like a refreshing dew, or shower, upon a parched ground. It shall give him some lively earnests, and secret anticipations of his approaching joy. It shall bid his soul go out of the body undauntedly, and lift up its head with confidence before saints and angels. Surely the comfort which it conveys at this season is something bigger than the capacities of mortality; mighty, and unspeakable; and not to be understood till it comes to be felt.

"And now, who would not quit all the pleasures, and trash, and trifles which are apt to captivate the heart of man, and preserve the greatest rigours of piety and austerities of a good life, to purchase to himself such a conscience, as, at the hour of death, when all the friendships of the world shall bid him adieu, and the whole creation turn its back upon him, shall dismiss his soul and close his eyes with that blessed sentence: 'Well done, thou good and faithful servant; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord!' For he, whose conscience enables him to look God in the face with confidence here, shall be sure to see his face also with comfort hereafter."—*Sermon on* 1 John iii. 21.

Works of Dr. South:—

***Musica Incantans, sive Poema exprimens Musicæ Vires, juvenem in insaniam adigentis, et musici inde periculum.* 1655.**

Animadversions upon Dr. Sherlock's book, entitled, "A Vindication of the Holy and ever-blessed Trinity," &c. 1693.

Tritheism charged upon Dr. Sherlock's new Notion of the Trinity, in Defence of the Animadversions, &c. 1695.

Of his *Sermons*, by which alone he is now generally remembered, the greater number were committed to the press by himself in unequal portions, and collected into six volumes in 8vo, each volume containing twelve discourses. In 1617, the year after his decease, a seventh volume, entitled *Posthumous Works*, was published by Edmund Curll, comprising three sermons not before printed, with the life of the author, his last will and testament, &c.

Five additional volumes made their appearance in 1744, said to have been edited by Dr. William King, principal of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford. The contents of this last series do not appear to have been prepared, or even intended, for the press by the author; and are very carelessly and inaccurately printed. A new and complete edition was issued from the Clarendon Press, in the year 1823, in seven volumes 8vo, in which the more obvious errors in the last five volumes have been amended.

The author's portrait, prefixed to the posthumous volume published by Curll, and to some editions of the sermons, strongly expresses a fearless disposition, and masculine intellect, with little mildness or suavity of temper.

ON BREVITY OF EXPRESSION IN PRAYER.

To be able to express our minds briefly, and fully too, is absolutely the greatest perfection and commendation that speech is capable of; such a mutual communication of our thoughts, being (as I may so speak) the next approach to intuition; and the nearest imitation of the converse of blessed spirits made perfect, that our condition in this world can possibly raise us to. Certainly the greatest and the wisest conceptions, that ever issued from the mind of man, have been couched under, and delivered in a few, close, home, and significant words.

But to derive the credit of this way of speaking much higher, and from an example infinitely greater than the greatest human wisdom, was it not authorised, and ennobled by God himself in his making of the world? Was not the work of all the six days transacted in so many words? There was no circumlocution, or amplification, in

the case; which makes the rhetorician Longinus, in his book of the loftiness of speech, so much admire the height and grandeur of Moses's style in his first chapter of Genesis: Ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων θεσμοθέτες, οὐχ ὁ τυχὼν ἀνήρ, "The lawgiver of the Jews" (says he, meaning Moses) "was no ordinary man;" ἐπειδὴ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ δύναμιν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐγνώρισε καξέφηνεν, "because," says he, "he set forth the Divine power suitably to the majesty and greatness of it." But how did he this? Why, εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ εἰσβολῇ γράψας τῶν νόμων, εἶπεν ὁ Θεὸς φησὶ, τί; γενέσθω φῶς καὶ ἐγένετο, γενέσθω γῆ καὶ ἐγένετο, &c. "For that," says he, "in the very entrance of his laws he gives us this short and present account of the whole creation: God said, 'Let there be light, and there was light; let there be an earth, a sea, and a firmament, and there was so.'" So that all this high eulogy and encomium, given by this heathen of Moses, sprang only from the majestic brevity of this one expression; an expression so suited to the greatness of a Creator, and so expressive of his boundless, creative power, as a power infinitely above all control, or possibility of finding the least obstacle or delay in achieving its mightiest and most stupendous works. Heaven, and earth, and all the host of both (as it were) dropt from his mouth; and nature itself was but the product of a word; a word not designed to express, but to constitute and give a being; and not so much the representation, as the cause of what it signified.

This was God's way of speaking in his first forming of the universe. And was it not so in the next grand instance of his power, his governing of it too? For are not the great instruments of government, his laws, drawn up and digested into a few sentences? the whole body of them containing but ten commandments, and some of those commandments not so many words? Nay, and have we not these also brought into yet a narrower compass by him who best understood them? "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and thy neighbour as thyself." Precepts nothing like the tedious, endless, confused trash of human laws; laws so numerous, that they not only exceed men's practice, but also surpass their arithmetic; and so voluminous, that no mortal head, nor shoulders neither, must ever pretend themselves able to bear them. In God's laws the words are few, the sense vast and infinite. In human laws you shall be sure to have words enough, but, for the most part, to discern the sense and reason of them you had need read them with a microscope.

And thus having shewn how the Almighty utters himself when he speaks, and that upon the greatest occasions, let us now descend from heaven to earth, from God to man, and shew that it is no presumption for us to conform our words, as well as our actions, to the Supreme pattern, and, according to our poor measures, to imitate the wisdom

that we adore. And for this, has it not been noted by the best observers, and the ablest judges, both of things and persons, that the wisdom of any people or nation has been most seen in the proverbs and short sayings commonly received amongst them? And what is a proverb but the experience and observation of several ages, gathered and summed up into one expression? The scripture vouches Solomon for the wisest of men, and they are his proverbs that prove him so. The seven wise men of Greece, so famous for their wisdom all the world over, acquired all that fame, each of them, by a single sentence, consisting of two or three words. And γνῶθι σεαυτὸν still lives and flourishes in the mouths of all, while many vast volumes are extinct, and sunk into dust and utter oblivion. And then, for books; we shall generally find, that the most excellent, in any art or science, have been still the smallest and most compendious: and this not without ground; for it is an argument that the author was a master of what he wrote, and had a clear notion, and a full comprehension of the subject before him. For the reason of things lies in a little compass, if the mind could at any time be so happy as to light upon it. Most of the writings and discourses in the world are but illustration and rhetoric, which signifies as much as nothing to a mind eager in pursuit after the causes and philosophical truth of things. It is the work of fancy to enlarge, but of judgment to shorten and contract; and therefore this must needs be as far above the other, as judgment is a greater and a nobler faculty than fancy or imagination. All philosophy is reduced to a few principles, and those principles comprised in a few propositions. And as the whole structure of speculation rests upon three or four axioms or maxims; so that of practice also bears upon a very small number of rules. And surely there was never yet any rule or maxim that filled a volume, or took up a week's time to be got by heart. No; these are the *apices rerum*, the tops and sums, the very spirit and life of things extracted and abridged; just as all the lines drawn from the vastest circumference do at length meet and unite in the smallest of things, a point; and it is but a very little piece of wood with which a true artist will measure all the timber in the world. The truth is, there could be no such thing as art or science, could not the mind of man gather the general natures of things out of the numberless heap of particulars, and then bind them up into such short aphorisms or propositions, that so they may be made portable to the memory, and thereby become ready and at hand, for the judgment to apply, and make use of, as there shall be occasion.

In fine, brevity and succinctness of speech is that which in philosophy or speculation we call maxim, and first principle; in the counsels and resolves of practical wisdom, and the deep mysteries of

religion, oracle; and lastly, in matters of wit, and the finenesses of imagination, epigram. All of them severally, and in their kinds, the greatest and the noblest things that the mind of man can shew the force and dexterity of its faculties in.

And now, if this be the highest excellency and perfection of speech in all other things, can we assign any true, solid reason why it should not be so likewise in prayer? Nay, is there not rather the clearest reason imaginable why it should be much more so? Since most of the fore-mentioned things are but addresses to a human understanding, which may need as many words as may fill a volume to make it understand the truth of one line; whereas prayer is an address to that Eternal Mind, which (as we have shewn before) such as rationally invocate pretend not to inform. Nevertheless, since the nature of man is such, that while we are yet in the body our reverence and worship of God must of necessity proceed in some analogy to the reverence that we shew to the grandees of this world, we will here see what the judgment of all wise men is concerning fewness of words, when we appear as suppliants before our earthly superiors; and we shall find that they generally allow it to import these three things. 1. Modesty; 2. Discretion; and 3. Height of respect to the person addressed to. And first, for modesty. Modesty is a kind of shame, or bashfulness, proceeding from the sense a man has of his own defects, compared with the perfections of him whom he comes before. And that which is modesty towards men, is worship and devotion towards God. It is a virtue that makes a man unwilling to be seen, and fearful to be heard; and yet for that very cause never fails to make him both seen with favour, and heard with attention. It loves not many words, nor indeed needs them. For modesty addressing to any one of a generous worth and honour, is sure to have that man's honour for its advocate, and his generosity for its intercessor. And how then is it possible for such a virtue to run out into words! Loquacity storms the ears, but modesty takes the heart; that is troublesome, this gentle, but irresistible. Much speaking is always the effect of confidence; and confidence still pre-supposes, and springs from the persuasion that a man has of his own worth: both of them, certainly, very unfit qualifications for a petitioner.

2dly. The second thing that naturally shews itself in paucity of words, is discretion; and particularly, that prime and eminent part of it that consists in a care of offending; which Solomon assures us that in much speaking it is hardly possible for us to avoid (Prov. x. 19): "In the multitude of words," says he, "there wanteth not sin;" it requiring no ordinary skill for a man to make his tongue run by rule, and at the same time to give it both its lesson and its liberty too. For

seldom or never is there much spoke, but something or other had better been not spoke; there being nothing that the mind of man is so apt to kindle, and take distaste at, as at words: and therefore, whensoever any one comes to prefer a suit to another, no doubt, the fewer of them the better; since, where so very little is said, it is sure to be either candidly accepted, or, which is next, easily excused: but, at the same time to petition, and to provoke too, is certainly very preposterous.

3dly. The third thing that brevity of speech commends itself by, in all petitionary addresses, is a peculiar respect to the person addressed to: for whosoever petitions his superior in such a manner, does, by his very so doing, confess him better able to understand than he himself can be to express his own case. He owns him, as a patron, of a preventing judgment and goodness, and, upon that account, able, not only to answer, but also to anticipate his requests. For, according to the most natural interpretation of things, this is to ascribe to him a sagacity so quick and piercing, that it were presumption to inform, and a benignity so great, that it were needless to importune him. And can there be a greater, and more winning deference to a superior, than to treat him under such a character? Or, can any thing be imagined so naturally fit and efficacious, both to enforce the petition, and to endear the petitioner? A short petition to a great man is not only a suit to him for his favour, but also a panegyric upon his parts.

And thus I have given you the three commendatory qualifications of brevity of speech, in our applications to the great ones of the world. Concerning which, as I shewed before that it was impossible for us to form our addresses, even to God himself, but with some proportion and resemblance to those that we make to our fellow-mortals in a condition much above us; so it is certain, that whatsoever the general judgment and consent of mankind allows to be expressive and declarative of our honour to those, must (only with due allowance of the difference of the object) as really and properly declare and signify that honour and adoration that is due from us to the great God. And consequently, what we have said for brevity of speech with respect to the former, ought equally to conclude for it with relation to him too.

But to argue more immediately and directly to the point before us. I shall now produce five arguments, enforcing brevity, and cashiering all prolixity of speech, with peculiar reference to our addresses to God.

1. And the first argument shall be taken from this consideration: That there is no reason allegeable for the use of length, or prolixity of speech, that is at all applicable to prayer. For whosoever uses multiplicity of words, or length of discourse, must of necessity do it for one of these three purposes; either to inform, or persuade, or,

lastly, to weary and overcome the person whom he directs his discourse to. But the very first foundation, of what I had to say upon this subject, was laid by me, in demonstrating that prayer could not possibly prevail with God any of these three ways. Forasmuch as being omniscient, he could not be informed; and being void of passion or affections, he could not be persuaded; and, lastly, being omnipotent, and infinitely great, he could not, by any importunity, be wearied or overcome. And if so, what use can there be of rhetoric, harangue, or multitude of words in prayer? For, if they should be designed for information, must it not be infinitely sottish and unreasonable to go about to inform him who can be ignorant of nothing? or to persuade him, whose unchangeable nature makes it impossible for him to be moved or wrought upon? Or, lastly, by long and much speaking, to think to weary him out, whose infinite power all the strength of men and angels, and the whole world put together, is not able to encounter, or stand before? So that the truth is, by loquacity and prolixity of prayer, a man does really and indeed (whether he thinks so or no) rob God of the honour of those three great attributes, and neither treats him as a person omniscient, or unchangeable, or omnipotent. For, on the other side, all the usefulness of long speech, in human converse, is founded only upon the defects and imperfections of human nature. For he whose knowledge is at best but limited, and whose intellect, both in apprehending and judging, proceeds by a small diminutive light, cannot but receive an additional light by the conceptions of another man, clearly and plainly expressed, and by such expression conveyed to his apprehension. And he again, whose nature subjects him to want and weakness, and consequently to hopes and fears, cannot but be moved this way, or that way, according as objects suitable to those passions shall be dexterously represented, and set before his imagination, by the arts of speaking; which is that that we call persuasion. And, lastly, he whose soul and body receive their activity from, and perform all their functions by, the mediation of the spirits, which ebb and flow, consume, and are renewed again, cannot but find himself very uneasy upon any tedious, verbose application made to him; and that sometimes to such a degree, that through mere fatigue, and even against judgment and interest both, a man shall surrender himself as a conquered person, to the overbearing vehemence of such solicitations: for when they ply him so fast, and pour in upon him so thick, they cannot but wear and waste the spirits, as unequal to so pertinacious a charge; and this is properly to weary a man. But now all weariness, we know, pre-supposes weakness; and consequently, every long, importune, wearisome petition, is truly and properly a force upon him that is pursued with it—it is a

following blow after blow upon the mind and affections, and may, for the time, pass for a real, though short, persecution.

This is the state and condition of human nature; and prolixity, or importunity of speech, is still the great engine to attack it by, either in its blind or weak side. And I think I may venture to affirm, that it is seldom that any man is prevailed upon by words, but upon a true and philosophical estimate of the whole matter, he is either deceived, or wearied, before he is so, and parts with the thing desired of him upon the very same terms that either a child parts with a jewel for an apple, or a man parts with his sword when it is forcibly wrested or taken from him; and that he who obtains what he has been rhetorically or importunately begging for, goes away really a conqueror, and triumphantly carrying off the spoils of his neighbour's understanding, or his will; baffling the former, or wearying the latter, into a grant of his restless petitions.

And now, if this be the case when any one comes with a tedious, long-winded harangue to God, may not God properly answer him with those words, in Ps. l. 21: "Surely thou thinkest I am altogether such an one as thyself?" And perhaps, upon a due and rational examination of all the follies and indecencies, that men are apt to be guilty of in prayer, they will be all found resolvable into this one thing, as the true and sole cause of them; namely, that men, when they pray, take God to be such an one as themselves, and so treat him accordingly. The malignity and mischief of which gross mistake may reach farther than possibly at first they can well be aware of. For if it be idolatry to pray to God the Father, represented under the shape of a man, can it be at all better to pray to him as represented under the weakness of a man? Nay, if the misrepresentation of the object makes the idolatry, certainly by how much the worse and more scandalous the misrepresentation is, by so much the grosser and more intolerable must be the idolatry. To confirm which we may add this consideration, that Christ himself, even now in his glorified estate in heaven, wears the body, and consequently the shape of a man, though he is far from any of his infirmities or imperfections; and therefore, no doubt, to represent God to ourselves under these latter, must needs be more absurd and irreligious than to represent him under the former.

But to one particular of the preceding discourse some may reply and object, that if God's omniscience, by rendering it impossible for him to be informed, be a sufficient reason against prolixity or length of prayer, it will follow that it is equally a reason against the using any words at all in prayer; since the proper use of words is to inform the person whom we speak to, and consequently, where information is impossible, words must needs be useless and superfluous.

To which I answer: first by concession, that if the sole use of words or speech were to inform the person whom we speak to, the consequence would be firm and good, and equally conclude against the use of any words at all in prayer. But therefore, in the second place, I deny information to be the sole and adequate use of words, or speech, or indeed any use of them at all, when either the person spoken to needs not to be informed, and withal is known not to need it, as sometimes it falls out with men, or when he is incapable of being informed, as it is always with God. But the proper use of words, whensoever we speak to God in prayer, is thereby to pay him honour and obedience. God having, by an express precept, enjoined us the use of words in prayer, commanding us in Ps. l. 15, and many other Scriptures, to call upon him; and in Luke xi. 21, "when we pray, to say, Our Father, &c." But no where has he commanded us to do this with prolixity, or multiplicity of words. And though it must be confessed that we may sometimes answer this command of calling upon God, and saying, Our Father, &c. by mental or inward prayer; yet since these words, in their first and most proper signification, import a vocal address, there is no doubt but the direct design of the command is to enjoin this also, wheresoever there is ability and power to perform it. So that we see here the necessity of vocal prayer, founded upon the authority of a divine precept; whereas for long, prolix prayer, no such precept can be produced; and consequently, the Divine Omniscience may be a sufficient reason against multiplicity of words in prayer, and yet conclude nothing simply or absolutely against the bare use of them. Nevertheless, that we may not seem to allege bare command, unseconded by reason, (which yet, in the Divine commands, it is impossible to do,) there is this great reason for, and use of, words in prayer, without the least pretence of informing the person whom we pray to; and that is, to acknowledge and own those wants before God that we supplicate for a relief of. It being very proper and rational to own and acknowledge a thing even to him who knew it before: forasmuch as this is so far from offering to communicate, or make known to him the thing so acknowledged, that it rather presupposes in him an antecedent knowledge of it, and comes in only as a subsequent assent and subscription to the reality and truth of such a knowledge. For to acknowledge a thing, in the first sense of the word, does by no means signify a design of notifying that thing to another, but is truly and properly a man's passing sentence upon himself and his own condition; there being no reason in the world for a man to expect that God should relieve and supply those wants that he himself will not own, nor take notice of, any more than for a man to hope for a pardon of those sins that he cannot find in his heart to

confess. And yet (I suppose) no man in his right senses does, or can imagine, that God is informed or brought to the knowledge of those sins by any such confession.

And so much for the clearing of this objection, and, in the whole, for the first argument produced by us for brevity, and against prolixity of prayer, namely, that all the reasons that can be assigned for prolixity of speech in our converse with men cease, and become no reasons for it at all, when we are to speak or pray to God.

2dly. The second argument for paucity of words in prayer shall be taken from the paucity of those things that are necessary to be prayed for. And surely, where few things are necessary, few words should be sufficient. For where the matter is not commensurate to the words, all speaking is but tautology; that being truly and really tautology where the same thing is repeated, though under never so much variety of expression; as it is but the same man still, though he appears every day, or every hour, in a new and different suit of clothes.

The adequate subject of our prayers (I shewed at first) comprehends in it things of necessity, and things of charity. As to the first of which, I know nothing absolutely necessary, but grace here, and glory hereafter. And for the other, we know what the apostle says, (1 Tim. vi. 8,) "Having food and raiment, let us be therewith content." Nature is satisfied with a little, and grace with less. And now, if the matter of our prayers lies within so narrow a compass, why should the dress and outside of them spread and diffuse itself into so wide and disproportioned a largeness? by reason of which our words will be forced to hang loose and light, without any matter to support them; much after the same rate that it is said to be in transubstantiation, where accidents are left in the lurch by their proper subject, that gives them the slip, and so leaves those poor slender beings to uphold and shift for themselves.

In brevity of speech a man does not so much speak words as things; things in their precise and naked truth, and stripped of their rhetorical mask, and their fallacious gloss: and therefore, in Athens, they circumscribed the pleadings of their orators by a strict law, cutting off prologues and epilogues, and commanding them to an immediate representation of the case, by an impartial and succinct declaration of mere matter of fact. And this was, indeed, to speak things fit for a judge to hear, because it argued the pleader also a judge of what was fit for him to speak.

And now, why should not this be both decency and devotion too, when we come to plead for our poor souls before the great tribunal of heaven? It was the saying of Solomon, "A word to the wise;" and if so, certainly there can be no necessity of many words to him who is

wisdom itself. For, can any man think that God delights to hear him make speeches, and to shew his parts (as the word is), or to jumble a multitude of misapplied scripture sentences together, interlarded with frequent nauseous repetition of "Ah, Lord!" which some call exercising their gifts, but with a greater exercise of their hearers' patience? Nay, does not he present his Maker, not only with a more decent, but also a more free and liberal oblation, who tenders him much in a little, and brings him his whole heart and soul wrapt up in three or four words, than he who with full mouth, and loud lungs, sends up whole volleys of articulate breath to the throne of grace? for neither in the esteem of God, or man, ought multitude of words to pass for any more. In the present case, no doubt, God accounts and accepts of the former, as infinitely a more valuable offering than the latter: as that subject pays his prince a much nobler and more acceptable tribute who tenders him a purse of gold, than he who brings him a whole cartload of farthings; in which there is weight without worth, and number without account.

3dly. The third argument for brevity, or contractedness of speech in prayer, shall be taken from the very nature and condition of the person who prays; which makes it impossible for him to keep up the same fervour and attention in a long prayer that he may in a short. For as I first observed that the mind of man cannot with the same force and vigour attend two several objects at the same time, so neither can it with the same force and earnestness exert itself upon one and the same object for any long time; great intention of mind spending the spirits too fast to continue its first freshness and agility long. For while the soul is a retainer to the elements, and a sojourner in the body, it must be content to submit its own quickness and spirituality to the dulness of its vehicle, and to comply with the pace of its inferior companion.

But now, when prayer has lost its due fervour and attention, (which indeed are the very vitals of it,) it is but the carcase of a prayer, and consequently, must needs be loathsome and offensive to God: nay, though the greatest part of it should be enlivened, and carried on with an actual attention, yet if that attention fails to enliven any one part of it, the whole is but a joining of the living and the dead together; for which conjunction the dead is not at all the better, but the living very much the worse. It is not length, nor copiousness of language, that is devotion, any more than bulk and bigness is valour, or flesh the measure of the spirit. A short sentence may be oftentimes a large and a mighty prayer; devotion so managed being like water in a well, where you have fulness in a little compass! which surely is much nobler than the same carried out into many petty, creeping

rivulets, with length and shallowness together. Let him who prays bestow all that strength, fervour, and attention, upon shortness and significance, that would otherwise run out and lose itself in length and luxuriancy of speech to no purpose. Let not his tongue outstrip his heart, nor presume to carry a message to the throne of grace while that stays behind. Let him not think to support so hard and weighty a duty with a tired, languishing, and bejaded devotion; to avoid which, let a man contract his expression where he cannot enlarge his affection; still remembering, that nothing can be more absurd in itself, nor more unacceptable to God, than for one engaged in the great work of prayer to hold on speaking after he has left off praying, and to keep the lips at work when the spirit can do no more.

4thly. The fourth argument for shortness, or conciseness of speech in prayer, shall be drawn from this; that it is the most natural and lively way of expressing the utmost agonies and outcries of the soul to God upon a quick, pungent sense, either of a pressing necessity, or an approaching calamity; which, we know, are generally the chief occasions of prayer, and the most effectual motives to bring men upon their knees, in a vigorous application of themselves to this great duty. A person ready to sink under his wants has neither time nor heart to rhetoricate or make flourishes. No man begins a long grace when he is ready to starve: such an one's prayers are like the relief he needs, quick and sudden, short and immediate: he is like a man in torture upon the rack, whose pains are too acute to let his words be many, and whose desires of deliverance too impatient to delay the thing he begs for by the manner of his begging it.

It is a common saying, If a man does not know how to pray, let him go to sea, and that will teach him. And we have a notable instance of what kind of prayers men are taught in that school, even in the disciples themselves, when a storm arose, and the sea raged, and the ship was ready to be cast away, in the 8th of Matthew. In which case, we do not find that they fell presently to harangue it about seas and winds, and that dismal face of things, that must needs appear all over the devouring element at such a time; all which, and the like, might no doubt have been very plentiful topics of eloquence to a man who should have looked upon these things from the shore, or discoursed of wrecks and tempests safe and warm in his parlour. But these poor wretches, who were now entering (as they thought) into the very jaws of death, and struggling with the last efforts of nature, upon the sense of a departing life, and consequently could neither speak nor think anything low or ordinary in such a condition, presently rallied up, and discharged the whole concern of their desponding souls, in that short prayer of but three words, though much fuller, and

more forcible, than one of three thousand, in the 25th verse of the forementioned chapter, "Save us, Lord, or we perish." Death makes short work when it comes, and will teach him who would prevent it to make shorter. For surely no man who thinks himself just a perishing can be at leisure to be eloquent, or judge it either sense or devotion to begin a long prayer, when, in all likelihood, he shall conclude his life before it.

5thly. The fifth and last argument that I shall produce for brevity of speech, or fewness of words in prayer, shall be taken from the examples which we find in Scripture, of such as have been remarkable for brevity, and of such as have been noted for prolixity of speech, in the discharge of this duty.

1. And first for brevity. To omit all those notable examples which the Old Testament affords us of it, and to confine ourselves only to the New, in which we are undoubtedly most concerned; was not this way of praying not only warranted, but sanctified, and set above all that the will of man could possibly except against it, by that infinitely exact form of prayer, prescribed by the greatest, the holiest, and the wisest man that ever lived, even Christ himself, the Son of God, and Saviour of the world? was it not an instance both of the truest devotion, and the fullest and most comprehensive reason, that ever proceeded from the mouth of man? and yet withal the shortest and most succinct model that ever grasped all the needs and occasions of mankind, both spiritual and temporal, into so small a compass? Doubtless, had our Saviour thought fit to amplify, or be prolix, He, in whom were hid all the treasures of wisdom, could not want matter, nor He, who was himself *the Word*, want variety of the fittest to have expressed his mind by. But he chose rather to contract the whole concern of both worlds into a few lines, and to unite both heaven and earth in his prayer, as he had done before in his person. And, indeed, one was a kind of copy or representation of the other.

So then we see here brevity in the rule or pattern; let us see it next in the practice, and after that, in the success of prayer. And first, we have the practice, as well as the pattern of it, in our Saviour himself, and that, in the most signal passage of his whole life, even his preparation for his approaching death. In which dolorous scene, when his whole soul was nothing but sorrow, (that great moving spring of invention and execution,) and when nature was put to its last and utmost stretch, and so had no refuge or relief but in prayer, yet even then, all this horror, agony, and distress of spirit, delivers itself but in two very short sentences (Matth. xxvi. 32): "O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me; nevertheless, not as I will, but as

thou wilt." And again, the second time, with the like brevity, and the like words: "O my Father, if this cup may not pass from me, except I drink it, thy will be done." And lastly, the third time also, he used the same short form again; and yet in all this he was (as we may say without a metaphor) even praying for life, so far as the great business he was then about, to wit, the redemption of the world, would suffer him to pray for it. All which prayers of our Saviour, and others of like brevity, are properly such as we call ejaculations; an elegant similitude from a dart, or arrow, shot or thrown out; and such an one (we know) of a yard long will fly farther, and strike deeper, than one of twenty.

And then, in the last place, for the success of such brief prayers, I shall give you but three instances of this, but they shall be of persons praying under the pressure of as great miseries as human nature could well be afflicted with. And the first shall be of the leper, (Matt. viii. 2,) or, as St. Luke describes him, "a man full of leprosy, who came to our Saviour, and worshipped him;" and, as St. Luke again has it more particularly, "fell on his face before him," (which is the lowest and most devout of all postures of worship,) "saying, Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean." This was all his prayer; and the answer to it was, that he was immediately cleansed. The next instance shall be of the poor blind man (Luke xviii. 28), following our Saviour with this earnest prayer: "Jesus, thou Son of David, have mercy upon me." His whole prayer was no more; for it is said in the next verse, that he went on, repeating it again and again: "Jesus, thou Son of David, have mercy upon me." And the answer he received was, that his eyes were opened, and his sight restored.

The third and last instance shall be of the publican, in the same chapter of St. Luke, praying under a lively sense of as great a leprosy and blindness of soul, as the other two could have of body: in the 13th verse, "He smote upon his breast, saying, God be merciful to me a sinner." He spoke no more, though it is said in the 10th verse, that he went solemnly and purposely up to the temple to pray: the issue and success of which prayer was, that he went home justified before one of those whom all the Jewish church revered as absolutely the highest and most heroic examples of piety, and most beloved favourites of heaven in the whole world. And now, if the source and virtue of these short prayers could rise so high as to cleanse a leper, to give sight to the blind, and to justify a publican, and if the worth of a prayer may at all be measured by the success of it, I suppose no prayers whatsoever can do more, and I never yet heard or read of any long prayer that did so much. Which brings on the other part

of this our fifth and last argument, which was to be drawn from the examples of such as have been noted in Scripture for prolixity or length of prayer. And of this, there are only two mentioned, the heathens and the Pharisees. The first, the grand instance of idolatry; the other, of hypocrisy; but Christ forbids us the imitation of both: "When ye pray," says our Saviour in the 6th of Matthew, "be ye not like the heathens:" but in what? why, in this, "that they think they shall be heard for their much speaking," in the 7th verse. It is not the multitude that prevails in armies, and much less in words. And then for the Pharisees, whom our Saviour represents as the very vilest of men, and the greatest of cheats. We have them amusing the world with pretences of a more refined devotion, while their heart was all that time in their neighbour's coffers. For, does not our Saviour expressly tell us, in Luke xx., and the two last verses, that the great tools, the hooks or engines, by which they compassed their worst, their wickedest and most rapacious designs, were long prayers! prayers made only for a shew or colour, and that to the basest and most degenerous sort of villany, even the robbing the spital, and devouring the houses of poor, helpless, forlorn widows. Their devotion served all along but as an instrument to their avarice, as a factor or under-agent to their extortion; a practice which duly seen into, and stripped of its hypocritical blinds, could not but look very odiously and ill-favouredly; and therefore, in come their long robes, and their long prayers together, and cover all. And the truth is, neither the length of one, nor of the other, is ever found so useful, as when there is something more than ordinary that would not be seen. This was the gainful godliness of the Pharisees; and I believe, upon good observation, you will hardly find any like the Pharisees for their long prayers, who are not also extremely like them for something else. And thus having given you five arguments for brevity, and against prolixity of prayer, let us now make this our other great rule whereby to judge of the prayers of our Church, and the prayers of those who dissent and divide from it. And,

First, for that excellent body of prayers contained in our Liturgy, and both compiled and enjoined by public authority. Have we not here a great instance of brevity and fulness together, cast into several short significant collects, each containing a distinct, entire, and well-managed petition? the whole set of them being like a string of pearls, exceeding rich in conjunction, and therefore of no small price, or value, even single, and by themselves. Nothing could have been composed with greater judgment; every prayer being so short, that it is impossible it should weary, and withal so pertinent, that it is impossible it should cloy the devotion. And indeed, so admirably fitted

are they all to the common concerns of a Christian society, that when the rubrick enjoins but the use of some of them, our worship is not imperfect, and when we use them all, there is none of them superfluous.

And the reason assigned by some learned men for the preference of many short prayers before a continued long one, is unanswerable; namely, that by the former there is a more frequently repeated mention made of the name, and some great attribute of God, as the encouraging ground of our praying to him, and withal of the merits and mediation of Christ, as the only thing that can promise us success in what we pray for; every distinct petition beginning with the former, and ending with the latter; by thus annexing of which to each particular thing that we ask for, we do manifestly confess and declare that we cannot expect to obtain any one thing at the hands of God, but with a particular renewed respect to the merits of a Mediator, and withal remind the congregation of the same, by making it their part to renew a distinct *Amen* to every distinct petition.

Add to this, the excellent contrivance of a great part of our Liturgy, into alternate responses, by which means the people are put to bear a considerable share in the whole service; which makes it almost impossible for them to be only idle hearers, or, which is worse, mere lookers on, as they are very often, and may be always (if they can but keep their eyes open) at the long tedious prayers of the nonconformists. And this indeed is that which makes and denominates our Liturgy truly and properly a "book of common prayer." For, I think, I may truly avouch (how strange soever it may seem at first) that there is no such thing as common, or joint prayer, anywhere amongst the principal dissenters from the Church of England; for, in the Romish communion, the priest says over the appointed prayers only to himself, and the rest of the people not hearing a word of what he says, repeat also their own particular prayers to themselves, and when they have done, go their way, not all at once, as neither do they come at once, but scatteringly, one after another, according as they have finished their devotions. And then, for the nonconformists, their prayers being all extempore, it is (as we have shewn before) hardly possible for any, and utterly impossible for all, to join in them: for, surely, people cannot join in a prayer before they understand it, nor can it be imagined that all capacities should presently and immediately understand what they hear. From all which we may venture to conclude, that that excellent thing, common prayer, which is the joint address of an whole congregation, with united voice, as well as heart, sending up their devotions to Almighty God, is nowhere to be found in these

kingdoms, but in that best and nearest copy of primitive Christian worship, the Divine Service, as it is performed according to the orders of our Church.

If the directions of Solomon, the precept and example of our Saviour, and lastly, the piety and experience of those excellent men and martyrs, who first composed, and afterwards owned our Liturgy with their dearest blood, may be looked upon as safe and sufficient guides to us in our public worship of God; then, upon the joint authority of all these, we may pronounce our Liturgy the greatest treasure of rational devotion in the Christian world. And I know no prayer necessary that is not in the Liturgy, but one; which is this, That God would vouchsafe to continue the Liturgy itself in use, honour, and veneration, in this Church for ever.

HISTORICAL SKETCH:

BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

The age which succeeded the events of 1688 was little favourable either to the religious or literary character of England. The Church and Nation had been rescued from a position of extreme danger; but, as is ever the case in revolutions, even the most desirable and beneficial, this deliverance had been effected at a great cost. In the train of the friends of liberty followed also the patrons of misrule; and those privileges which had been secured by a firm and consistent assertion of principle, were enjoyed in a double proportion by unprincipled men. Some of the ablest and most consistent among the clergy were deprived of their honours and preferments; while, in yielding the great boon of toleration, the laws extended their shield over many who had passed their lives in hostility to the Church. The age of the giant champions of that institution had passed away, but not the age of its mighty though less obvious perils. While the increase of the population, the decline of public morals, and even the growth of the national prosperity, demanded the utmost exertions of the clergy, in their proper sphere, as heralds and administrators of the peculiar blessings of the Christian revelation; they not only were obliged by the prevailing infidelity to devote their time and strength to securing the extreme outworks of the faith—the bare principles of natural religion, but their efficiency for this and every other labour was grievously impaired by divisions and disputes, by worldliness and ambition, in their own body. In short, the century now opening before us presents a spectacle but little gratifying to the patriotic Christian, and the filial admirer of the Church of England. In the contest adverted to, with one of those Protean shapes which the multiform oppugnancy of Divine Truth has been successively permitted to assume, but which have providentially been ordained to be successively overcome, she indeed survived an ordeal, and repelled attacks, more formidable than are likely, in this quarter,

ever to be renewed; she still found among her sons men capable of thoroughly sifting, systematizing, and settling the evidences of religion; nevertheless this object, though of necessary utility to the Church, was a calamitous burden on the period to which it was in particular assigned.

With the exception of those eminent individuals who have been named in the preceding sketches, and of whom such as survived towards the close of the 17th century were already advanced beyond the active period of life, few members of the clerical body continued to devote themselves to the higher branches of theological learning. Of such as did, some, as Dodwell, a divine of the most respectable character for erudition, Hickes, and others of inferior stamp, belonged to the party of the nonjurors, and employed themselves in carrying to a ridiculous extreme those views of clerical prerogative which the Anglican Church has been careful to confine within moderate limits. Another (or perhaps a less inflexible division of the same) party, borne by the tide of events into a course which the Church could never allow as lawful in principle, however she connived at it as a necessary anomalous fact, took the oaths "with many reservations and distinctions," and were designated by the then opprobrious title of the High Church party. It comprised the greater number of the parochial clergy, followed, whether from habit and prejudice, or from the force of enlightened judgment, by the great mass of the people. The High Church clergy were of course, and not unjustly, objects of suspicion and dislike to the new government. Hence the vacancies, unusually numerous during the reign of William the Third, which occurred in the episcopal bench, and other places of dignity in the Church, were filled by men of latitudinarian views, some of them deficient in erudition, or even alleged to be tainted with the poison of Socinianism. Thus the necessities of the King's position coincided with his personal inclination, to pass by those men who were zealous for the Church, and to open the door of preferment to the frigid and neglectful; and thus, to all the other mischiefs of mixing worldly ambition and political strife with the interests of the sacred profession, was added that of assigning rewards to the dereliction of the highest social duties.

It was this distracted state of the Church, at the close of the 17th and commencement of the 18th centuries, with the consequent jealousy of the government, which led to the inflic-

tion of a serious blow, in the suspension of the sittings of Convocation. After the offence given by that assembly, in rejecting the proposal for the admission of nonconformists, in the year 1689, they were not permitted, during ten years, to sit for the transaction of business, but were constantly prorogued immediately after having gone through the preparatory forms. In the mean time the trinitarian (and other controversies) being carried to an indecent height, the sovereign was induced to apply to the bishops to devise some method of checking the diffusion of heretical opinions and erroneous expositions of Scripture. A fair occasion was thus presented to the friends of the Church to complain of the suppression of her synodical assemblies; for to the Convocation, and not to the prelates alone, it belonged to deal with such abuses. Accordingly, on the accession of the Tory party to power, in 1700, the regular sittings of that body were resumed. Quickly, however, was it found that the lapse of ten years had effected nothing towards the unanimity of its councils; that, on the contrary, the disputes which had been going on, by means of the press, concerning the rights and authority of Convocation, had inflamed the former elements of discord. No business could be transacted, because the two houses could come to no agreement on the question of their jurisdiction; the lower house advancing claims, both as to the authority of the Convocation in general, and on their own part, in contradistinction to the upper, in which the latter refused to concur.

In the prosecution of this dispute, the most energetic advocate of the Church's synodical rights, especially as regarded the lower house of Convocation, was Atterbury, a man thoroughly fitted by temper for such a sphere of agitation, and with respect to talent, one of the most brilliant, if not the most profound, of the clergy of that period.

BISHOP ATTERBURY.

A. D. 1687—1732.

THIS prelate was born in March 1662, at Milton, near Newport Pagnel, in Buckinghamshire; of which place his father, Lewis Atterbury, a divine of eminence, was rector. He was educated at Westminster school; whence, in the year 1680, he was elected to a studentship of Christ Church College, Oxford. At the university he was distinguished by the liveliness of his genius, the intensity of his application, and the consequent extent of his acquirements: among the early proofs of these was a Latin version, completed before the close of his twentieth year, of Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel*, then lately published. In 1687, the year in which he took his master's degree, he brought out an *Answer to some Observations* (by Woodward, a Romish writer) *on the spirit of Martin Luther, and the original of the Reformation.* On this occasion he first unsheathed the glittering controversial sword, which he so greatly delighted, through life, to wield. The design of the work is to refute those objections against Protestantism, which the papists deduce from the personal opinions and manners of the great Teutonic reformer.

The restless strivings of Atterbury's ambitious mind, stimulated by conscious ability, are clearly indicated in the following passage of a letter addressed by him to his father, from Oxford, November 1690:—

"I am perfectly wearied," he complains, "with this nauseous circle of small affairs, that can now neither divert nor instruct me. I was made, I am sure, for another scene, and another sort of conversation; though it has been my hard luck to be pinned down to this. I have thought and thought again, sir, and for some years: now I have never been able to think otherwise, than that I am losing time every minute I stay here."

Yet he was employing himself successfully at this time as a tutor; having, in particular, under his tuition the ac-

complished Charles Boyle, afterwards earl of Orrery. He had a large share in conducting the famous controversy between his noble pupil and Bentley, concerning the genuineness of the epistles ascribed to Phalaris. The discussion is well known—better, perhaps, than it deserves: if the juvenile champions suffered defeat, it was from an arm the force of which, on classical ground, no scholar was ever able to resist.

A few months only had elapsed, from the date of the letter just cited, when Atterbury, having taken orders, opened for himself a more promising career, by quitting Oxford, and fixing himself in the metropolis. The appointments of preacher at Bridewell, lecturer of St. Bride's, Fleet Street, chaplain in ordinary to the Queen, and preacher at the Rolls chapel, all obtained in acknowledgment of his fascinating ability in the pulpit, in a short time justified his exchange of those academic shades, which had become so irksome to him, for a scene more suited to his genius. He had already achieved a reputation which secured the public attention to any production of his pen. A sermon preached by him at Bethlehem Hospital, in 1694, on the power of charity to "cover a multitude of sins," encountered the just "exceptions" of Hoadley, as enforcing, to a dangerous extent, the familiar interpretation of that text. Another, produced in the same year, with the title *The Scorner incapable of true Wisdom*, brought upon him the reproof of Sir Robert Howard, whose *History of Religion*, the author had very unceremoniously attacked. The next controversy in which his aspiring vivacity engaged him, was the famous one in connection with which his name is here introduced.

This memorable discussion was begun in 1697, by the publication of *A Letter to a Convocation Man*, believed to have been written by Dr. Binkes, and supporting the views entertained generally by the members of the lower house. For the first two years, however, the most considerable divine engaged in it was Wake: the work of that estimable writer and divine, asserting, on the other side, *The Authority of Christian Princes over their Ecclesiastical Synods*, appeared in 1697. In 1699, Atterbury descended into the arena, with his celebrated answer, *The Rights, Powers, and Privileges of an English Convocation vindicated.*

The opinions asserted by Wake, are, that although a convocation is called whenever there is a new parliament, yet it depends solely on the king's will and pleasure whether

they shall sit or not; that it is in his majesty's power to prorogue the convocation, or hinder its engaging in business, though the parliament should continue sitting, which could not be if the convocation had an inherent right, not only to be summoned, but also to sit during the session of the parliament.

Atterbury, on the contrary, maintains that the convocation is such an essential part of the constitution, that it ought perpetually to attend the parliament; and that the king can no more by law forbid the convocation to sit, than he can prorogue one house of parliament, and allow the other to continue sitting.

Until Atterbury came forward, Wake had carried the more general opinion along with him; but the brilliant style, shewy array of argument, and confident, or rather contemptuous tone of Atterbury, proved irresistible.

"To whom the victory fell," observes Stackhouse, in his life of the prelate, "is not so much decided. Men speak variously, and according as they are affected. But the general opinion is, that however truth might be on Dr. Wake's side, yet the appearance of it was certainly with Dr. Atterbury; and, that whatever he might want in point of argument and fact, he abundantly supplied by the elegance of his style, his fine turn of thought, and copiousness of invention; so that, from a dry and intricate subject, he has furnished out a very curious entertainment for his reader."

Other combatants, of no mean reputation in our literary and ecclesiastical history, now mingled in the fray. Burnet, White Kennet, afterwards bishop of Peterborough, Hody, with other eminent divines of that period, became eagerly engaged, for the most part in opposition to the views of Atterbury. At length this warm and remarkable controversy was allowed to subside, if it may not be said to have been settled, on the publication, in 1703, of Wake's large work, *The State of the Church and Clergy of England, in their Councils, &c. historically deduced.* The consequence of the debate, says Stackhouse, proved very advantageous to both the principal combatants. Dr. Wake, as a reward for having ably maintained the authority of the government, was soon promoted to the bench of bishops, and Atterbury, having first been presented with the degree of D.D. by the University of Oxford, not long afterwards succeeded to a variety of preferments. He

was made archdeacon of Totness; appointed on the accession of Queen Anne, one of her majesty's chaplains in ordinary, and in the year 1704 was raised to the deanery of Carlisle, notwithstanding the opposition of Nicholson, bishop of that diocese, who, in consequence of his appointment being dated previously to the resignation of his predecessor, Dr. Graham, delayed his institution as long as he was able. To these preferments was added, about the same time, the office of canon residentiary of Exeter, given him by Trelawney, bishop of that see, his indefatigable patron.

That these consequences were equally advantageous to the moral temper, either of the combatants themselves, or of those members who watched with passionate eagerness the progress of the controversy, may justly be questioned. We are on the contrary, disposed to class among the causes of the Church's weakness, indifference, and unspirituality in the 18th century, that succession of disputes which had previously consumed the time, the learning, and often the patience, of her ablest sons; and, notwithstanding all the advantages which have, from time to time, accrued to the world from the polemic strife of vigorous intellects, cannot but agree in the main with the following sentiments of one of the most respectable partizans in the dispute now under review.

"There is something," says Archbishop Wake, "in the nature of controversial writing so corruptive of morality, so apt to destroy some of the noblest graces of a Christian life, that I look upon the case to be much the same in that as it is in other wars, and that nothing less than an absolute necessity ought to engage a good man in either. What temptations it ministers to pride and passion, to malice and uncharitableness, to falseness and insincerity; and what occasions it too often affords, to those who do not come with a large portion of calmness and integrity to the management of it, for the most indecent miscarriages in some, or all, of these particulars, I shall not need to say: I would to God our own times had not given us too many instances of it, to the scandal of our religion, as well to the just censure of those who have allowed themselves such liberties as nothing can excuse; and it is to be hoped, when they shall seriously reflect upon what they have done, they will be the most forward of any to condemn." (Preface to *State of the Church and Clergy.*)

The controversial talent of Atterbury, was not allowed, in the meantime, to rust in idleness. In a sermon, preached

Aug. 1706, at the funeral of Mr. Bennet, (on 1 Corinth. xv. 19,) he endeavoured to prove, that if all the benefits we derive from Christianity were confined to this life, men would be the most wretched of creatures, and the most miserable men would be the best. This argument brought forward the great Whig champion, Hoadly, who undertook to shew that Atterbury had wholly misapprehended the sense of the text, and that, on the contrary, virtue and morality are conducive to happiness in the present world. Atterbury replied, in an elaborate preface to the sermon, on republishing it shortly afterwards, in a volume; and was again answered by Hoadly. A further dispute with the same antagonist, whom he seems, indeed, to have taken pleasure in irritating, was occasioned by the appearance of his Latin sermon preached before the clergy of London, at St. Alphage's church, in 1709, on the then popular subject of passive obedience. Atterbury is likewise thought to have been employed in drawing up the speech delivered at his trial by the famous Dr. Sacheverel. The same year, 1710, the lower house of convocation, whose thanks he had before received for his learned pains "in asserting and vindicating their rights" in the controversy with Wake, chose him their prolocutor; in which office, having now the support of the ministry, his forwardness and influence more than ever embroiled the two houses. A committee of both having been appointed to prepare a *Representation of the State of Religion*, the business of drawing up this paper, from some heads previously agreed on, was secured to the prolocutor. Atterbury's draught was readily adopted by the house in which he presided, but on account of its alleged violence and partiality, rejected by the bishops, and consequently laid aside. It was, notwithstanding, printed, and extensively dispersed; and, though to be read with caution, and some allowance for the colouring of partizanship, it presents a picture of the state of the nation, for the twenty years immediately preceding, not much less correct, than painful to contemplate.

"We cannot," the assembled clergy inform her Majesty, "without unspeakable grief, reflect on that deluge of impiety and licentiousness which hath broke in upon us, and overspread the face of this Church and kingdom, eminent in former times for purity of faith and sobriety of manners.

"The source of these great evils, as far back as we have traced it, seems to have been that long unnatural rebellion, which loosened all the bands of discipline and order, and overturned the goodly frame of our ecclesiastical and civil constitution.

"The hypocrisy, enthusiasm, and variety of wild and monstrous errors, which abounded during those confusions, begat in the minds of men (too easily carried into extremes,) a disregard for the very appearances of religion, and ended in a spirit of downright libertinism and profaneness, which hath ever since too much prevailed among us. It was indeed checked, and kept under for a time, by the legal restraints laid on the press, and by the just dread of popery, which hung over our heads; but as soon as these fears were removed, and those restraints were taken off, it broke out with the greatest freedom and violence.

"There have not been wanting, God be praised! the hearty endeavours of good men to resist the growth of these spreading evils. Books have been written in defence of the fundamental truths, whether of natural or revealed religion, with great clearness and strength of argument; the vain pleas of the several advocates for infidelity have been particularly considered and refuted; societies have been formed, and funds of charity raised, for the propagation of our holy faith, for the pious education of poor children, and for the increase of Christian knowledge, by plain and useful discourses, distributed among the meaner sort with great variety and number. Authority hath often interposed for the countenancing these excellent designs, for withstanding the bold attempts, and preventing the farther increase of irreligion and profaneness. To this end, royal injunctions and proclamations have issued, acts of parliament have passed, prosecutions at law have been ordered, gracious speeches from the throne have been made; and from thence such bright patterns of piety and virtue have shone forth as would, in any age less profligate than this, have diffused their happy influence through all orders of men among us.

"But it must be confessed, that all the endeavours which may hitherto have been used, by public or private persons, to stop the growth of this evil, have proved ineffectual. In the midst of such discouragements, infidelity hath taken deep root, and being cultivated with care, hath spread its branches wide, and shot up to an amazing height, and brought forth fruits in great abundance.

"We forbear to wound your pious ears by a particular mention of those many basphemous passages which have been published from the press. Nevertheless, in discharge of the trust reposed in us by your Majesty, we think ourselves obliged to lay before you some account of the various steps taken to undermine the foundations of Christianity, and to infect the minds of your people with atheism, deism, heresy, and

every pernicious and destructive error. We shall proceed afterwards to consider the dark and subtle methods by which this mystery of iniquity hath been carried on; to inquire into the causes which have chiefly and most immediately given birth to it, and into the consequences with which it has been attended; and then, in all humility, to propose such remedies as we think may be most effectual for the cure of it.

"The dispute with our enemies of the Church of Rome (managed with so much honour and advantage to the Church of England) was no sooner happily ended, but other adversaries arose, who openly attacked the fundamental articles of the catholic faith, and scattered the poison of Arian and Socinian heresies through all the parts of this kingdom.

"The doctrine of a Trinity of persons in the unity of the Godhead was then denied and scoffed at; the satisfaction made for the sins of mankind by the precious blood of Christ was renounced and exploded; the ancient creeds of the church were represented as unwarrantable impositions, and treated with terms of the utmost contumely and reproach. And the divulgers of these wicked errors and blasphemies proceeded with as little disguise and caution as if some new law had been made in their favour; notwithstanding that care had been taken by those who passed the Act of Indulgence, expressly to exclude them from the benefit of it.

"In defiance of this act, and of all the laws then in force, they not only owned their pestilent errors, but set up for making proselytes, by a multitude of wicked books and pamphlets, which for some years they dispersed from the press, without controul or discouragement.

"They at last proceeded so far as even to set up a religious assembly, where divine worship was publickly performed in a way agreeable to the principles of the Unitarians, and weekly sermons were preached in defence of them.

"Nor have these heretics been withheld by the public notice lately taken of their wicked position, from venting them anew, and with yet greater boldness. Even at the time when we are thus met by your Majesty's writ, and exhorted by your gracious letter to consult of methods for repressing such impieties, a book hath been printed, wherein the Arian doctrine is avowed and maintained, and a promise is made of evincing the truth of it, by large and elaborate proofs, in other treatises from the same hand, which are soon to follow. To this book the author[1] hath prefixed his name, and hath not been afraid to dedicate it to the archbishop, bishops, and clergy of this province in convocation assembled; being, as we have some reason to believe, supported in this undertaking, and encouraged to prosecute it, by the liberal contributions

[1] Mr. Whiston.

and insidious applauses of those who are the determined enemies of all religion and goodness.

"It was by such men as these that the Socinian tracts, when first published, were much countenanced and recommended; for they well knew, that, the chief articles of the Christian faith being once shaken, a way would by that means be opened, and the minds of men prepared, for the attacks which might afterwards be made on Christianity itself, and into which the Socinian controversy soon was improved.

"For the books written in an argumentative way, against the divinity of our blessed Lord, did, in a little time, produce others of a worse spirit and tendency; wherein the doctrines by him revealed were spoken of with profane levity and contempt, his humiliation and sufferings were derided, his person was blasphemed, and treated with as great indignity and scorn as when he stood at the judgment-seat of Pilate.

"The Godhead of the Holy Spirit being first denied, all supernatural operations on the hearts of men were afterwards questioned, and the grace of God was ridiculed; all mysteries in religion were exploded as absurd and useless speculations, as implying contradictions, and meaning nothing, and therefore as incapable of becoming objects of assent to reasonable minds.

"The scheme of morality proposed by the Gospel was undervalued, and said not to be beyond the reach of human invention; the Mosaic account of the Creation was represented as mere allegory and fable; the natural immortality of the soul was opposed, as a vulgar and groundless error; the inspiration of Holy Writ was so explained as amounted to the denial of it; the authority of the present canon of Scripture hath been represented as standing upon a very precarious foundation; the spuriousness of several passages, and some books of it, was more than insinuated. Priests without distinction were traduced, as imposers on the credulity of mankind, vilified and insulted, as the filth and offscouring of all things, and those religious ordinances which they were appointed to dispense, even the chief of them, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord, were spoken of with such a degree of ungodly mockery and insolent scorn as filled the hearts of good Christians with horror and astonishment. Nay, religion itself was, in some of their loose writings, so described, as if it were nothing but a melancholy frenzy and pious enthusiasm.

"The grounds of believing the Gospel in this age have been represented as less firm and certain by a pretended calculation of the degrees, according to which the credibility of the traditional facts related in Scripture must every age decrease. The necessity of all human thoughts and actions, as being mere modes of motion, and the results of pure mechanism, hath been asserted; an assertion which overturns the foundations of all religion, whether natural or instituted, and renders all

notions of good and evil, of reward and punishment, whether in this life or the next, groundless and vain.

"Nor ought we among the several instances of infidelity, and of the approaches made towards it, to omit the mention of those damnable errors which have been embraced and propagated by the sect of Quakers; who, in several of their treatises, in their catechisms and primers, have taught the rudiments of the Christian faith in such a manner, as to make it seem to be little more than a complicated system of deism and enthusiasm.

"From the wicked principles thus disseminated as wicked practices have followed; for though it may with truth be affirmed, that the good Christians among us were never better than now, yet can it not withal be denied, that the bad were never worse, and that the instances of a profane and dissolute behaviour have of late years been very numerous, and very scandalous.

"The frequency of oaths and imprecations, the manifest growth of immorality and profaneness, have made new laws, new edicts, necessary to restrain these enormities, which yet have not been effectually restrained by them.

"Seldom hath greater vigilance been used by the civil magistrate to secure a religious observance of the Lord's day; nor hath it among the meaner sort proved unsuccessful. However it hath not banished excess and luxury at such times from the tables of the great, nor hindered them from wasting those sacred hours in play and vain amusements.

"The excesses of gaming have never been more general and flagrant, conscience hath never been more openly prostituted to interest, without any regard to censure; the extremes of avarice and profusion have never at the same point of time been more remarkably prevalent.

"A due regard to religious persons, places, and things, hath scarce in any age been more wanting. The ministers of Christ have often been treated in a way very unsuitable to their sacred function and character; horrid outrages have been committed by loose and disorderly persons in the house of God; the solemn feasts and humiliations of the Church have been matter of sport to lewd and godless men, who have taken pleasure in ridiculing them, and affronting the authority by which they were appointed; unnatural and abominable impurities, not to be named among Christians, have been publickly practised; and the debauches of licentious men have been indulged to such a height, as to end in all manner of blasphemy and profaneness.

"This sad harvest we have reaped from those seeds of infidelity which the enemy have sown among us: with what industry and zeal, by what dark and subtle methods, this mystery of iniquity hath been carried on, we beg leave in the next place to represent.

"That contributions have been made, that combinations of men have been formed, for promoting the cause of infidelity, we have heard; nor do we doubt the truth of those reports; having observed, that late measures taken to advance religion have been, in many respects, so uniform and regular, that they seem to have been concerted: not to have sprung merely from the casual contradiction and divided efforts of particular persons, but rather to have been the result of united counsels and endeavours.

"Thus, we are sure the Socinians and Quakers took care of the interests of their several sects, and spread their distinguishing tenets: nor do the present factors for infidelity and libertinism appear to be either less zealous for the attaining their end, or less skilful in the choice and application of the means that lead to it.

"The methods they have pitched upon to this purpose have been various: some of them such as had a more immediate tendency to the point they aimed at, others that were covered with very artificial pretences and disguises.

"By mock catechisms, framed in a light manner, upon vain and trifling subjects, they have endeavoured to depreciate those excellent summaries of the Christian faith, by which a right sense of religious truths is first instilled into the minds of children.

"They have republished, and collected into volumes pieces written long ago on the side of infidelity; which would have lain altogether neglected and forgotten, without such a revival.

"They have reprinted together, in the most contracted manner, many loose and licentious poems, in order to their being purchased more cheaply, and dispersed more easily; and have, by that means, conveyed the infection to great numbers of men who would otherwise have lain without the reach of it.

"They have procured abstracts and commendations of their own profane writings (and probably drawn up by themselves) to be inserted in foreign journals; and then have translated them back again into the English tongue, and published them here at home, in order to add the greater weight to their wicked opinions.

"They have endeavoured utterly to root out of men's minds all notion of a church, as a society instituted by Christ, with peculiar powers and privileges, and officers of its own to administer the affairs of it. They have done their utmost to blend and confound this spiritual society with the temporal, on purpose to make everything in religion, its divine truths, and most sacred ordinances, dependent on the will of the civil magistrate, deriving solely from him their sanction and authority.

"And of all churches, our own is that against which they have planted their chief batteries, and directed their fiercest assaults, not as

judging it more faulty than others, (for they themselves allow it to be the least exceptionable of any;) but as knowing it to be the strongest fence and bulwark against infidelity, the principal pillar and stay of pure undefiled religion.

"They have therefore charged the authentic Articles of this Church, and the English editions of the Bible, with pious frauds and forgery: that men might be taught gradually to withdraw the reverence due to their spiritual guides; and of course to suspect whatever comes recommended from their hands.

"As to other sects and denominations of Christians differing from the Established Church, and now tolerated among us, the crew of libertine writers hath been observed to pursue them with a degree of malice and bitterness, proportioned always to the degrees of tendency which their respective principles have to support and strengthen the interests of religion, by uniting large numbers of christians in national churches and communions.

"Sometimes by displaying the cheats and impositions of pagan and popish priests, they have endeavoured to draw infamy on the priesthood in general, and to render the order itself, in what religion soever it was found, equally the object of public aversion and contempt.

"At other times, when wild pretences to inspiration and miracles have been set up by modern impostors, they have seemed to countenance the fraud, and give credit to it, with a view of drawing parallels from thence, to the prejudice of real inspirations and miracles.

"They have in a grave and solemn manner recounted the fabulous relations of miracles occurring in heathen writers; they have represented these accounts as carrying some of the chief marks and signatures of truth; and easier to be contemned than disproved, upon the foot of the arguments urged in behalf of the truth of Christianity.

"They have with ostentation enumerated the several spurious treatises forged in the earliest ages of the church; which they represent as times of great fraud and imposture on the one hand, of great ignorance and credulity on the other; and they have left this reflection to be applied by their readers to the books of the New Testament, and the authors of them.

"The promises of Scripture have, by one of these writers, been interpreted in such an extravagant and absurd sense, as was intended to render them uncertain and unintelligible; and a plea hath been advanced in behalf of the privilege of being translated to heaven without dying, according to the terms of the covenant of grace, with a design to insinuate that our title to the other privileges and promises of the gospel is founded on no surer a bottom.

"Under the cover of accounting for the growth of deism, and specifying the causes of it, they have taken occasion to suggest all those bitter and spiteful reflections which they thought might redound to the dishonour of our holy religion, and wound it through the sides of its professed servants and followers.

"Their received maxim is, that 'no good is to be expected from ecclesiastics but by their divisions;' and therefore, if differences happen at any time to arise among the clergy, their constant practice hath been to foment and inflame them, by turning advocates for the one side against the other; whereas, in truth, they themselves were alike enemies to both, and were also in like manner detested by both of them.

"When particular and unwarrantable opinions have, at any time, been maintained by men otherwise eminent for piety and learning, the friends of infidelity have not failed to lay hold of that opportunity, and improve it to the prejudice of religion. Those very persons whose learned labours in defence of our common faith they had before undervalued, and held in the utmost contempt, they began now to extol, and pretended to revere for the sake of their errors; their deep judgment they admired, their integrity they magnified, and appealed to their authority as decisive in favour of a paradox, when they would have refused to be concluded by it in any other point whatsoever.

"We pretend not to have made a full discovery of all the dark and subtle wiles by which the instruments of Satan have endeavoured to establish his kingdom, and to introduce a general looseness of principles and practices among us: but these, which we have now laid before your Majesty, are too obvious and manifest not to be observed and complained of by us.

"However, neither these, nor any other wicked arts and methods, how craftily soever contrived, and how industriously soever pursued, would have met with so remarkable success, had not other causes and circumstances concurred to help forward the event, and favour the growth of irreligious opinions.

"Among the chief of these, we reckon the removal of that restraint which the wisdom of former times had laid upon the press; and which no sooner ceased, than those pernicious principles, that before had been whispered only in corners among the dissolute and lawless, were now proclaimed in our streets, and sent abroad to pollute the minds of your Majesty's subjects in all parts of your dominions.

"The meanest and most ignorant of the people, who had any degree of curiosity and leisure, were then tempted to employ it in searches for which they were no ways qualified; they were furnished every day from the press with objections against religion; and taught to doubt of those

truths, which it had otherwise never once entered into their hearts to question.

"This general liberty of the press happened not long after the time when, by reason of confusion and disorders they usually attend great changes of state, the reins of government were unavoidably slackened, and parties of men were suffered to express their mutual resentments, and manage their debates against each other, with a freedom not often permitted or practised in more quiet and settled times. Meanwhile, the indulgence granted to men, of worshipping God in their own way, incited some publickly, and with warmth, to espouse those religious opinions, which others thought themselves bound, with equal warmth, to oppose. These contentions in matters of a civil and sacred nature bred in the minds of men, not well grounded in true principles, great perplexities and doubts; and gave an opportunity to those who 'sat in the seat of the scornful,' to promote the interests of scepticism and infidelity, by making sport with our divisions.

"The licentiousness of the stage is another fountain from whence the present corruptions of religion and morality have flowed: on our theatres things sacred and serious have been handled after the most ludicrous manner; the priesthood, the holy offices and ceremonies of our Church, have been exposed to scorn; obscenity, blasphemous allusions to Holy Writ, and various sorts of profaneness, have abounded; the worst examples have been placed in the best lights, and recommended to imitation; and the vicious images thus painted to the life, and set out with all manner of advantage, have made such impressions on the minds of the young and the unwary as are not easy to be effaced.

"For the better diffusing the infection, new theatres have been raised; and at the opening of them (an expensive and magnificent structure) the building of churches was impiously derided as a vain and useless work, the effect only of superstition and ignorance.

"God be thanked, at that very time a different spirit prevailed, and great sums of money were by public authority provided, and applied for the building, supporting, and adorning of churches; and we cannot but hope that this glorious work, which your Majesty, at our humble request, was graciously pleased to recommend to your parliament; in the advancement of which the zeal of your parliament, influenced by that of your Majesty, hath already made so great a progress, will be speedily accomplished by an ample provision for the wants of that kind, under which the inhabitants of these two populous cities have hitherto laboured. They have now, for a long track of time, year after year, exceedingly increased, without a proportionable increase of the churches and chapels appointed to receive them. By which means vast numbers of souls have been excluded from a possibility of attending on the public wor-

ship of God, and from all the benefits of Christian instruction. And the natural consequences of this hath been a gradual defection from piety and virtue to irreligious ignorance, and all manner of loose and licentious living.

"To the increase of which they also contributed who took occasion, from the relaxation of those laws which made absence from the Established Church penal, to withdraw themselves entirely from all religious assemblies; although that very act of exemption, which gave liberty in the one respect, equally restrained it in the other.

"Nor hath the long continuance of that just and necessary war, in which your Majesty is now engaged, (and which, we trust, God will enable you to finish as gloriously as you have hitherto carried it on), been unattended with consequences prejudicial to the interests of religion and goodness.

"That this might not be our own case, your Majesty was pleased to use your powerful influences with the states of Holland, and to employ your royal bounty for the building of a church, in which your subjects might serve God abroad with the same decency and order as at home, and be instructed in such religious opinions as might preserve them from the contagion of those vices to which a military life is too much exposed. But notwithstanding this design piously is intended by your Majesty, and so readily promoted by the liberal contributions of your subjects in the army, we cannot but lament that foreign vices, too easily learnt in the camp, have from thence spread themselves, by little and little, through the several ranks of men at home, and occasioned a visible increase of luxury, libertinism, and profaneness. False notions of honour have made that reputable, which the religion of Christ utterly condemns; and that infamous, which it commands under the highest penalties; so that they who still dare to own themselves Christians, by not sending a challenge when affronted, or not accepting it when sent, are really in a state of persecution, on the account of their strict adherence to Christ and his doctrine. The prevalence of such principles and practices doth, in our humble opinion, tend not only to the dishonour, but even to the disbelief of the gospel, among those who are either persuaded that it is lawful and laudable, or, without such a persuasion, determined to act in contradiction to the plain precepts of it.

"The emissaries from Rome have not been wanting to lay hold of this opportunity for the advancement of their cause; to which nothing is so serviceable as scepticism and looseness of life: and these therefore they have always encouraged to the best of their power. They have swarmed in our streets of late years, and have been very busy in making converts: and, since their known way of dealing in such cases is to bring men round to infallibility by way of infidelity, we doubt not

but their subtle arts and restless endeavours of this kind may be reckoned one cause of the present growth of irreligion among us.

"Other causes have also concurred: as, the want of a vigorous execution of those laws, proclamations, and injunctions, which were piously framed; and the faint and ineffectual prosecution of some notorious offenders; by which means, what was designed to curb and restrain their insolence tended rather to heighten and nourish it.

"Nor are we insensible how much religion hath suffered by vain pretences to fathom those depths of Divine Wisdom which are unsearchable, and to advance nice explications of mysteries which are inexplicable; by the misapplication of mathematical reasoning to matters of mere revelation; by the attempts made to shew how all the steps taken in that great work of Omnipotence, the creation of the world, were to be accounted for by the known laws of motion; and that the destruction of it by the deluge might in like manner be explained; for the tendency of such attempts hath been to confine the thoughts of men to second causes, and to intimate how little the Wisdom of God was concerned in making the world.

"But these, and such as these, having a less general and discernible influence towards producing the evils complained of; we have chosen rather to rest in the consideration of those which are more extensive and apparent, and have been remarkably fruitful of the ill consequences which we are next to lay before your Majesty.

"The dishonour which the late excessive growth of infidelity, heresy, and profaneness, hath brought on our holy faith, our church, and nation, is too great to be disregarded, and too manifest to be dissembled. The gospel cannot but be blemished by this reflection, that at a time when the strongest evidences of its Divine Original have been produced, and set in the fairest light, so many should revolt from it. Our ecclesiastical and civil constitution must needs undergo reproach; as if we either wanted laws to punish such enormities, or zeal to turn the edge of those laws upon daring offenders.

"It is lamentable to reflect how many souls have been lost by imbibing wicked doctrines from those books which have been scattered for several years with impunity through this kingdom; how many more are endangered by too near approaches towards infidelity, though they have not yet actually arrived to it; what a spirit of indifferency and neutrality in religion hath been infused through such vehicles into the minds of men, and hath at last so far prevailed as to become the distinguishing character of the age we live in.

"We doubt not but that divers of your Majesty's subjects, either by the scandal arising from the late observable growth of profaneness, or by sharing the contagion of it, have at last been perverted

to popery; and we are sure that many of them have been made worse men and worse subjects by the means of it; for infidelity, where embraced, cancels all the strongest obligations of duty, and dissolves those religious bands of obedience by which the thrones of princes are best secured, and their authority most firmly supported. And therefore we cannot but observe to your Majesty, that they who derided churches, and creeds, and mysteries, were the same who insulted the memory, and justified the murder of the royal martyr; applauded the rebellion raised against him, and have taken a great deal of wicked pains in collecting and publishing the works of those writers who were the most declared and irreconcileable enemies to monarchy."

In the year 1712, the author of the above eloquent paper was appointed dean of Christchurch, succeeding the mild Dr. Aldrich; he soon gave offence by the imperiousness of his temper; and such a spirit of contention was, in consequence, excited in that learned society, that, in June 1713, his patrons judged it decorous to procure peace by obtaining her majesty's consent to his elevation to the vacant bishopric of Rochester, with which he was likewise to hold the deanery of Westminster, *in commendam*. This was his last promotion, and the prelude to his fall.

On the accession of George the First, the tide of Atterbury's prosperity, of course, fell rapidly; and presently after the coronation of that sovereign, a mortifying incident marked the change that had occurred. On his offering to cede to the King the chair of state and royal canopy, his perquisites on occasion of that ceremonial as dean of Westminster, the offer was declined, with evident indications of personal dislike; a sentiment which the sovereign was justified in entertaining, if there be truth in the allegation that Atterbury had urged his friends to join him in proclaiming the Pretender. Not only his ambition being thus checked (for he by no means expected to remain stationary at the point of preferment to which he had attained) but his pride being also irritated, a rooted disaffection to the government appears now, if it had not before, to have taken possession of his mind. During the rebellion in Scotland, in the first year of the King's reign, he refused, and by his persuasions induced his friend Smalridge also to refuse, to join in the common declaration of abhorrence of that attempt, and in professing attachment to the government; conduct which he followed up by a constant opposition to the measures of the court in the House

of Lords, and by drawing up several intemperate protests of the opposition with his own hands. A violent pamphlet, entitled, *English Advice to the Freeholders of England*, privately dispersed through the kingdom, is believed to have been his composition. At length the government having probable grounds for suspecting that he was concerned in the conspiracy of 1722, in favour of the Pretender, he was apprehended, and, on the 24th August, committed to the Tower.

So extraordinary an occurrence as the arrest and confinement of a bishop on a charge of high treason, excited the liveliest interest. This feeling was increased by the rigour of the prisoner's treatment. His nearest relatives could not, without great difficulty, obtain permission to converse with him; on one occasion "orders were sent to the Tower, to seize all the seals that were about him and his servants, and to bring them instantly away." "I have been treated," says he, in the commencement of his defence in the House of Lords, "by the person in whose immediate custody I was, with such severity, and so great indignity, as, I believe, no prisoner in the Tower, of my age, infirmities, function, and rank, ever underwent." His speech in his defence is eloquent and highly ingenious. Its chief argument rests on the inconsistency of his being implicated in such a plot, with his literary and other engagements at the time, and in particular, on the improbability of it, when he had daily before him the melancholy expectation of the death of his wife, which actually took place on the 26th of April. "There is too much reason to fear, however," writes Bishop Newton, "that the bishop had been dabbling in this kind of politics; but a full and clear detection of the conspiracy was never obtained. The ministry had got some scent of his intrigues, but could not follow him through all his turnings and windings, nor, with all their sagacity, trace him directly to his cover. They had little better evidence than hearsays, conjectures, and inuendoes; and could procure no sufficient legal proof to convict him by trial at law. Recourse was had therefore to a bill of pains and penalties, to deprive him of all his preferments, and to banish him out of the kingdom; which, after long debate, was carried by a considerable majority in both houses. His brethren, the bishops, were almost all unanimous against him." There cannot in truth remain a reasonable doubt on the subject. His intercourse with the agents of the Pre-

tender and other disaffected persons, has been distinctly proved. "Some of the negotiations," adds the bishop, "were published after his going abroad, with a fac-simile, or exemplification, of his handwriting, which whoever knew, cannot well entertain a doubt of their authenticity." These letters are preserved in Vol. I. of the Correspondence, as edited by Mr. Nichols, with a second fac-simile of his handwriting; "which," subjoins the editor, "amply confirms the former." "Additional evidence," observes a living historian, "is furnished by the Lockhart Papers." It was the opinion, nevertheless, of moderate men at the time, that the whole of this extraordinary process was pushed on with disgraceful party violence. On Monday, May 13th, he was carried, for the last time, from the Tower to the House of Lords, to hear the reply of the King's counsel to his defence. On the 15th, the bill was read a third time; it passed on the 17th; on the 27th it received the royal assent; and on the 28th of June the bishop of Rochester embarked on board a ship of war, which landed him at Calais.

The same rigorous treatment followed him into banishment. No British subject, the members of his own family not excepted, had permission to visit him without the royal licence, for which the fees of office were very high. Brussels was the first place of his residence; but at the instigation of the British government, he was compelled to leave that city, and retire to Paris. From Paris he proceeded, in 1728, to Montpelier.

Yet this vigilance, on the part of the government, can hardly be condemned as unnecessary. Pope, between whom and Atterbury an affectionate intimacy had long existed, advised him, before his departure, with all the earnestness of sincere friendship, to make a wise and virtuous use of his misfortunes, by applying his involuntary leisure to the advancement of those noble studies to which his abilities were adapted. "It might be," he said, "that Providence had appointed him to some great and useful work, and called him to it this severe way." Atterbury remained, however, unchanged by adversity. "He was still dealing in politics, instead of writing some work of genius and learning; and though, when he took his last leave of the poet, he told him he would allow him to say his sentence was just, if he ever found he had any concern with the Pretender's family in exile, yet Mr. Pope, as Warburton informs us, was convinced before

the bishop's death, that during his banishment he was in the intrigues of the Pretender. He wrote only two or three little pieces,—his *Dissertation on the character of Iapis in Virgil*; his vindication of Dr. Aldrich, Dr. Smalridge, and himself, from the charge of interpolating Lord Clarendon's history[1]; and little or nothing besides, but some few criticisms on French authors." On this statement, by Bishop Newton, it is, however, just to remark, with regard to the fact of Atterbury being engaged in correspondence with the enemies of the English government, that by his banishment he had been absolved from his allegiance to that government; and with respect to the alleged neglect of time and talents, that he had been engaged many years previous to his death in prosecuting some learned inquiries into the dates of the four gospels. This useful and difficult labour he had begun as early as the year 1722, in a correspondence with Bishop Potter and Dr. Wall, and had nearly brought it to a conclusion when he died.

His conduct, on a remarkable occasion, during his exile, likewise refutes the vulgar charge of his being inclined to popery. His reputation had long preceded him on the continent, accompanied, no doubt, with a rumour to this effect. The zeal of the doctors of the Sorbonne was kindled by the hope of bringing over so brilliant a person to their communion. He received from that learned body an invitation to a conference on the differences between the Romanists and the Protestants. The bishop consented, on condition that the Bible should be taken for the sole and ultimate rule of decision: this was conceded; but as the parties could not unanimously fix on any one edition of the Bible as infallible, the proposal came to nothing. It is due to Atterbury's memory to record, that he remained to his death true to the Protestant faith, and regular in the performance of his duties as a member of the Church of England.

Age now advanced upon the exiled bishop, with its inevitable companion, increasing failure of health. The influence of these visitants was aggravated by grief. There was one person whom, above all others, Atterbury truly loved, and who returned his affection with the utmost tenderness and veneration, —his daughter, Mrs. Morice. In November 1729, this lady, then in an advanced stage of consumption, proceeded to the

[1] A malicious invention brought forward by Oldmixon.

south of France to join her father, less in the hope held out to her of deriving essential benefit from the change of climate, than for the sake of seeing him once more before she died. Himself seriously ill, the bishop journeyed from Montpelier to Toulouse to meet his beloved child. Her progress was delayed by the rapid encroachments of disease; which, on the arrival of the travellers within a stage of that city, seeming to threaten immediate dissolution, she insisted on proceeding all night up the Garonne, in a dying state, that she might not lose the great and eagerly-desired object of her journey. Her filial piety was rewarded by the accomplishment of her most earnest wish: the party reached Toulouse a few hours before her last, and she had the satisfaction, for which she had so severely struggled, of expiring in her father's embrace.

Atterbury's own departure from a world in which he had performed a more striking than desirable part, was not long delayed. He died at Paris, February 15, 1732, aged 71 years. On the 12th of the following May his body was interred, in the most private manner, in Westminster Abbey, where an inscription, consisting merely of his name and the day of his decease, was placed above his grave on an urn, which contained a portion of his remains.

Had not Bishop Atterbury been deficient in some of the greater qualities of the clerical character, his lively talents, considerable attainments, and extraordinary mental activity, would have enabled him materially to serve the declining cause of religion and the Church. "It is universally agreed," writes one of his biographers, "that he was a man of great learning and uncommon abilities; a fine writer, and a most excellent preacher." In the last of these capacities he was, in his time, unrivalled. His sermons, though in some views of doctrine open to objection, are models of exact method, strength of argument, weight of reflection, purity, and occasionally, vigour, of style. He delivered them (agreeably to the custom most general in the seventeenth century) from memory, with a good deal of action. Atterbury may be numbered among the few clergymen of the Anglican Church who have been indebted for preferment to their talents in the pulpit. "It is certain," Stackhouse tell us, "that his elegant and pathetic sermon upon the death of Prince George (of Denmark) gained him the deanery of Christchurch, notwithstanding the competition of Dr. Smalridge;

and it is not unlikely that the remembrance of this same sermon pleaded in his favour, and befriended the earl of Oxford's recommendation of him, when the Queen was pleased to promote him to the bishopric of Rochester." — Perhaps it would be a departure from the sober wisdom of our Church, rapidly to enlarge the number of such instances.

Atterbury wrote many sermons, of which all he desired to preserve have been published in four volumes octavo,—two by himself, in 1698, dedicated to Bishop Trelawny; the remaining two after his death, by his chaplain, Dr. Thomas Moore. His epistolary correspondence with Pope had been long extant, and well known, in the collection of the poet's letters, when, in 1783-9, it was republished with his general correspondence by Mr. John Nichols. Two volumes appeared under the first of the above dates, comprising, with the letters, several other papers,—as charges, speeches in the House of Lords, the dissertation before mentioned, on the character of Iapis, in Virgil, (which he endeavours, not very happily, to identify with Musa, the favourite physician of Augustus,) poems, dedications, &c. Atterbury was celebrated in his lifetime for his Latin style, which was considered to be inferior, in that age, only to his friend Smalridge's: in the first vol. of the *Correspondence*, are comprised two Latin speeches by the former, and one by the latter. The charges evince an anxious desire to sustain the character, and promote the efficiency, of the clergy, with a thorough command of the knowledge necessary in the episcopal office, including an acquaintance with ecclesiastical law. That to the clergy of Rochester, at the visitation of that diocese in 1716, *On the general duties of the sacred office*, may at all times be read with benefit. The third volume, published in 1784, contains a valuable series of letters which passed between Atterbury and his friends Potter and Wake, *On the dates of the Gospels*. Many of the letters to Bishop Trelawny, in this volume, are extremely interesting; in particular, such of them as describe what was passing at the time in convocation. Vol. IV. is dated 1787, and Vol. V. 1790.

These volumes indicate diligence in the collector; but their total want of order is exceedingly embarrassing.

THE PRIVILEGES, ADVANTAGES, AND OBLIGATIONS OF A DESCENT FROM THE CHRISTIAN PRIESTHOOD.

(*Addressed to the "Sons of the Clergy."*)

THE priesthood hath in all nations and all religions been held highly venerable; chiefly in that nation which God selected to himself, and that religion which he prescribed to them. Now the Levitical priesthood was only typical of the Christian; which is so much more holy and honourable than that, as the institution of Christ is more excellent than that of Moses. If, therefore, the present ministration be more glorious than the former, the ministers more holy, some advantage must needs redound to the offspring from the dignity of the parents. "Marriage and a bed undefiled is honourable in all men," and the Christian priesthood is of all others most honourable; and therefore, a descent from the marriage-beds of those who were vested with this character, cannot but be honourable.

I am sensible we live in a time no ways favourable to these pretensions; a time, when our order, which ought "highly to be esteemed in love, for its works' sake," is, on that very account, disregarded; when we are so far from being encouraged to speak of our profession in those high terms of respect wherewith the faithful of the first ages, and even good princes and emperors themselves, always treated it, that the usual titles of distinction which belong to us, are turned into terms of derision and reproach, and every way is taken by profane men towards rendering us cheap and contemptible; when the divine authority of our mission, and the powers vested in us by the "high-priest of our profession, Christ Jesus," are publicly disputed and denied, and the sacred rights of the Christian church are scornfully trampled on in print, under an hypocritical pretence of maintaining them.

However, let not these indignities discourage us from asserting the just privileges and pre-eminence of our holy function and character; let us rather imitate the courageous example of St. Paul, who chose then to magnify his office when ill men conspired to lessen it. Shall the sons of Belial set themselves to decry our order, and by that means to disgrace our birth? and shall not the sons of Levi vindicate both, by speaking the truth in Christ, though they may be thought to "speak as it were foolishly in the confidence of boasting?"

If then others may be allowed to glory in their birth, why may not we? whose parents were called by God to attend on him at his altar; were intrusted with the dispensation of his sacraments, with "the ministry of reconciliation," with the power of binding and loosing; were set apart to "take heed of the flock of Christ" (Acts xx. 28), "over which

the Holy Ghost made them overseers, and to feed the Church of God, which he purchased with his own blood; to hold forth the whole of life, to speak, to exhort, and to rebuke with all authority?" (Tit. ii. 15). If any station, any employment upon earth, be honourable, theirs was; and their posterity therefore have no reason to blush at the memory of such an original.

The fountain of all temporal honour is the crown; but the fountain of the regal power and dignity itself, is God; from whom also "our fathers according to the flesh" received their priestly authority and character, by the intervention of men, in like manner authorised by God for that holy purpose; and under him, and them, were the ministers of the spiritual kingdom, wherein we their descendants (and many of us called to the like administration) "do rejoice, yea and will rejoice."

If those who stand before earthly princes in the nearest degree of approach, who are the immediate representatives of their persons, dispensers of their favours, and conveyers of their will to others, do, on that very account, challenge high honours to themselves, and reflect some part of their lustre on their children and families: shall not they, who bear the like relation to Christ in his spiritual kingdom, and discharge the like offices under him, and of whom it may be as truly said as it was of the tribe of Levi, that God "hath separated them from the congregation, in order to bring them near to himself" (Numb. xvi. 9); shall not they also deserve honour from men on the account of their high station and trust, and derive some small share to those who descend from them?

If ample powers, granted by the rulers of this world, add dignity to the persons intrusted with those powers; behold the importance and extent of the sacerdotal commission. "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you. Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained" (John xx. 21, 22).

If antiquity and a long track of time ennoble families, those from whom you come can trace their spiritual pedigree up even to Him, who was the founder of "the church of the first-born, and of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named." Let others justify their mission as they can: we judge not those without; but are sure we can justify that of our fathers by an uninterrupted succession from Christ himself; a succession which hath already continued longer than the Aaronical priesthood; and will, we doubt not, still continue till the church militant and time itself shall be no more.

But our further boast is, brethren, that we have our rise, as from the clergy of Christ; so particularly from those of the Church of England; a clergy that, for soundness of doctrine and depth of learning,

for purity of religion and integrity of life, for a zeal in things pertaining to God, that is "according to knowledge," and yet duly tempered with candour and prudence, (which is the true notion of that much talked of, much misunderstood virtue, moderation,) I say a clergy that, on these and many other accounts, is not exceeded, if to be paralleled, in the Christian world.

Ye are the sons of a clergy whose undissembled and unlimited veneration for the holy scriptures hath not hindered them from paying an inferior, but profound regard to the best interpreters of scripture, the primitive writers; in whose works as none have been more conversant than they, so none have made a better use of them towards reviving a spirit of primitive piety in themselves and others. And their searches and endeavours of this kind have been blessed with a remarkable success. For, as to the earliest and most valuable remains of pure antiquity, (such as those of Barnabas, and Clement, and Ignatius, and Polycarp,) I may safely venture to say, that the members of this Church have done more towards either bringing them to light, or freeing them from corruption, or illustrating their doctrine, or asserting their authority, than the members of any church, or indeed of all the churches in all the world.

Ye are the sons of the clergy, who, by this rule of God's word, thus interpreted, reformed from popery in such a manner, as happily to preserve the mean between the two extremes, in doctrine, worship, and government; and who perfected this reformation by quiet and orderly methods, free from those confusions and tumults that elsewhere attended it: so that our temple, like that of Solomon, was built without the noise of axes or hammers.

And as they shut out popery in the most effectual manner, by only paring off those corruptions it had grafted on pure and genuine Christianity; so did they stand boldly in the breach, when it meditated a return, and for ever silenced the champions of that baffled cause, by their immortal and unanswerable writings: so that you, their sons, were at the altar itself, (if I may so speak,) initiated by your fathers, as the great Carthaginian was by his, into an hereditary aversion from Rome; which, I doubt not, will ever last, and will ever preserve you against all her open assaults, or her secret and undermining approaches.

Ye are the sons of a clergy distinguished by their zeal for the rights of the crown, and for their reverence towards those that wear it, and famous for suffering always together with it, and for it; immoveably firm to their duty, when they could have no prospect of reward; when they might have lost their integrity with advantage, and could scarce with safety retain it; when they saw majesty oppressed and sinking, and the fury and madness of the people prevailing against

it; "and they looked, and there was none to help; and they wondered that there was none to uphold" (Isai. lxiii. 5).

Finally, ye are the sons of the clergy, who are the farthest removed of any from all possible suspicion of designing to enslave the understandings or consciences of men, who bring all their doctrines fairly to the light, and invite men with freedom to examine them; who have been the best advocates in the world for the use (the due use) of reason in religion; as knowing the religion they profess to be such, that the more exactly it is sifted by reason (pure, unbiassed reason), the more reasonable still it will be found.

Of this holy root, ye are the branches; from this excellent order of men ye spring; happy in your extraction on many accounts, but chiefly in this, that it derived to you the inestimable advantages of an honest, sober, and religious education; that, by the means of it, the first impressions made upon your tender minds were on the side of virtue and goodness; that you had the earliest and best opportunities of knowing God and your duty, and were led into the immediate practice of what you knew; that "from children you were acquainted with the holy scriptures, which are able to make you wise unto salvation," and bred up every way "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." A blessing, which next to that of life itself, is the greatest that man can bestow; and without which, even life itself would often prove rather a curse than a blessing to those to whom it is bestowed.

Let others then value themselves upon their birth: we, I am sure, have great reason to thank God for ours; and to express our thanks by openly owning our parentage, and paying our common devotions to God among the numerous attendants of this day's solemnity—a solemnity, which I doubt not but St. Paul himself, if sensible of things below, is now pleased to see, and thinks this holy place that bears his name never better employed than on such occasions as these, which tend to promote the honour of the Christian priesthood, and the fervent exercise of charity; two arguments on which he in his epistles dwells often, and often delights to dwell.

As our birth therefore does honour to us, so it is one way in which we also do honour to our birth, if we countenance such meetings by our presence, and promote the great ends of them by our example; if we take these opportunities of practising, and thereby recommending and instilling brotherly kindness; "considering one another, to provoke unto love, and to good works; not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together, as the manner of some is" (Heb. x. 24, 25). Should any little difference of sentiments happen, any personal prejudices obtain among the members of the same holy community, let them not hinder us from uniting to procure the common good of it, and

from pursuing with joint hands and hearts, the unexceptionable design of this pious and wise institution. If our Jerusalem be in other respects unhappily divided, yet, in this respect at least, let it "be as a city that is at unity in itself, whither the tribes go up, even the tribes of the Lord, to testify unto Israel, to give thanks to the name of the Lord" (Psal. cxx. 3, 4). And let every one of us be ready, on such occasions, to exhort himself and others, in the language of good David,—"I was glad when they said unto me, We will go into the house of the Lord. Our feet shall stand in thy gates, O Jerusalem. For my brethren and companions' sake, I will wish thee prosperity! yea, because of the house of the Lord our God, I will seek to do thee good" (ver. 1, 2, 8, 9). Let there be no spots in these our feasts of charity; nothing that may sully the brightness and damp the cheerfulness of this day's solemnity: but let us flock to it like brethren and like Christians, "forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, if any man hath a quarrel against any;" and adding to the external exercise the inward temper and spirit also of that divine grace, which "is kind, envieth not, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, but is easy to be entreated, thinketh no evil, beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things."

Thus if we think, and thus act, we shall indeed show ourselves to be every way worthy of our descent, and duly mindful, not only of the advantage we receive from thence, but of the obligations also which are on that account incumbent upon us; even the obligations of adorning our sacred parentage by an answerable sanctity of behaviour, and of distinguishing ourselves as much by an inherent and habitual, as we are already distinguished by an external and relative holiness.

We stand in the nearest relation to them who stood in the nearest relation to God, and who were on that account obliged "to be holy even as he is holy:" to imitate every way, as far as human infirmity would suffer them, "the apostle, and high-priest of their profession," who was "holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners." Some share of their obligations descends to us; who "partaking of the root and fatness of the olive-tree," whereof we boast to be the branches, ought also to produce the fruits of it.

The sons of servants do, in a peculiar manner, belong to him, whose servants their fathers were: at his will and in his interests they ought entirely to be. We therefore, being born of parents who were employed in the holy functions of God's family, the Church, and were dedicated to his immediate service, ought to look upon ourselves as particularly devoted to the honour and interest of their and our great Master: the cause of religion and goodness (which is the cause of God), is ours by descent, and we are doubly bound to espouse it.

As our advantages towards practising and promoting piety and virtue were greater than those of other men; so will our excuse be less if we neglect to make use of them. We cannot plead, in abatement of our guilt, that we were ignorant of our duty, under the prepossession of ill habits and the bias of a wrong education: in all these instances, the providence of God remarkably favoured us: early were our minds tinctured with a distinguishing sense of good and evil; early were the seeds of a divine love and holy fear of offending sown in our hearts. If therefore our improvements be not answerable to such beginnings, if we "fall away after tasting of the heavenly gift, and the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come," how criminal must such a defection be, and how terrible the condemnation with which it is attended!

St. Chrysostom, in his admirable treatise of the priesthood, observes, not only that the expiation, appointed for the sin of the high-priest, was equal to that which was prescribed for the whole congregation; but that even the children of priests (such, whose sex permitted them not to minister at the altar,) were, by the Levitical law to be punished more severely than other offenders in the same kind were; not, says he, that the offences were, in their own nature, unequal; but those committed by the children of priests were aggravated, διὰ τὸ Πατρικὸν ἀξίωμα, by the dignity of their parents. The very relation which those children bore to the priesthood contributed to enhance their guilt, and increase their punishment.

"I beseech you, therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies and souls a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service" (Rom. xii. 1). "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, if there be any praise, think on these things. Those things which ye have both learned, and received, and heard, and seen, do" (Phil. iv. 8, 9). "Remembering them which have had the rule over you (both as your natural and spiritual parents,) whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation" (Heb. xiii. 7).

Many are the enemies of the priesthood, and of you for the sake of it. They are diligent to observe whatever may either nearly or remotely blemish it; and ready to impute to the order itself, the faulty conduct of those who owe their birth and education to it; that they may wound religion through the sides of its most professed servants and followers. Let not any of us furnish their malice with objections, or give an edge to the weapons which they use against us, by so living as misbecomes our holy stock. The sacred office can never be hurt by

their sayings, if it be not first reproached by our doings. Since the eyes of men are upon us, since "they mark all our steps, and watch our haltings," let a sense of their insidious vigilance excite us so to behave ourselves in all the offices of life, and in all the duties of our several stations; that they, who seek occasion, may not only not find occasion against us, but may find also what they do not seek, even a conviction of the mighty power of Christianity towards regulating the passions, and sanctifying the natures of men. So shall we defeat their malice, and draw good out of evil; so shall we best put in practice that noble instance of charity, that divine lesson of loving enemies, which our religion hath taught us; so shall we most nearly trace the example which He, of whose retinue and household we are, hath set us, of "blessing them that curse us, and doing good to them that despitefully use us."

Sermon preached before the Sons of the Clergy, December 6th, 1709.

The deprivation and banishment of the High Church prelate Atterbury, was regarded by his enemies as a great triumph of the State over the Church: be this as it may, it is to be hoped that the State has at length adopted the conviction, that all such triumphs are in effect blows directed against its own best interests. It is manifest, that a cure for the national evils depicted in such lively terms in the *Representation* inserted above, could proceed, under Providence, only from the Church. Many causes, however, some few of which have already been slightly indicated, combined, in this period, to depress the energies, and encourage the remissness of the clergy, and proportionately to lessen their salutary influence on the public mind. Brilliant exceptions were not wanting to the too general decline of zeal, laboriousness, and erudition; nor were the apostles of infidelity allowed to diffuse their noxious tenets unchecked. The Arianism of Whiston, the hollow Pantheism of Toland, the sophistries of Bolingbroke, the subtle deism of Collins, Tindal, Chubb, and their numerous fraternity, were powerfully answered by Waterland and Bennet, by the prelates Gastrel, Gibson, Hare, and other divines. Nevertheless, the torrent, absorbing, in attempts to check its violence, the chief labours of the best and ablest of the clerical body, still held on a desolating though broken and impeded course; nor was it effectually stopped until the appearance of Butler, the most powerful defender of revelation and

morality in the last century, whose admirable *Analogy*, and scarcely less admirable *Sermons on Human Nature*, produced an impression on the national mind, discernible in the works of almost all subsequent English writers, of any claim to respectability. Nor, in the briefest notice of the efforts of wise and pious individuals, in the same sacred cause, during this undelightful portion of our history, can we altogether omit to mention those pious laymen and enlightened nonconformists, who shared with the priesthood in the defence of the common faith. Of such was Boyle, the founder of the lecture for the defence of Christianity against the attacks of infidels, and himself the author of several able theological, as well as of many philosophical works; the patient, learned, and judicious Leland; and the excellent Addison, whose charming popular essays found their way with an improving effect, to a thousand minds, closed by frivolity or prejudice against sermons and works of controversy.

Here, then, (for the present, at least) we take leave of the reader. And we know not how we can do so more appropriately, than by closing our series of selections with one taken from the writings of a voluminous author, to whom we are indebted for a faithful and graphic account of the times,—his *Own Times*—under review; who loved the Church of England, though perhaps with the keen eye to her defects, as then existing, of an adopted, rather than a genuine son; and who, though sometimes narrow, and habitually prejudiced, was mostly an honest witness to what he had seen—an earnest promoter of the practical sanctities, and, in proportion to his light, a cultivator of the charities of Christianity.

"No man ought to think of this profession unless he feels within himself a love to religion, with a zeal for it, and an internal true piety; which is chiefly kept up by secret prayer, and by reading of the Scriptures. As long as these things are a man's burden, they are infallible indications that he has no inward vocation, nor motion of the Holy Ghost to undertake it. The capital error in men's preparing themselves for that function is, that they study books more than themselves, and that they read divinity more in other books than in the Scriptures. Days of prayer, meditation, and fasting, at least once a quarter in the Ember-week, in which they may read over and over again both offices of ordination, and get by heart those passages in the Epistles to Timothy and Titus that relate to this function, would form their minds to a right sense of it, and be an effectual mean to prepare them duly for it.

"Ask yourselves often (for thus I address myself to you, as if I were still alive), would you follow that course of life, if there were no settled establishment belonging to it, and if you were to preach under the cross, and in danger of persecution? For till you arrive at that, you are yet carnal, and come into the priesthood for a piece of bread. Study to keep alive in you a flame of exalted devotion; be talking often to yourselves, and communing with your own hearts; digest all that you read carefully, that you may remember it so well as not to be at a loss when any point of divinity is talked of. A little study well digested, in a good serious mind, will go a great way, and will lay in materials for your whole life. Above all things, raise within yourselves a zeal for doing good, and for gaining souls.

"When you are in orders, be ever ready to perform all the parts of your function; be not anxious about a settlement; study to distinguish yourselves in your studies, labours, exemplary deportment, and a just sweetness of temper, managed with gravity and discretion; and as for what concerns yourselves, depend on the providence of God, for he will in due time raise up friends and benefactors to you. I do affirm this upon the observation of my whole life, that I never knew any one, who conducted himself by these rules, but he was brought into good posts, or at least into an easy state of subsistence.

"Do not affect to run into new opinions, nor to heat yourselves in disputes about matters of small importance. Begin with settling in your minds the foundations of your faith; and be full of this, and ready at it, that you may know how to deal with unbelievers, for that is the spreading corruption of this age. There are few atheists, but many infidels, who are indeed very little better than the atheists. In this argument, you ought to take pains to have all well digested and clearly laid in your thoughts, that you may manage the controversy gently, without any asperity of words, but with a strength of reason. In disputing, do not offer to answer any argument of which you never heard before, and know nothing concerning it; that will both expose you and the cause you maintain: and if you feel yourselves grow too warm at any time, break off, and persist no longer in the dispute; for you may by that grow to an indecent heat, by which you may wrong the cause which you endeavour to defend. In the matter of mysteries, be very cautious; for the simplicity in which those sublime truths are delivered in the Scriptures ought to be well studied and adhered to. Only one part of the argument should be insisted on, I mean, the shortness and defectiveness of our faculties; which being well considered, will afford a great variety of noble speculations, that are obvious and easily apprehended, to restrain the wanton sallies of some petulant men.

"Study to understand well the controversies of the Church of Rome, chiefly those concerning infallibility and transubstantiation; for, in managing those, their missionaries have a particular address. Learn to view popery in a true light, as a conspiracy to exalt the power of the clergy, even by subjecting the most sacred truths of religion to contrivances for raising their authority, and by offering to the world another method of being saved besides that prescribed in the gospel. Popery is a mass of impostures, supported by men who manage them with great advantages, and impose them with inexpressible severities on those who dare call anything in question that they dictate to them. I see a spirit rising among us, too like that of the Church of Rome, of advancing the clergy beyond their due authority, to an unjust pitch. This rather heightens jealousies and prejudices against us than advances our real authority; and it will fortify the designs of profane infidels, who desire nothing more than to see the publick ministry of the Church first disgraced, and then abolished. The carrying anything too far does commonly lead men into the other extreme. We are the dispensers of the word and sacraments; and the more faithful and diligent we are in this, the world will pay so much the more respect and submission to us: and our maintaining an argument for more power than we now have will be of no effect, unless the world sees that we make a good use of the authority that is already in our hands. It is with the clergy as with princes; the only way to keep their prerogative from being uneasy to their subjects, and from being disputed, is to manage it wholly for their good and advantage; then all will be for it, when they find it is for them. This will prevail more effectually than all the arguments of lawyers, with all the precedents of former times. Therefore, let the clergy live and labour well; and they will feel that as much authority will follow that as they will know how to manage well. And to speak plainly, Dodwell's extravagant notions, which have been too much drunk in by the clergy in my time, have weakened the power of the Church, and soured men's minds more against it than all the books wrote, or attempts made against it, could ever have done. And, indeed, the secret poison of those principles has given too many of the clergy a bias towards popery, with an aversion to the Reformation, which has brought them under much contempt. This is not to be recovered, but by their living and labouring, as they ought to do, without an eager maintaining of arguments for their authority. When I say live better, I mean, not only to live without scandal, which I have found the greatest part of them do, but to lead exemplary lives; to be eminent in humility, meekness, sobriety, contempt of the world, and unfeigned love of the brethren, abstracted from the vain conversation of the world, retired, and at home, fasting

often, joining prayer and meditation with it, without which fasting may do well with relation to the body, but will signify little with relation to the mind. If, to such a course of life, clergymen would add a little more labour, not only performing public offices, and preaching to the edification of the people, but watching over them, instructing them, exhorting, reproving, and comforting them, as occasion is given, from house to house, making their calling the business of their whole life, they would soon find their own minds grow to be in a better temper, and their people would shew more esteem and regard for them, and a blessing from God would attend upon their labours.

"Oh my brethren (for I speak to you as if I were among you), think what manner of persons you ought to be, in all holy conversation and godliness, that so you may shine as lights in the world; think of the account you must give for those immortal souls committed to your care, which were redeemed by the blood of Christ, who has sent you in his name to persuade them to be reconciled to God, and at last to present them to him faultless with exceeding joy: He sees and observes your labours, and will recompense them gloriously in that great day!

"I will conclude this whole address, with that, which is the most important of all other things, and which alone will carry every thing else along with it, which is to recommend, in the most solemn and serious manner, the study and practice of religion to all sorts of men, as that which is both the light of the world and the salt of the earth. Nothing does so open our faculties, and compose and direct the whole man, as an inward sense of God, of his authority over us, of the laws He has set us, of his eye ever upon us, of his hearing our prayers, assisting our endeavours, watching over our concerns, and of his being to judge, and to reward or punish us in another state, according to what we do in this. Nothing will give a man such a detestation of sin, and such a sense of the goodness of God, and of our obligations to holiness, as a right understanding, and a firm belief of the Christian religion. Nothing can give a man so calm a peace within, and such a firm security against all fears and dangers without, as the belief of a kind and wise providence, and of a future state. An integrity of heart gives a man a courage, and a confidence that cannot be shaken. A man is sure that, by living according to the rules of religion, he becomes the wisest, the best, and happiest creature, that he is capable of being. Honest industry, the employing his time well, and a constant sobriety, an undefiled purity and chastity, with a quiet serenity, are the best preservers of life and health. So that, take a man as a single individual, religion is his guard, his perfection, his beauty, and his glory. This will make him the light of the world, shining brightly, and enlightening many round about him.

"Then take a man as a piece of mankind, as a citizen of the world, or of any particular state, religion is indeed then the salt of the earth: for it makes every man to be to all the rest of the world, whatsoever any one can with reason wish, or desire him to be. He is true, just, honest, and faithful in the whole commerce of life, doing to all others that which he would have others do to him: he is a lover of mankind, and of his country: he may and ought to love some more than others; but he has an extent of love to all, of pity and compassion, not only to the poorest, but to the worst; for the worse any are, they are the more to be pitied. He has a complacency and delight in all that are truly, though but defectively good, and a respect and veneration for all that are eminently so: he mourns for the sins, and rejoices in the virtues of all that are round about him; in every relation of life, religion makes him answer all his obligations: it will make princes just and good, faithful to their promises, and lovers of their people: it will inspire subjects with respect, submission, obedience, and zeal for their prince: it will sanctify wedlock to be a state of Christian friendship, and mutual assistance: it will give parents the truest love to their children, with a proper care of their education: it will command the returns of gratitude and obedience from children: it will teach masters to be gentle and careful of their servants, and servants to be faithful, zealous, and diligent in their masters' concerns: it will make friends tender, and true to one another; it will make them generous, faithful and disinterested: it will make men live in their neighbourhood, as members of one common body, promoting first the general good of the whole, and then the good of every particular, as far as a man's sphere can go: it will make judges and magistrates just and patient, hating covetousness, and maintaining peace and order, without respect of persons: it will make people live in so inoffensive a manner, that it will be easy to maintain justice, whilst men are not disposed to give disturbance to those about them. This will make bishops and pastors faithful to their trust, tender to their people, and watchful over them; and it will beget in the people an esteem for their persons, and their functions.

"Thus religion, if truly received and sincerely adhered to, would prove the greatest of all blessings to a nation; but by religion, I understand somewhat more than the receiving some doctrines, though ever so true, or the professing them, and engaging to support them, not without zeal and eagerness. What signify the best doctrines, if men do not live suitably to them; if they have not a due influence upon their thoughts, their principles, and their lives? Men of bad lives, with sound opinions, are self-condemned, and lie under a highly aggravated guilt; nor will the heat of a party, arising out of

interest, and managed with fury and violence, compensate for the ill lives of such false pretenders to zeal; while they are a disgrace to that which they profess and seem so hot for. By religion, I do not mean an outward compliance with form and customs, in going to church, to prayers, to sermons, and to sacraments, with an external shew of devotion, or, which is more, with some inward forced good thoughts, in which many may satisfy themselves, while this has no visible effect on their lives, nor any inward force to subdue, and rectify their appetites, passions, and secret designs. Those customary performances, how good and useful soever, when well understood and rightly directed, are of little value when men rest on them, and think that, because they do them, they have therefore acquitted themselves of their duty, though they continue still proud, covetous, full of deceit, envy, and malice. Even secret prayer, the most effectual of all other means, is designed for a higher end, which is to possess our minds with such a constant and present sense of divine truths, as may make these live in us, and govern us, and may draw down such assistances as may exalt and sanctify our natures.

"So that by religion, I mean, such a sense of divine truth, as enters into a man, and becomes a spring of a new nature within him; reforming his thoughts and designs, purifying his heart, and sanctifying him, and governing his whole deportment, his words as well as his actions; convincing him that it is not enough, not to be scandalously vicious, or to be innocent in his conversation, but that he must be entirely, uniformly, and constantly pure and virtuous, animating him with a zeal to be still better and better, more eminently good and exemplary, using prayers and all outward devotions, as solemn acts testifying what he is inwardly and at heart, and as methods instituted by God, to be still advancing in the use of them further and further into a more refined and spiritual sense of divine matters. This is true religion, which is the perfection of human nature, and the joy and delight of every one that feels it active and strong with him; it is true, this is not arrived at all at once, and it will have an unhappy allay hanging long even about a good man; but, as those ill mixtures are the perpetual grief of his soul, so it is his chief care to watch over and to mortify them; he will be in a continual progress, still gaining ground upon himself: and as he attains to a good degree of purity, he will find a noble flame of life and joy growing upon him. Of this I write with the more concern and emotion, because I have felt this the true, and indeed the only joy, which runs through a man's heart and life. It is that which has been for many years my greatest support; I rejoice daily in it; I feel from it the earnest of that supreme joy, which I pant and long for; I am sure there is nothing else can afford

any true or complete happiness. I have, considering my sphere, seen a great deal of all that is most shining and tempting in this world. The pleasures of sense I did soon nauseate; intrigues of state, and the conduct of affairs, have something in them that is more specious; and I was, for some years, deeply immersed in these, but still with hopes of reforming the world, and of making mankind wiser and better; but I have found, that which is crooked cannot be made straight. I acquainted myself with knowledge and learning, and that in a great variety, and with more compass than depth; but though wisdom excelleth folly, as much as light does darkness, yet as it is a sore travail, so it is so very defective, that what is wanting to complete it cannot be numbered. I have seen that two were better than one, and that a threefold cord is not easily loosed; and have, therefore, cultivated friendship with much zeal and a disinterested tenderness; but I have found this was also vanity and vexation of spirit, though it be of the best and noblest sort, so that, upon great and long experience, I could enlarge on the preacher's text, Vanity of vanities, and all is vanity; but I must also conclude with him, Fear God, and keep his commandments, for this is the all of man, the whole both of his duty, and of his happiness.'

(*Bishop Burnet's History of his own Time.*)

THE END.

140 f 1-2 (48)

BROOKLYN PUBLIC LIBRARY
3 4444 07067 8792

DECK

BROOKLYN PUBLIC LIBRARY
CENTRAL SERVICE
GRAND ARMY PLAZA
BROOKLYN, N. Y. 11238